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FROM SUBJUGATION TO LOCAL SOVEREIGNTY
The dynamics of frontierisation and defrontierisation in Lindu, Central Sulawesi (Indonesia)*

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ABSTRACT. Endeavouring to highlight the temporal dimension in the conceptualisation of frontiers, this paper presents a case study of processes of frontierisation and defrontierisation in the highland Lindu valley of Central Sulawesi (Indonesia). After reviewing the literature on frontiers and establishing the rationale for a more processual framework for their analysis, it traces these processes within the history of the Lindu plain along four dimensions of frontierisation – control, extraction, settlement and conservation – from the precolonial era to the contemporary period of reform in Indonesia. Further refining previous anthropological theorisation of the frontier, the article also reconceptualises the closing of frontiers by moving away from the criteria of demographic and economic thresholds of occupation to focus instead on the exercise of agency by marginalised local peoples whose lands have been occupied by settlers, thus allowing them to reverse, if only incipiently, the relations of inequality between settlers and indigenes that have constituted frontiers. This process of defrontierisation is exemplified by how indigenous To Lindu have reasserted control over their own territory through alliances with both the Indonesian indigenous people's movement and with transnational conservation, having been subordinated first by colonial incursions and then in the immediate postcolonial period through domination by entrepreneurial migrants whose own position was enhanced by synergies with governmental forces for modernisation and development.

> Like the word 'culture', frontier names a 'thing'
> that is really a set of processes,
> a busy field of intersecting forces
> (Rodseth and Parker 2005:16).

Introduction: emerging senses of the frontier

Various disciplines that have adopted and adapted the concept of the frontier have transformed the range and content of this concept. In his 1893 address "The signifi-

* Besides consulting archival and published historical sources, this account draws on intermittent participant observation and oral-history elicitation field-work in Lindu across forty years, beginning with my long-term PhD research (1980–1983) and then annual visits to Central Sulawesi since 1998 for a range of funded research projects and also as an in-married member of the Lindu village of Langko. I acknowledge here the multiple grants of research permission given to me first by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) and then the Indonesian Ministry of Research and Technology (RISTEK), as well as funding from such sources as the Australian Research Council, the Australian Council for International Agricultural Research and the University of Western Australia.

cance of the frontier in American history" and subsequent writings, the historian Frederick Turner (1994) delineated the term's meaning in various ways, proceeding from his core meaning of 'a temporary boundary of an expanding society at the edge of substantially free lands' to encompass a 'migrating region', 'meeting ground', 'form of society', 'state of mind', 'stage of society rather than a place', 'process', and others (Billington 1967:6–7). In keeping with his idiographic perspective as a historian, Turner insisted on the uniqueness of the American frontier as an exceptional context (Geiger 2008a:77). Geographers elaborating the concept brought to the fore the understanding of the frontier as a zone or region. For example, Owen Lattimore emphasised how frontiers were fluctuating regions of interacting populations that differed in their social complexity, scale, 'social vigor and institutional strength' (Lattimore 1968:374). While Lattimore, like Turner before him, still tended to assume the perspective of the settlers, anthropologists began to emphasise the role of those on the 'other side of the frontier' (Bohannan 1967:xii) – the occupied. Besides documenting all the cultural forms the occupiers adopted from the occupied – the 'backwash of the frontier' (Hallowell 1967) – as well as the hybrid cultural forms that emerge in frontier contexts (Little 2001), anthropologists intensified a focus upon the agency of those whose lands, regarded by settlers as 'free' or 'empty', were occupied and their modes of resistance to subjugation. Influenced by such French theorists as Michel Foucault, some have emphasised the imagined dimension of the frontier as a project (Tsing 2005) in terms not only of the attribution of wildness to a place and its inhabitants, but also the anticipation of richness from harvesting its products in the process of commodification.

