1   Introduction

He started work as a young lad,
He wanted to follow his Pa,
There was nothing else, the money was good,
and he thought it would get him far.
(The Miners Tale – Jane Davies)

This verse of *The Miners Tale* indicates the motivations for young men to engage in coal mining. It is the money and the opportunity that symbolize mining as means to a better life. While coal mining started to become less attractive in Europe during the late 1950s (Leboutte, 2009: 755), ways of making money with coal have shifted east. One of the new centers of coal production is Indonesia. The exploitation of natural resources was initiated by Suharto's New Order in 1966 with the ambition of pulling foreign investors into the country (Pye, 2015: 350). Today, Indonesia is the second largest producer of coal overall and the biggest for thermal coal, while production is constantly increasing. From 2006 to 2013 alone, production of coal increased by 227 MT (Haug, 2015: 375), reaching 425 MT in 2018 (Indonesia-Investments.com, 2019). The central regions for excavation in Indonesia are Sumatra and Kalimantan. While small shares of coal are used or processed in Indonesia, most excavated coal is directly exported to countries such as China, India, Taiwan, and Japan (Großmann & Tijaja, 2015: 379).

The reason for this extreme increase in production lies in the development policy of the Indonesian government. Before, the extraction of natural resources remained a business of the outer islands to fuel progress in the center (Großmann, Padmanabhan & Afiff, 2017: 1). Today, the government envisions coal as important driver for economic development in all regions. Thereby, the government wants to secure social welfare as well as energy supply for the country. This point of view is particularly visualized in the Masterplan for Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia Economic Development (Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Repub-

lic of Indonesia, 2011). Along with the MP3EI program the government foresees a certain division of production along the provinces of Indonesia. Following this, Java is planned to be the center for industry and services, while Kalimantan is envisioned as the new center for national mining and energy reserves (51; 74; 96). Putting it in numbers, the area for mining is to be extended by 350.00 hectares, while seven new mining concessions will be given by the Indonesian government (Großmann & Tijaja, 2015: 379).

In the vast forest regions of Borneo, the expansion not only led to an environmental degradation but also to conflicts between local population, governmental organizations, and different companies and corporations. The basis for most of the conflicts are land right struggles, breaches of human rights, illegal mining and logging, acquisitions, and health issues (Großmann & Tijaja, 2015: 381). To counter the rising issues triggered by mining processes, different strategies were initiated. For instance, the Indonesian government introduced an impact assessment system that is called *Analisis Mengenai Dampal Lingkungan* (AMDAL). However, the relaxations of environmental controls and the poor implementation of the system in the national spheres further eased the access of corporations to resources (Großmann, Padmanabhan & Braun, 2017: 13).

From the corporation's side, Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs were introduced to compensate for the negative consequences of mining endeavors. Hence, CSR entails the "responsibility of enterprises for their impacts on society" and thereby a "process to integrate social, environmental, ethical and human rights concerns into their business operations and core strategy in close interaction with their stakeholder" (European Commission, 2011: 6). In the case of Indonesia, it has to be acknowledged that these involvements are further demanded by the Limited Company Liability Act of 2007. Grosser and Moon (2005) argue that these activities go beyond business, but into the spheres of social, governmental, and development actions. In this they see a chance of expanding efforts for gender equality through these programs. However, in contrast, Robinson (1996) as well as Lahirit-Dutt and Macintyre (2006) show that the expansion of mining companies

rather pushes a hyperbolism of masculinities, as mining activities are naturally seen as a profession pursued by men, leading to the exclusion of women living close to mining sites.

Eventually, these measures turn out to be Janus-faced. The extension of infrastructure and the introduction of different services, such as medical centers or schools, in the framework of CSR strategies can be interpreted as an enhancement of the quality of life, as defined by the corporations. Nevertheless, these activities create a social license for environmental destruction and thereby also attack traditional livelihoods, strongly anchored around the forest and self-subsistence (ibid; Welker, 2014). Besides, the impact on gender relations through the introduction of a male dominated space of work should not be underestimated. Keeping this in mind, Arounsavath and Swedwatch (2017) identify consequences of mining in Central Kalimantan. In their report, the issues are pointed out on the example of different habitants of Mutiara Hitam[1] village and the impact of the close by coal concessions. The expansion of the mining sector again stipulates deforestation as well as loss of land and forest. Against this, people living in Mutiara Hitam face increasing difficulties to maintain their self-subsistence and traditional livelihoods while other extensively profit from the mining industry. However, Arounsavath and Swedwatch (2017) do not emphasize to which extent these influences and changes gender roles and more interestingly, the masculinity perception in Mutiara Hitam.

1.1   Problem Statement

Through the ongoing and future extension of mining in Central Kalimantan, land will be lost to mining and new stakeholders will enter the area, making it necessary to initiate new processes of CSR by the corporations to compensate and form their social licenses.

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[1]   Due to ethical reasons and in order to respect the privacy of those who contributed to this study, I decided to anonymize this research by changing the names of the interviewees, the places where the interviews were conducted as well as the name of the village.

To uphold social licenses, corporations must fulfill governmental regulations, expectations of various NGOs as well as to establish acceptance and value creation for local communities (Welker, 2014: 55-56). These processes then need to integrate social, environmental, ethical, and human rights issues into the business plans of the corporations. Even if corporations try to establish a social contract, and henceforth gain social legitimation by the local population, this process is subject to different conflicts, taken aside the impacts on the environment and nature.

