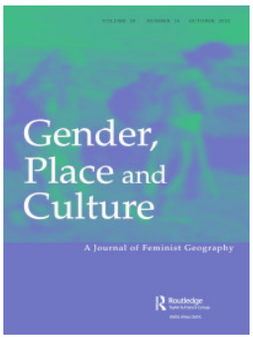

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Rocking the boat: intersectional resistance to marine conservation policies in Wakatobi National Park, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Much scholarship has stressed the need for conservation initiatives to consider local livelihood realities in order to effectively manage marine ecosystems; however, the gendered implications of marine conservation often remain overlooked. This paper takes a feminist political ecology approach to examine intersectional resistance to conservation policies in one of Indonesia's largest and most populous marine protected areas (MPAs), Wakatobi National Park. We show that current Park policies and management fail to account for the livelihoods and culture of local ethnic minority fishers. In response, and along lines of gender, ethnicity, and class, ethnic minority fishers resist conservation measures in novel ways. Justified by their moral economy, these include continuing to access natural resources surreptitiously, allying with each other, and critiquing authorities. While many fisherwomen face additional barriers due to local cultural gender norms, they resist by pursuing livelihood activities against their husband's wishes. A key mechanism for this gendered resistance is increased mobility for women, achieved through their clever use of new infrastructure. Concurrently, Park authorities work to regain control through 'creative enforcement' by accepting bribes, intimidating locals, and wasting fishers' time – techniques that further expose class, ethnic, and gendered frictions. Overall, we find that MPA residents use resources differently across intersectional lines and reveal the extent to which everyday resistance can undermine conservation efforts if regulations ignore local needs. We thus stress the need for an intersectional and multi-scalar approach that is contextualized within local communities and wider infrastructures to improve marine conservation research and policy.

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1. Introduction

Increasingly large Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) and a number of MPA networks are being created to address global conservation objectives Convention of Biological Diversity 2010, 2020; Thorpe, Failler, and Bavinck 2011; Alexander and Armitage 2015, Marine Conservation Institute 2018). However, MPAs have a wide range of uneven social, economic, and political implications for local resource users (Bavinck and Vivekanandan 2011; Cinner et al. 2014). Much research has examined the interactions between local communities and MPAs, and confirms the importance of considering local livelihoods, well-being, and food security in conservation and fisheries management, especially when MPAs designate no-take zones where no fishing is permitted (Foale et al. 2013; Bennett and Dearden 2014; Berdej, Andrachuk, and Armitage 2015; Christie et al. 2017). However, limited scholarship has addressed the gendered aspects of local community–MPA dynamics (see Walker and Robinson 2009; Di Ciommo and Schiavetti 2012; Gustavsson et al. 2014; Pauwelussen 2015; Schwerdtner Máñez and Pauwelussen 2016; Baker-Medard 2017; Kleiber, Harris, and Vincent 2018). Even fewer studies have taken an intentional intersectional approach to better understand negotiations over resources in marine conservation (although see for example Rohe, Schlüter, and Ferse 2018), and no research to our knowledge has examined gendered resistance to MPA policies. With a specific focus on the importance of gender in MPA-based conservation, our aim is to examine the intersectional dynamics of resource access and resistance within Wakatobi National Park – one of Indonesia's largest and most populated MPAs.

Women's contributions in the fisheries sector have not been adequately recognized nor addressed in policies around the world, thus socially, politically, and economically disadvantaging women, especially in the Global South (Hillenbrand et al. 2014). In Indonesia, like in many other Global South countries, men dominate large-scale, boat-based fisheries while women are over-represented in low-grade unskilled employment in the fisheries sector, such as processing and trading (Alami and Raharjo 2017; Harper et al. 2017). However, women's work is not always captured in national statistics and their participation in fishing activities is often obscured, providing a premise for the absense of gender-aware fisheries research and policies (Kleiber, Harris, and Vincent 2015; Koralagama, Gupta, and Pouw 2017). Addressing this gendered data gap, Weeratunge, Snyder, and Sze (2010) estimate that women account for up to 80 percent of aquaculture labour in Indonesia and Vietnam – two of the largest aquaculture sectors in the world – while Harper et al. (2013) calculate that women in the Pacific fulfil 56 percent of the small-scale catches annually, with an economic impact equivalent to USD363 million.

There has also been a considerable gendered bias in academic research on fishing. While a number of important works on women in fishing exist

(e.g. Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988; Meltzoff 1995; Yodanis 2000; Bennett 2005; Neis et al. 2005; Frangoudes, Marugán-Pintos, and Pascual-Fernández 2008; Zhao et al. 2013; Gopal et al. 2014), much social science scholarship on fishing continues to focus on men. Gender sensitive research can provide a clearer view of fishing realities and can support the just and sustainable development of fisheries and marine conservation (Williams 2008; Koralagama, Gupta, and Pouw 2017). Following a call made by Weeratunge, Snyder, and Sze (2010), we aim to expand the limited literature on women in fisheries beyond the existing focus on gendered divisions of labour, as we examine intersectional processes of marine resource access and gendered resistance to marine conservation policies.