This article seeks to elaborate in greater detail the processual dimension of frontiers by according a more explicit temporal dimension to the framework of frontier types drawn up by Danilo Geiger (2008a). While Igor Kopytoff (1999) notes the possibility of internal or interstitial frontiers in which interacting populations are relatively equal in power and similar in outlook, as opposed to the 'tidal' (which one might gloss as 'colonial') frontiers where settlers dominate those among whom they settle,[1] Geiger's definition of frontiers as '*areas remote from political centres which hold strategic significance or economic potentials for human exploitation, and are contested by social formations of unequal power*' (2008a:78; italics in the original) asserts a universal inequality in all types of frontier. Geiger differentiates three categories of frontier. His first type, 'frontiers of settlement', derives most clearly from Turner's original concept. In his second type, 'frontiers of extraction', incursions into a region, most often by capitalist concerns, are motivated by 'economic potentials'. The imagined capacity to harvest resources already exists (for example, minerals) or can be imposed upon the region (oil palms), aligning it most closely with the resource frontiers delineated by Tsing (2005), Rasmussen and Lund (2018), and others. In its focus upon states securing their sovereignty, his

1 See the contribution by Paolo Gaibazzi in this collection.

third type, 'frontiers of control', foregrounds the association (sometimes the conflation) of frontiers with borderlands most often at external boundaries.[2] Tsing's notion of 'salvage frontiers' and research by others regarding territorialisation or 'green grabbing' through such institutions as national parks (Lund and Rachman 2018) suggest adding a fourth type, 'frontiers of conservation', to Geiger's tripartite categorisation (Acciaioli and Sabharwal 2017:34).

Some regions may be subjected to these different types of frontier impositions with different intensities at various periods of their history. The temporal contours of the rise and demise of these frontier frames across differing, but often intersecting ranges can be highlighted by using the more processually oriented terms 'frontierisation' and 'defrontierisation'.[3] Conceptualising these four frontier frames in terms of trajectories allows a more nuanced capture of some of the processually oriented terms of previous theorists, such as 'succession' (Turner 1994), 'oscillation' (Lattimore 1968), 'perenniality' (Little 2001), 'cyclicity' (Geiger 2008b) and 'opening and closing' (Webb 1952).

In relation to closing, the anthropological focus on the agency of the occupied is extended by using the term 'defrontierisation' to mark the process of local indigenes reasserting control of their homeland, though it is acknowledged that sometimes frontiers end up instead with the achievement of territorialisation by the state in favour of the settlers (Rasmussen and Lund 2018:393–394). However, in the case study that is the focus of this article, the Lindu upland plain of Central Sulawesi (Indonesia), effective defrontierisation has been initiated. This article endeavours to conceptualise the intersection of the trajectories of these four frontier frames – control, extraction, settlement and conservation – across five historical periods chosen for their appropriateness in sketching the history of Indonesia as a whole. The aim is to trace how the indigenes of this highland valley, the To Lindu, have responded to various historical incursions, from its pre-colonial situation as a periphery of a minor kingdom through its inclusion in the new nation state of Indonesia to, finally, its current status as an enclave within the Lore Lindu National Park. In this final stage, the indigenous To Lindu have exploited the opportunity to ally with forces of conservation and the Indonesian indigenous people's movement in order to reverse the power relations in the frames of frontierisation to which they have been subjected, thus initiating a process of defrontierisation that may or may not be sustained in the future.[4]