At this point, it needs to be clarified that this thesis understands the impact of mining not solely based on the activity itself but also the processes of CSR that run simultaneously. Consequently, CSR is one of many products of mining that directly affects the population in close proximity to mining areas. However, the problem that needs to be overcome is that CSR approaches do not constantly work as envisioned and therefore only "compensate" for a minority of the generated consequences. This was proven by Arounsavath and Swedwatch (2017) in their report on the effects of CSR on three communities in Indonesia. Going beyond what could be done, Prayogo (2013: 61) maintains that the simple encounter of traditional and marginalized groups with the industrial high-tech mining facilities and equipment alone symbolizes a discrepancy of social equality in itself. In addition, the encounter of two different worlds is accompanied with different communication issues that need to be bridged. To do so, Kurniawan (2012) claimed that intercultural communication is needed to enable an efficient process of cultural transformation. The problems of communication between local actors as well as with external actors such as corporations are based on a lack of knowledge of the other party. Thus, the so called "local wisdom" is a crucial starting point for effective interactions between communities and corporations.

To fill this gap, a common understanding of all stakeholders is needed. This, however, includes knowledge of social construction and local masculinities. This study understands 'local masculinities' as "constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically

found in ethnographic and life-history research" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 849). Tsing (1990) and Colfer (2008) argue that there is a sufficient lack of literature on masculinities and effects on local community members. Therefore, the effective interaction between actors is already limited. Louie (2003: 13) shares this view. He claims: "We still need to dislocate researchers' comfort zones. While [he] applaud[s] an internationalist vision, [he] believe[s] that the groundwork for understanding local masculinities must still be done" (ibid). To do so, the connections of the local to the global have to be made. This is supported by Ford and Lyons (2012: 12) in arguing that "masculinities are shaped by multiple engagements with imperialism, colonialism, national-building and economic development programmers". Consequently, local tendencies of masculinities are to be investigated and linked to these development programs.

In this context, this study aligns itself along this call for research. It investigates local masculinities and their relation to economic development programs in the mining sector of Indonesia in form of CSR programs. In this, the community of Mutiara Hitam village is taken as local indicator.

1.2   Research Question, Aim, and Case Selection

Against this background, different questions arise in relation to mining and CSR with regards to the inhabitants of Mutiara Hitam. The leading question concerns how mining activities and CSR strategies impact masculinities in local communities in Central Kalimantan. Moreover, when looking at masculinities, it also needs to be asked how CSR practices impact the local community of Mutiara Hitam and its gender construction. Ultimately, to understand the broader picture of these changes it also needs to be asked which impact mining and CSR have on different spheres of community life and livelihoods. Thereby, the particular effects of mining and CSR approaches on different spheres of community life, gender construction, and male community members are highlighted.

With regard to these questions, this study follows two main objectives. First of all, it sheds light on the influence of mining and

CSR strategies on social life and gender construction in Mutiara Hitam. It further establishes a general overview of gender roles and duties. These are then taken into consideration when following the second aim, namely the study of masculinity construction along Connell's (2005) and Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) concept of hegemonic masculinities as well as investigating gender roles in local settings to contribute new data about these processes. To do so, this study investigates the case of the Mutiara Hitam village and the close by Adaro Met Coal Mine. In the investigation, the interaction of different mining activities and CSR projects aiming at infrastructure, health, education, recruitment as well as meetings with representatives of the corporation are investigated. Consequently, this study first of all contributes a case study on mining and CSR activities and how these impact social, economic, and environmental spheres. Second, these insights are used to visualize the impact on construction and perception of gender roles as well as local masculinities. Thereby this study answers Kimmel's (2000) call for research in giving insights into masculinity construction in Southeast Asia. As gender is to be set at the core of masculinity studies, this study encompasses the idea of gender as constructed in social contexts and with different influences (Lindsey, 1990). Thus, it is not only focused on the male members but takes gender as a whole and henceforth also women's opinions and views into account to draw a more complete picture on masculinity formation.

Having said that, this book derives its significance in providing an in-depth study of local masculinities in Southeast Asia, as demanded by Kimmel (2000) and Louie (2003). Moreover, this study aims to make use of a window of opportunity that is based on the fact that the former IndoMet mine has been transferred from the operator BHP Billiton ltd. to PT Adaro Energy in October 2016. In this way, it is crucial to investigate the manner the new operator acts in regard to the local communities. Furthermore, it is a chance to engage in a comparative study of recent changes the community was subject to since the handover.

As this research follows a Grounded Theory approach (cf. Charmaz, 2006), a hypothesis should be made with caution, as new

insight should be generated from the received data. Neverthe-less, this paper follows the hypothesis that there are mainly two issues regarding the impact on masculinities. On the one hand, as it has been established, mining and CSR policies tend to primarily emphasizes male community members. Therefore, these strategies may affect traditional masculinities by neglecting the traditional community composition and the roles of the different genders. On the other hand, CSR strategies may take a generalized approach that neglect the local context and in consequence may cause unprec-edented impacts on gender, social, and masculinity construction of the communities and livelihoods.

1.3   Organization of the book

In exploring the impacts of mining and the related CSR activities on masculinities this book starts in presenting its research design. This chapter elaborates on the methodology chosen for this research approach. In addition, it presents the limitation of this study and takes a critical self-reflexive stance to the research process. Second, light is shed on the concept of CSR. Third, this thesis introduces its theoretical framework. Here, the main focus is set on Lindsey's (1990) and Christy's (1990) gender roles as well as Connell's (2005) and Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) hegemonic masculinities. The explained concepts are then operationalized in regard of this study. Fourth, the perception of roles and duties of men and women in Mutiara Hitam is elaborated on and set into context to gender theories while showing how families are organized. Based on this, the fifth section investigates how mining and CSR impact spheres of gender, social relation and masculinities. To do so, livelihoods and environment as well as social and economic impact are shown and analyzed. Sixth, this study presents the construction of hege-monic masculinities while referring back to the changes caused by mining and CSR. Lastly, it concludes by summarizing its findings and returning to the hypothesis while identifying blank spaces in research.