To address this aim, we develop a conceptual framework drawing from feminist political ecology and everyday resistance literatures, outlined next. We then contextualise our study by introducing Wakatobi National Park and the Sama-Bajau, an ethnic minority population who are the main fishers in the region. We outline our methodology before investigating the ways by which fishers strategically negotiate their livelihood activities within the Park. We uncover the 'creative enforcement' tactics employed by Park officials, before highlighting a range of resistance measures local fishers enact. While our analysis reveals fisherwomen as key stakeholders of coastal and marine resources within the Park, we find they are overwhelmingly excluded from MPA policymaking and management. We investigate the multiple covert resistance tactics that women use to circumvent MPA policy enforcement and/or to challenge local gender norms. Finally, we show how infrastructural development in the case study community has empowered certain women to engage in such resistance. We hope these findings can enrichen broader debates regarding MPA-based conservation management and gendered livelihoods within and beyond the Indonesian context.

2. A feminist political ecology of resource access in Wakatobi National Park

Conceptually, we take a feminist political ecology lens to examine intersectional processes of resource access within Wakatobi National Park. In brief, feminist political ecology considers gender and environment to be closely interrelated and highlights the gendered socio-political and economic contexts that shape environmental policies and practices. This approach helps yield nuanced insights into the gendered dynamics of resource access, decision-making, and livelihood opportunities (Carney and Watts 1991; Leach 1994; Harcourt and Nelson 2015). Feminist political ecology also complicates assumptions that households or communities have homogenous needs or interests, stressing the need to reconsider the scale of analyses in conservation research and planning (Elmhirst 2011).

Moreover, the approach draws explicit attention to the importance of intersectionality, noting how 'gender is a critical variable in shaping resource access and control, interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity to shape processes of ecological change' (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari 1996, 4).

Authors drawing on an intersectional approach argue that diverse facets of our identities do not operate independently but are intimately linked to create our lived experiences (Crenshaw 1989; 1991; Mollett and Faria 2013). The approach was initially developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991) to examine how gender intersects with race to shape black women's lives. The concept is particularly helpful for untangling bundles of power and examining social inequalities. While much feminist political ecology has explored the dynamics between particular social categories, studies taking a wider intersectional approach remain relatively uncommon. Notwithstanding, there are a few feminist political ecologists who have taken an intersectional approach in marine or fishing contexts (e.g. Cole 2017; Lokuge and Hilhorst 2017); yet, there remains a research lacuna regarding intersectional dynamics within MPAs. To address this void, in this paper we employ an intersectional analysis to examine resistance to conservation policies along lines of ethnicity, gender, and class.

Resource access restrictions such as those in MPAs can yield everyday resistance (Scott 1986, 1990; Kerkvliet 1986, 1990, 2009). The concept of everyday resistance helps us investigate a group's non-confrontational actions when they experience conditions that they consider to be unjust by other people or groups in a position of higher authority, wealth, or power (Kerkvliet 1986). Everyday resistance is not necessarily organized or direct, and can be carried out either independently or collectively, usually with two main goals. First, everyday resistance is often operationalised to survive and persist within an unjust system by working the system to the actors' minimum disadvantage, rather than attempting to overthrow or transform the system (Scott 1985; 1986, 1990). Second, there is commonly a justice objective, with people attempting to claim what they believe is rightfully theirs based on 'values and rights recognised by a significant proportion of other people similar to them' (Kerkvliet 2009, 233). While this concept was not initially gendered, a small number of feminist scholars have examined everyday resistance through a gendered lens, finding that women and men are often differently motivated to take social and political action in response to environmental and other injustices, and do so in distinct ways (Hart 1991; Riessman 2000; Camp 2005; Turner, Adenwala, and Zuberec 2020). As such, we take a feminist lens to examine gendered everyday resistance in the context of Wakatobi National Park, a MPA in Eastern Indonesia.

3. Wakatobi National Park and its inhabitants

Located in the Banda Sea, Wakatobi National Park spans 1.39 million hectares of islands and sea off the coast of mainland Southeast Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia (Elliott et al. 2001; Figure 1). The diversity of marine ecosystems in the Park is one of the highest on record globally (Clifton, Unsworth, and Smith 2010). The Park extends over the entirety of the political entity of Wakatobi Regency, resulting in two governing institutions within the Park:

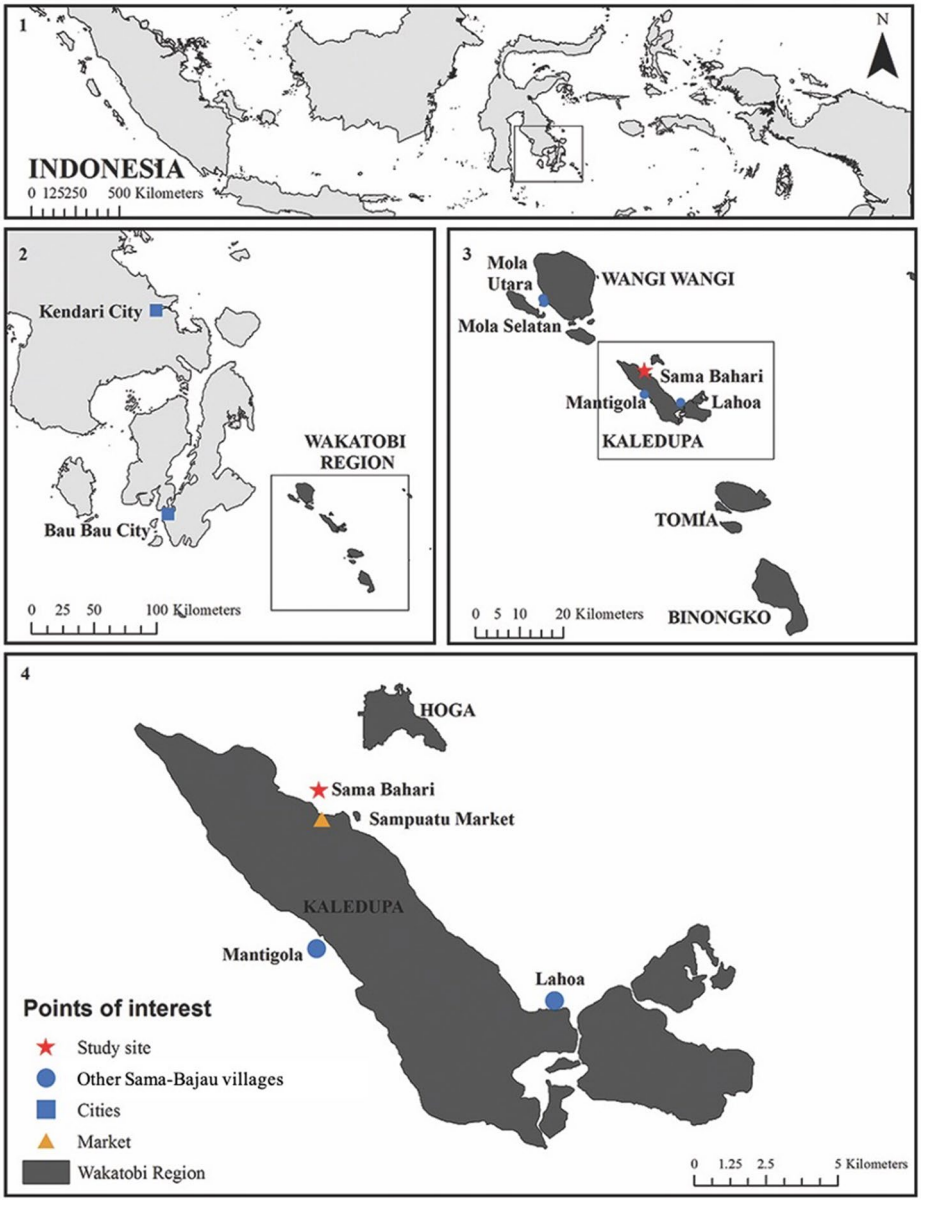

Figure 1. Overview map with subsequent detail maps showing the study location of Sama Bahari, Wakatobi, Indonesia at increasingly larger scales. Source: Melody Lynch.

the Wakatobi District Government, which governs the Regency; and the National Park Authority, under the Ministry of Forestry, which governs the Park. This overlap has led to confusion over responsibilities and contradictory policies (Clifton 2013a; Adimu et al. 2018). In 1996, the Wakatobi was designated a National Park with no public consultation and a lack of planning regarding policy enforcement (Clifton 2013a; Tam 2015, 2019). Initially, until 2002–2003, conservation activities were assumed by ecotourism operators including a Swiss dive company which established a resort on Tomia Island in 1994, and a UK-based research eco-tourism organization established in 1997 on Hoga Island, two kilometers from our study site of Sama Bahari (Clifton 2013b). Both organizations secured no-take zones in front of their establishments, though they did not effectively manage local ecosystems in the Park as a whole. From 2002 to 2003 onward, the Nature Conservancy and the World Wildlife Fund worked with Park authorities to develop the newest version of the Park's management plan in 2007–2008 which introduced a new zoning system for fishing known as *rezonasi* (Clifton, Unsworth, and Smith 2010).

There are now many no-take zones in the Park, including three of the closest reefs to our study location. Mangrove harvesting, coral mining, and other marine resource use are now illegal in these zones, and enforcement has been heightened. There are no positive incentives to support local participation in conservation activities; rather, the use of penalties, such as the risk of being caught and punished, is the conservation strategy (Clifton 2013a). Punishments can be severe and unrealistic. For instance, a sign (Figure 2) posted in Sama Bahari states the maximum punishment for mangrove harvesting is either 10 years in prison or 5 billion rupiah (approximately

Figure 2. A sign posted in Sama Bahari stating the fine for felling mangroves to be 10 years of imprisonment or a maximum fine of 5,000,000,000 rupiah (approximately USD330,000). Source: Melody Lynch.

USD330,000), while respondents reported their annual household income levels to be around 72,000,000 rupiah or USD430.

With over 104,000 individuals living within its borders, Wakatobi is the most populated marine park in Indonesia (Kabupaten Wakatobi 2009). It is therefore not the 'untouched' or 'pristine' environment that it is often branded (c.f. Denevan 1992). Orang Tukang Besi make up 92 percent of the population, while the remaining eight percent (approximately 8300 people) are Sama-Bajau. Tensions exist between these two groups, the former generally having higher socio-economic status and being more politically powerful. Notably, Park management positions are filled by Orang Tukang Besi and people from outside of the Wakatobi, while Sama-Bajau do not hold such roles. These class and ethnic frictions underlie the political ecology of resource access within the Park (Clifton and Majors 2012). While a minority population, Sama-Bajau comprise the largest group of fishers in Wakatobi and are key stakeholders in local marine and coastal resources; hence the focus of our study.