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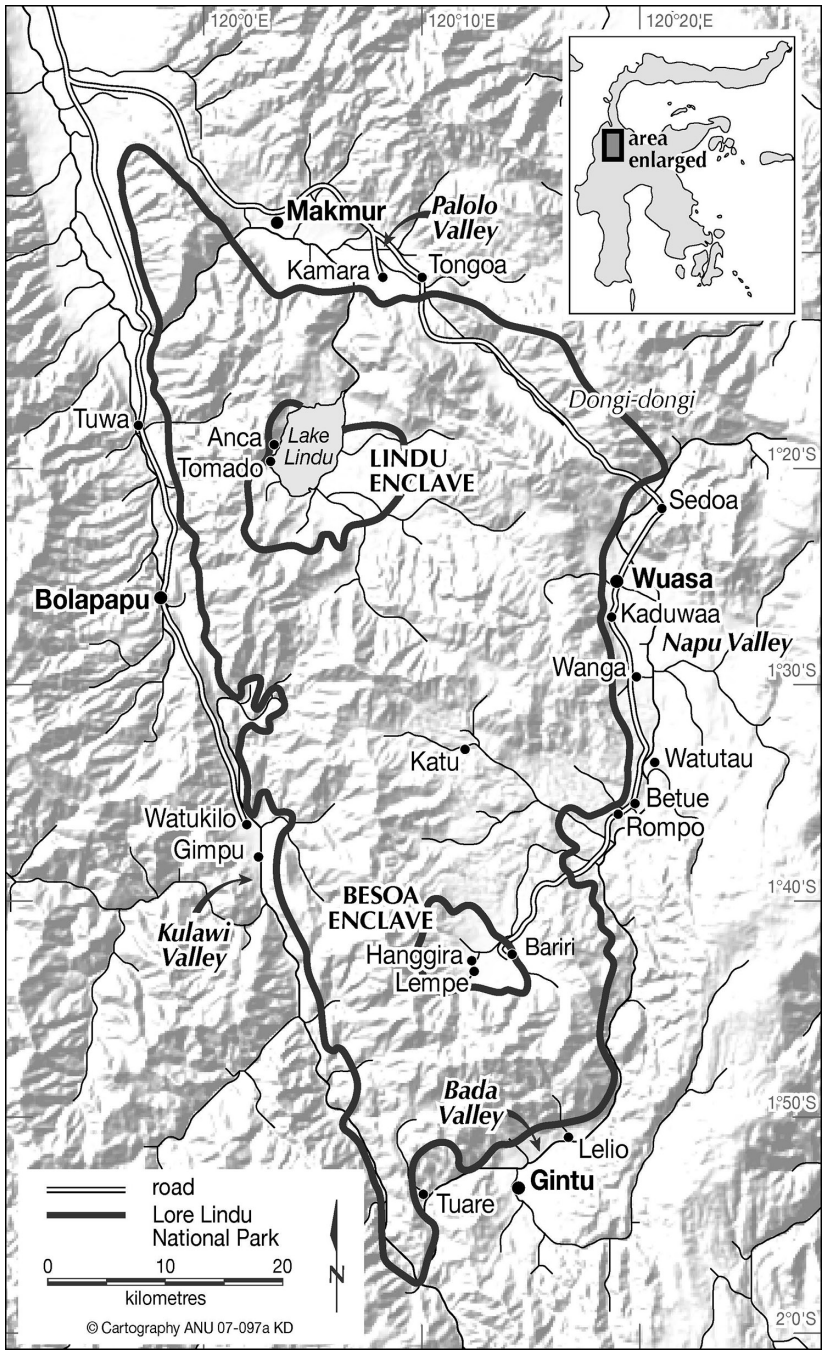
2 Ishikawa (2010), Rösler and Wendl (1999), Wilson and Hastings (1998)

3 Compare with Christian Oesterheld's notions of 'refrontierisation' or 'frontierisation in the second degree' for an analogous conceptualisation in this collection.