Sama-Bajau are one of the most widely dispersed ethnic groups in Southeast Asia (Sather 1984, 1997). With a total population estimated at over one million, approximately 200,000 Sama-Bajau live in Indonesia (Nagatsu 2007). Sama-Bajau have relied upon marine resources for centuries and are highly aware of ecological trends such as sea-level rise, degradation of marine environments including coral reefs and seagrass meadows, as well as declining fish stocks (Clifton 2003). As a traditionally nomadic population, Sama-Bajau are known for travelling thousands of kilometers in search of reefs rich with marine life; however more recently, Sama-Bajau have faced increasing pressure from post-colonial governments to settle (Gaynor 2007; Said 2011). Many communities have settled in coastal or littoral zones, often in villages of pile dwellings built over water. Our study community, Sama Bahari (locally known as Sampela) was established in the 1960s in the littoral zone between the islands of Kaledupa and Hoga. Built completely over water and one-kilometer northeast of the nearest island, this community is home to over 1700 Sama-Bajau. While some homes remain disconnected and usually only accessible by boat, others are connected to each other via walkways or bridges (Figure 3) funded by the government through the *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Mandiri* (PNPM Mandiri).

The main Sama-Bajau livelihood activities observed in Sama Bahari include fishing, gleaning, seaweed farming, coral mining, and mangrove harvesting, all for small-scale trade as well as subsistence (e.g. coral for construction and mangroves for firewood). In recent decades, Sama-Bajau fishers in Wakatobi National Park have become known for their use of destructive fishing methods such as blast fishing, cyanide fishing, trawling or tiger nets; yet these are also used by other fishers in the region (Lowe 2006). Blast fishing, taught to Sama-Bajau individuals in the 1940s by Japanese fishers,

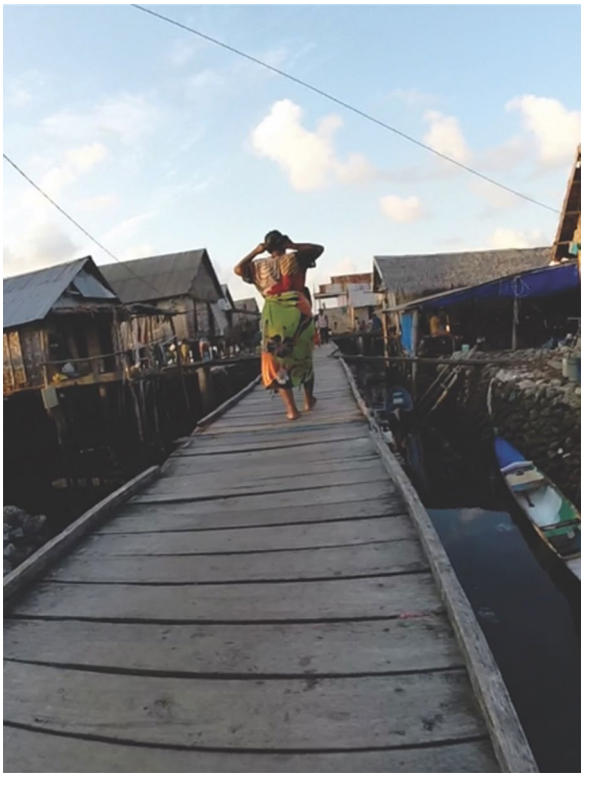

Figure 3. A Sama-Bajau woman using the government-funded walkways to travel through Sama Bahari. Source: Melody Lynch.

is perhaps the most dangerous and destructive of these methods. It is an entirely non-selective fishing technique whereby fishers throw dynamite into a specific area, killing targeted and non-targeted species. In Sama Bahari village, a small number of fishers continue to use blast fishing, though the activity is frowned upon by many Sama Bahari inhabitants, particularly those who uphold traditional Sama-Bajau beliefs.

Most Sama-Bajau follow a syncretic religion blending traditional Sama-Bajau cosmology and ritual practices, with an adherence to Sunni Islam to varying degrees (Stacey 2007). Sama-Bajau traditional beliefs are heavily centered around their relationship with the marine environment, including distinct animist traditions revolving around marine animals and other aspects of the marine environment like water currents or reef flats. Offending spirits of the sea is believed to result in bad luck for fishing, health, and other aspects of daily life. In Sama-Bajau tradition, the natural environment is therefore not separate from humanity, but closely intertwined both physically and spiritually.

In East Kalimantan, Sama-Bajau ways of life – particularly their socially and spatially mobile practices – have been shown to be at odds with MPA conservationists' imaginings of 'fixed places, boundaries, and "local"

communities' (Pauwelussen 2015, 346). We build upon such work by offering an intersectional analysis of the socio-cultural and political context underpinning livelihoods within Wakatobi National Park while extending insights into the complexities of MPA conservation in the region.

4. Methodology

This research is based on long-term ethnographic work carried out by the first author since 2013. Our findings are based on 84 semi-structured interviews (42 women; 42 men), and 27 conversational interviews (16 women; 11 men), undertaken with the assistance of two local Sama-Bajau interpreters. We employed interviewing as the primary method of data collection for its strength in revealing individual experiences through people-oriented dialogues (Longhurst 2010).

We chose semi-structured interview respondents using a stratified purposeful sampling technique. We followed the administrative sub-districts of Sama Bahari (which represent approximate divides between socio-economic groups) to separate the sample population into strata, and then selected a purposeful sample from each stratum to capture variations in gender and age. Interview themes included livelihood strategies, social and financial capital, political views, fishing/migration patterns, and perspectives on gender expectations. These interviews took an average of 70 minutes. We conducted a second interview with respondents to validate our initial interview interpretations and to follow up on interesting themes. These lasted 40 minutes on average.

We conducted conversational interviews with key informants who could provide rich experiential information rather than representativeness (Teddlie and Yu 2007), with this format allowing questions to emerge through conversations on topics relevant to the individual (Kitchin and Tate 2000). These interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes each. Key informants included traditional healers, local government officials, healthcare workers, and teachers. We analyzed all interview data (semi-structured and conversational) using thematic, axil, and constant comparison coding. In this paper, we use the term 'fisher' to refer to people of any gender who engage in fishing activities, while we use 'fisherwomen' and 'fishermen' to intentionally highlight gendered dynamics of fishing activities. We refer to all respondents using gender-appropriate pseudonyms.

5. Enforcement of Wakatobi National Park policies and everyday resistance

As suggested above, Wakatobi National Park policies do not necessarily serve the livelihood and cultural needs of Sama-Bajau fishers. Ethnic and class

divisions are central to these tensions, as detailed below, with Park management positions filled by ethnic majority group members. Despite the limitations imposed by Park regulations, Sama-Bajau residents continue to access marine and coastal resources. In turn, Park rangers attempt to maintain control over natural resources and impose their power over resource users in a number of rather creative ways that impact the everyday actions and freedoms of local fishers. In response, local fishers employ a range of gendered resistance strategies.

5.1 'Creative enforcement' of National Park rules

Park rangers employ a variety of covert tactics to maintain control over natural resources and to preserve their positions of power within local community relationships. These tactics are most commonly bribery, intimidation, and wasting the time of local fishers. For instance, due to limited communication between Park officials and Sama-Bajau residents, rangers often lack official channels to gain knowledge of Sama-Bajau's day-to-day fishing activities and resource access. In this context, rangers sometimes bribe Sama-Bajau fishermen to provide them with information about illegal resource access around the village (no women fishers reported engaging in these agreements with rangers). In exchange for this information, those bribed can access resources in the Park by any method and without punishment. Two interviewees, young men from Sama Bahari village who use illegal blast fishing methods explained that they do so while Park officials 'look the other way', provided they supply information regarding other fishers. Another interviewee confirmed that a handful of village fishermen continue to use blast fishing locally because of these types of arrangements.

More commonly however, a range of intimidation tactics are used to instill fear into Sama-Bajau fishers to encourage them to abide by Park regulations. Over a quarter of respondents, predominantly women, detailed this intimidation and their fear of rangers. For example, an elderly divorced woman, Indah stated: 'My relationship with the Park rangers isn't good. I get scared when I see them and when they come near me'. A middle-aged divorced woman, Dewi added 'I'm always scared of the Park rangers. They bring people to their office and they get angry'. Ten respondents noted they stop – at least temporarily – harvesting or fishing certain species because they are 'scared of the rangers'. Unlike bribery arrangements that can benefit some fishermen, it is mainly women who reported being the targets of intimidation, with no direct benefits to them or others.

Park rangers also emphasise power imbalances by wasting the time of both women and men Sama-Bajau fishers. Nine women shared stories of being taken from where they were fishing to a Park office far from their

homes, and having to wait for hours without any information. Other respondents were towed in their boats toward the office, but then released along the way. Buana, an 80-year-old widow, explained:

> Last year, I went fishing and met the rangers around Hoga [2km from Sama Bahari]. I'd collected four small clams. When they saw them in my canoe, they got angry. The rangers said that clams were protected, but I wanted to eat them. I complained and they began to tow me to their office. The rangers threw my clams back into the sea but, midway to the office, they cut my canoe free and let me go.

By towing canoes far from the reefs where fishers are collecting food, officials re-enforce their authority over Park resources while intimidating residents and, from the perspective of the residents, wasting their valuable fishing time.

Sama-Bajau locals also complained of other 'creative enforcement' tactics used by Park rangers. Annisa, a food vendor and gleaner, explained: 'When I want to eat clams, the Park rangers say I'm not allowed. Sometimes the Park rangers take my clams in a speedboat to the office and sometimes they eat my clams'. In other cases, Park rangers confiscate the canoes of illegal resource users knowing that the fishers cannot afford to pay the steep fines. Alya, a 25-year-old woman, explained, 'I met the Park rangers once and they brought me to their office. They took my canoe. I didn't know about the clams and I didn't know they shouldn't see me selling clams. They never gave my canoe back'. Such tactics have a major impact on local livelihoods with canoes being costly to build or purchase.

At least one quarter of respondents have been stopped by Park rangers while fishing *legally* out at sea and asked numerous questions about their activities, as well as about what other Sama-Bajau were doing nearby. Adi, a 23-year-old man who fishes legally argued that this constant disturbance distracts from his core livelihood activities: 'I've met the rangers many times at sea. They make me feel like I'm not free to fish there. I dislike them because they ask lots of questions. I want to focus on fishing, but the rangers always bother me!' This time wasting is highly problematic for fishers who live on day-to-day fishing returns.