4 See Timo Kaartinen on the life cycle of frontier spaces in this collection.



The Lindu enclave within the Lore Lindu National Park in highland western Central Sulawesi, Indonesia

Lindu as a precolonial autonomous domain (pre-1898)

Prior to direct incorporation in Dutch colonialism, the upland plains of Central Sulawesi were organised into minor polities that, though largely autonomous, paid periodic tribute to the more powerful Kaili lowland kingdoms of the Palu Valley and coast. Specifically, Lindu was a polity (Kaili language [K]: *ngata*) composed of numerous small settlements ringing the highland lake of the same name in the region's western highlands. Besides exacting periodic tribute in goods such as foodstuffs – Lindu provided smoked fish – the Sigi kingdom in the Palu Valley used the men of these peripheral montane realms to conduct the raids that kept neighbouring groups from penetrating its tributary shield. Ngata Lindu was under the control of a customary council consisting of leaders holding hereditary rank as nobles (K: *maradika*) rather than a local rajah (K: *magau*), as among lowland realms. After the first settlement of the Lindu plain by the ancestors of the present-day To Lindu, probably no earlier than the seventeenth century (Kaudern 1925), there is no evidence for this period of extensive in-migration to Lindu other than nobles occasionally intermarrying with those of similar rank from neighbouring upland domains (Kaudern 1940:14) and slave capture through raiding for ceremonial sacrifice (Kruyt 1938, volume II; Sarasin and Sarasin 1905). Tribute could be considered only the most superficial mode of extraction, indexing only a very tenuous political control exerted by the lowland realms, which did not frontierise their highland periphery. As a result, throughout the pre-colonial period, Lindu is best characterised as a periphery that has not yet been subjected to the occupation and extraction that define a frontier according to Geiger (2008a) and other theorists of the frontier.

The impact of colonialism (c.1898 to 1945)

Colonial penetration of the western highlands of Central Sulawesi only began through direct military intervention with the promulgation from 1901 of the Ethical Period, the phase when the colonial Netherlands East Indies (NEI) government moved from indirect to direct rule in the outer islands. In 1902 the Dutch military pressured various *magau* of the lowland Kaili realms to allow the survey expedition of the Swiss naturalists Fritz and Paul Sarasin.[5] After the capitulation of Sigi in 1904, Kulawi, the region's most powerful highland domain, soon fell, and by 1905 western Central Sulawesi was effectively pacified. Initiating the frontierisation of control, the NEI colonial government began consolidating local government in these highlands, abolishing the autonomy of

[5] De Klerck (1938:43). See also Mailrapporten (1902: document 690). Although this expedition was not launched in the interests of conservation, the natural historical research it initiated laid the foundations for framing the Lore-Lindu region as part of a frontier of conservation eighty years later.

the *ngata* councils and unifying all western montane domains, including Lindu, under the leadership of a single *magau* in Kulawi.[6]

The Lindu plain itself remained only marginally a frontier of control throughout the colonial era, fitting Geiger's (2008a:100) characterisation of the frontier (of control) as a 'loosely administered space'. Following a policy of forcing montane cultivators to resettle in permanent villages, the NEI administration moved all the Lindu inhabitants from small clusters in the surrounding hills to three nucleated villages around the lake (Davis n.d.:3). Improving the cultivation infrastructure of wet-rice was a priority,[7] but coffee cultivation was also introduced to highlanders as a cash crop enabling them to pay taxes, thus framing Lindu and surrounding areas as a frontier of extraction. Despite early attempts to improve the trails to Lindu in order to facilitate the transport of such goods as rice and coffee (Vorstman n.d.:10–11), the discovery in the 1930s of infestations of the plain by snails harbouring blood flukes causing schistosomiasis (Whitten, Mustafa and Henderson 1987:289) stymied any further efforts to improve access. This discovery thus stalled the further frontierisation of Lindu, which remained only marginally integrated into the administration of the colonial highlands throughout the rest of the colonial period and was not yet constituted as a frontier of settlement.