These 'creative enforcement' acts by Park officials, including bribes, intimidation, or time-wasting, serve to further erode the relationships between Park officials and Sama-Bajau fishers – a relationship already made tenuous by the lack of consultation with local communities during and after the establishment of Wakatobi National Park. Indeed, fishers complained that Sama-Bajau interests have not been seriously considered in conservation efforts, noting that this lack of consultation has resulted in National Park policies that are impractical for their livelihoods and cultural needs. We would add that when Park officials utilise intimidation and fear, such tactics clearly point to forms of environmental violence. Fishers and Park rangers

lay claim to the same resources based on different understandings of rights, with conflicts regularly occurring (c.f. Peluso and Watts 2001). Nevertheless, we find that Sama-Bajau are not passive recipients of Park policies or what they consider as unjust enforcement approaches. Rather, they covertly resist in accordance with their local moral economy.

5.2. Everyday resistance

5.2.1. Community resistance to Park policies and policing

As noted earlier, there are several no-take zones in the Park, including three of the reefs closest to Sama Bahari village. The designation of these no-take zones as areas reserved for non-locals – tourists or researchers – causes additional costs in time, fuel, and effort for fishers who must then access reefs further away. This creates a distinct sense of unfairness for Sama-Bajau residents. For example, a middle-aged Sama-Bajau man, Wayan, noted 'the Hoga [research station] security is always yelling at us to get away from the area', while Cinta, an elderly Sama-Bajau woman, shared a similar account: 'When we pass [Hoga Island] by canoe, they tell us to get away from the area'. Resisting these no-take zone policies, many Sama-Bajau men and women continue to fish in these designated areas.

To oppose rangers wasting their time, some Sama-Bajau fishers 'eat [marine resources] right away and then throw the remains back into the sea'. Other fishers position themselves in such a way as to limit rangers' ability to reach them at sea. For instance, Dian, a 28-year-old man, explained that he covertly resists interactions with authorities while on the water by hiding or moving out of range:

> I dislike the Park rangers because they control me every day. The Park rangers have come to me many times at sea. They explain too much and ask too many questions about bomb fishing and cyanide fishing. The rangers waste my time. When I see them coming, I go to the seaweed farms where there are lines of seaweed surrounding my boat, or I go to the shallow waters so they can't get to me.

Such resistance is often a collaborative effort, with Sama-Bajau allying with each other to help access resources and deceive authorities. When out at sea, Sama-Bajau will keep a look-out for officials, warning others by shouting when Park rangers are approaching.

Apart from a select few men who engage in bribery with the rangers, many Sama-Bajau men and women refuse to share information with officials. Utari, a 65-year-old woman, explained: 'I met the Park rangers once when I was gleaning. They wanted to know where people were using cyanide. I didn't tell them. I don't want people to use cyanide either, but I don't like the rangers. We can't take anything in the sea; they always tell us not to'. Utari believes the rangers are interfering with her community's livelihoods and hence has no qualms withholding information from them.

Refusing to share these sorts of local knowledge helps to uphold fishers' sense of community and belonging, and starts to create cracks in the hegemonic conservation initiative of the Park (c.f. Sletto 2005). While Utari and others recognize that cyanide and other destructive practices harm the local environment, they strongly oppose the formal surveillance and management of Park resources, instead participating in a form of self-surveillance – a surveillance entangled in a local moral economy (c.f. Robinson 2000).

Sama-Bajau men and women were frequently heard critiquing Park officials for their misuse of power and their failure to efficiently regulate resource access. Wayan, a 48-year-old net fisher, complained that the priorities of officials always focused on tourism rather than conservation, explaining: '[The no-take zone by] Hoga Island is actually only protected when tourists come here'. As noted above, others complained in interviews about the time-wasting, intimidation, and bribery of Park officials. In his work on resistance, Kerkvliet (2009: 233) notes that the 'nasty, derogatory things peasants say or the jokes they crack about their landlords, employers, government officials, or the like behind their backs can be forms of everyday resistance'. These moral critiques of the burden of Park policies on the livelihoods of local Sama-Bajau, and the sharing of stories of how fishers have out-smarted rangers, highlight how disapproving local narratives serve to discursively reclaim power from Park officials.

5.2.2. Gendered resistance to Park policies and policing

While it is illegal to harvest mangroves in the Park, many Sama-Bajau households use mangroves as a vital and versatile resource, fashioning the wood into piles and frames for houses and fish fences. Most importantly, mangroves are used daily as a cost-effective cooking fuel, as other forms of fuel such as kerosene are expensive or unaffordable for local household budgets. As women are predominantly responsible for preparing family meals, harvesting mangrove wood is considered 'women's work', resulting in many women negotiating mangrove access on a daily basis. Mangrove forests are thus highly gendered spaces where women must carefully navigate their restricted presence.

Many women respondents explained that they resist Park policies restricting mangrove access by hiding from rangers as they collect the wood and by always keeping a careful watch for approaching ranger boats. Like fishermen who warn each other of approaching rangers at sea, these women often work in small groups keeping watch. Nyoman, a 38-year-old woman, proudly noted that she has managed to avoid rangers all her life, explaining that she and her friends 'look for speedboats at sea and avoid the rangers. We have to race [the rangers] to the mangroves when we want to take wood'. The flat seascape is an asset in this case, as Sama-Bajau can see

rangers coming from afar. Others, like Nur, an elderly woman, simply hide in the mangroves and wait for the rangers to pass before collecting the resources they need. Melati, a traditional medicine woman does the same: 'If they see me taking mangroves, I hide. When they go, I continue to take them'. Once the mangroves have been felled, harvesters can claim they legally obtained the resources by asserting they found the wood already cut. Bethari, a 53-year-old widow, explained: 'Sometimes the Park rangers come to my house and look for cut mangroves. I can talk my way out of it'.

While mining coral is illegal in the Park, dried coral serves as a relatively affordable and accessible building material, used to build house platforms and to protect house piles. A coral foundation under a house also serves as an additional breezy and shady place to work, cook, or socialize. As with mangroves, coral is often collected by women who resist ranger actions to maintain access to this natural resource. One woman, Bama, noted, 'I've been caught by the Park rangers once when I was taking coral. I saw the rangers and put the coral back in the water. I just went back to get it later'. Thus, for both mangroves and coral, the ongoing harvesting of these resources highlights that Park policies do not consider local livelihood needs and that patrolling has limited effectiveness.

Many livelihood activities that are traditionally understood as women's tasks have been made illegal due to Park policies, including mangrove harvesting, coral collection, and fishing close to the shore (for example, where the Hoga no-take zone is located). In comparison, fishing further away from shore – an activity traditionally undertaken by men – is less restricted, albeit still potentially vulnerable to harassment and time-wasting by authorities. Wati, an older woman passionately explained: 'I hate the rangers. I'm a widow and I mine coral and I cut mangroves because those are the jobs for me, but the rangers protect the coral and the mangroves!' Wati nonetheless continues accessing such resources illegally because these activities are perceived locally to be 'jobs for women' and are culturally acceptable ways for her to meet her livelihood needs.

5.2.3. Women's resistance to cultural norms

Our analysis revealed that the resistance Sama-Bajau women undertake is two-fold, directed not only toward Park authorities, but also against gendered cultural norms and expectations that restrict their access to specific livelihood activities. Such norms are clearly revealed in a response from Yuda, a 44-year-old net fisherman, who stated: 'I restrict my wife from going fishing and finding money because it is my responsibility'. We find that Sama-Bajau women's agency is constrained within given contexts and along intersectional lines (c.f. Gustavsson 2020).

Wati, a widow, goes fishing (legally) but feels that it would be more respectable to pursue other livelihood activities. Yet, she argues that she

must fish to meet her livelihood and food security needs. Traditional healer Cinta, another widowed woman who gains income and respect from her healing practices, also resists these gender norms while going fishing for pleasure: 'I know others like me [women] do not go fishing and stay in the house, but it's my hobby. I can't be away from the sea'. Likewise, Tri also enjoys fishing, but as a married woman, she must navigate the expectations of her husband, only fishing in his absence:

> My husband and family restrict me from going fishing, even if I love to go with a hook and a line. My husband would be embarrassed if he had a wife who went fishing. If my husband isn't here, sometimes my daughter and I paddle and fish; just for consumption, not for sale.

Intan, a married woman, also explained that culturally, 'women are not free to go fishing because it is the husband's job'. Yet, once again, she rejects these constraints, going fishing when her husband temporarily migrates for fishing work elsewhere.

One quarter of married women interviewees complained that they felt restricted from pursuing certain livelihood activities due to cultural expectations regarding their husband's role as the household's main breadwinner. For instance, Lestari navigates expectations regarding her use of public space, as her husband restricts her from selling cakes around the village, arguing that it gives the impression that he is unable to provide for their family. Lestari explained:

> Now I sell cakes, but only from my house, so my husband is okay with it. If I tour around the village with my cakes, my husband would restrict me because he'd be embarrassed. He doesn't like me asking people to buy my cakes because it looks desperate. If I stay inside the house, it's okay. It's a pride issue. If I've got a problem with family finances, I go around anyway and sell cakes. I try to explain that to my husband or, when he's not home, I'll go around the village and sell cakes anyway.

Lestari, thus tries to meet local gendered cultural expectations by performing a certain femininity, yet when her household's livelihood needs reach breaking point, she resists gender expectations with the goal of meeting her family's subsistence needs. Tri and Intan likewise perform their expected feminine roles within the household, yet subtly resist these when their husbands are elsewhere.

Many men construct their masculinities around being the household breadwinner. For instance, Agung, a burly middle-aged fisher explained the pressure he feels to meet local gender expectations: 'I am shy to borrow money from my friends, even from my family. [My friends would say:] "You are a big guy with big muscles. If you don't work, what is your body used for?"' However, some men from the younger generation, particularly those with more years of formal education, acknowledge the benefits of having a second income-earner in their household. For example, a 25-year-old

teacher, Chayono, support's his wife's work, stating 'this is important because my wife helps my family make more money'. Thus, generational differences in addition to cultural gender norms and expectations reveal intersectional dimensions to livelihood strategies within the Park.

6. Bridging the gap with new mobilities for women

Adding to this complexity, some Sama-Bajau women are able to resist both restrictions brought about by the Park, as well as cultural gendered norms, through new mobilities. Several interviewees revealed this insight through conversations about livelihood changes over time, as bridges and walkways emerged in such discussions as an important infrastructural development in the community, particularly for women. Until 2010, Sama-Bajau mobility between houses for both men and women was restricted by the sea; houses were disconnected and accessible only via canoe. Since 2010, everyday mobility has increased substantially with the gradual expansion of walkways and bridges within the village, funded by the Indonesian Government through PNPM. These walkways have presented new livelihood and resistance opportunities for women.

When houses were disconnected, community information was mainly shared through men's fishing networks, while women remained in the house for much of the day. Women's mobility has been significantly increased as these walkways facilitate easy travel throughout the village and provide a common space for socializing, exchanging information, sharing equipment and trading. The walkways have also allowed women to build new social capital networks independent of their husbands, with women gaining important information when deciding to pursue paid livelihood activities, such as the price of goods or how to complete certain tasks. Similarly, walkways allow Sama-Bajau women to establish a reliable network to support their paid activities, for example by developing closer relationships with people from whom they might borrow a canoe or source fish for trade. Annisa, an ice vendor and gleaner, noted: 'Many women are actively gaining money now. It's because the walkways make alternative options for women. In the past, they'd just stay in the house'. Eka, a 50-year-old married woman, similarly argued: 'A woman's profile has changed because now, for many women, responsibilities in the household are less and they spend time outside because of the walkways'. Indah, a young, divorced mother, added, 'women are becoming more independent, just like men'.

This greater mobility has served as a mechanism through which some women are increasingly resisting structural and cultural barriers. The walkways have thus supported the creation of competing discourses regarding women's work. All told, while livelihoods and resistance strategies within the MPA are highly gendered and rooted in cultural norms, we find that when structural

barriers to mobility are removed, livelihood options for women and the cultural expectations surrounding these can be malleable and dynamic, and are increasingly so for younger generations.

7. Conclusion: intersectional dynamics of conservation in the Wakatobi National Park

Our research builds upon the limited feminist political ecology work completed in the marine world (e.g. Bavington, Grzetic, and Neis 2004; Nightingale 2013) and the scarce but equally important women in fisheries literature. Taking an intersectional approach to analyse everyday resistance within the Wakatobi National Park, we have shown how local women and men differently navigate MPA policies and cultural norms to resist barriers to meeting their household needs. Despite much 'women's work' being made illegal by the MPA and social stigmatization along lines of gender, class, ethnicity and culture, our analysis reveals the important roles that women play in Sama Bahari as hidden providers of forbidden resources and contributors to household livelihoods.

Since the establishment of the MPA, the Indonesian Government has demanded that the Sama-Bajau (re)conceptualize certain natural resources as state property. This occurs while tourists are granted access to nearby no-take zones for recreational purposes, creating a local sense of injustice. While several studies have examined the limited effectiveness of marine conservation and fisheries management in the Wakatobi in relation to Sama-Bajau fishing practices (e.g. Clifton and Majors 2012; Tam 2015), our research extends such work by untangling both the creative practices of enforcement and the everyday resistance and strategic negotiations of resource access, to better understand the politicised, everyday intersectional realities of making a livelihood within the Park. Park rangers are unable to enforce unjust and unrealistic policies, and resort to 'creative enforcement' techniques to harness power over local ethnic minority fishers, including bribery, intimidation, or time-wasting. Such 'creative enforcement' by Wakatobi Park officials serves more to defend the power of authorities than protect marine biodiversity, and result in a broad range of resistance tactics by Sama-Bajau residents. The central pillars of such resistance are a discourse of rights, justice, reliable subsistence, and a moral economy embedded in local cultural expectations and norms. Sama-Bajau continue to access resources illegally, hide from and deceive Park officials, while also critiquing authorities. Through such actions, the main goals of Sama-Bajau resistance are not necessarily to change Park regulations directly, but rather to continue to be able to draw upon local natural resources to maintain their culture and livelihoods in ways they consider to be morally just and fair (Scott 1976; Kerkvliet 1990). Sama-Bajau villagers understand the need to conserve

biodiversity but argue that Park authorities do not take *their* multiple needs into consideration. This lack of cooperation between important stakeholders is leading to important failures for conservation.

Tam (2015) has exposed how Wakatobi National Park's flawed zoning system is a result of disagreements over what are considered to be appropriate uses of marine resources. This has led to the exclusion of local Sama-Bajau fishing communities due to assumptions about the needs and experiences of local communities, and a lack of clear communication and participation strategies. In this paper, we have extended these understandings of Park-community relationships, showing that the zoning system and its policing have resulted in highly antagonist relationships between Park officials and local fishers. Unfortunately, the district government's plan is to construct a new detention center for those caught fishing illegally among other attempts to criminalize Sama-Bajau ways of life (von Heland and Clifton 2015). Yet our work has highlighted that such negative incentives to submit to the MPA's top-down conservation strategy are not only ineffective but unjust and structurally violent. It is likely that local fishers will thus continue to rely on a range of everyday resistance tactics to access marine resources to which they believe they have a right. Such ongoing tensions foreground the uncertain future of Indonesian conservation planning and fisheries management.

Conceptually, our work has revealed intersectional dynamics at play across a range of scales. The development of the MPA without local consultation and the tactics used by both those enforcing MPA rules and those resisting them show how these power structures play out across space, culminating at the local scale with gendered resistance. The intersectional dynamics that we have highlighted demonstrate the urgent need for conservation work to place gender, ethnicity, culture and class centrally in analyses and interpretations. Concurrently, those involved with the design and policies of new or existing MPAs must not consider regions, communities or even households as monolithic and unified decision-making units.

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