Lindu did become integrated into a wider field of colonial control as a 'frontier' of missionisation, encouraged by the NEI government as a pacification strategy fostering the frontierisation of control. After the establishment of the village of Kalawara na Puti in the Palu Valley and its settlement by migrants from central Java under the auspices of Salvation Army officers, subsequent officers began tours and eventually held longer postings throughout the surrounding highlands (Brouwer 1977, Caddy 1982, van Vlaardingen 1937), initiating the conversion of large numbers of the mountain population. Through the establishment of worship houses, schools, rudimentary clinics and a regimen of services, prayer meetings and other 'gifts', Salvation Army officers, by demonstrating the 'superior' efficacy of their bestowals' (Aragon 1996a), managed to convert village leaders into Christian 'soldiers', their 'subjects' following suit. Salvation Army officers served as role models and cultural brokers who pioneered colonial control and disciplined their congregations into 'civilised' subjects according to the colonial model.

The Japanese occupation, which began in 1942, furthered many of the tendencies of the colonial period. As oral history accounts revealed, Lindu remained relatively isolated, with only two Japanese soldiers posted there throughout the war.[8] However, the frontierisation of extraction in Lindu was intensified by the Japanese armed forces

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6 Kruyt (1938, volume I:14), Kaudern (1940:35). The third *magau* in Kulawi, Lakuntu Tomai Mampo, was of Lindu descent.

7 Boonstra van Herdt (1914:626). The Dutch missionaries Nicolaus Adriani and Albertus Kruyt had discovered very basic wet-rice irrigation during the first recorded visit of Westerners to Lindu in 1898 (Adriani and Kruyt 1898).

8 In contrast, Japanese forced inhabitants of neighbouring Kulawi to work mining the silica mineral mica (Aragon 1996a).

to further their imperial project, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Not only were all surplus foods, and many needed for subsistence, appropriated from villagers, so were all the clothing and what ceremonial textiles the Japanese could find, forcing the Lindu inhabitants to revert to wearing bark cloth. As a result, the Japanese presence constituted not only an incipient frontierisation of Lindu with regard to settlement, but also the intensified militarisation of Lindu as a frontier of control and extraction.

The initial experience of independence under the Old Order (1945–1965)

Despite state neglect immediately after Indonesian independence, which was declared in 1945 and acknowledged by the Netherlands in 1949, regional rebellions in Sulawesi, which elicited military interventions by the independent Indonesian government, intensified the refrontierisation of control in the surrounding region. Although these rebellions and the military response also initially reduced extraction from Lindu, the movement of internally displaced people (IDPs) to Lindu not only increased settlement frontierisation, but also soon reconfigured Lindu once again as a frontier of extraction. Through the 1950s and into the mid-1960s, the Qahhar Mudzakkar rebellion in southern Sulawesi (Harvey 1974) provided the most significant impetus to population movements on that island. Once national troops arrived to battle secessionist guerrillas in west-central Sulawesi, this region became very much a frontier of control, intensified all the more as it also constituted the southern boundary of the secessionist Permesta, another regional rebellion emanating from the Christian stronghold of northern Sulawesi (Harvey 1977). Subjected to the same depredations as their Islamic counterparts in the south, some North Sulawesi Christians also opted to flee to relatively inaccessible mountain regions. Lindu thus emerged as part of a frontier of settlement, as IDPs fleeing Permesta from the north began moving into Lindu during the 1950s, complementing the flight of the Pada-Seko, Rampi and other Christian ethnic groups escaping secessionist guerrillas' raiding in the south. However, migrant Islamic Bugis from southern Sulawesi were numerically predominant among the IDPs initially fleeing the separatist conflict, and soon initiated a process of chain migration to assist with their burgeoning economic enterprises (Acciaioli 2000). As Bugis arrived from various regions in the heartland of southern Sulawesi – Wajo', Sidénréng-Rappang (Sidrap), Soppéng, Boné and other domains – in a succession of migration cohorts, Lindu was finally frontierised for settlement purposes on a large scale.

Exemplifying the focus upon the inequality of social formations in frontier contexts by such theorists of the frontier as Lattimore (1968) and Geiger (2008a), the greater scale and technological complexity of the enterprises the Bugis established also constituted Lindu as an intensified frontier of extraction. At first this was centred upon the marketing of fish from Lake Lindu, although it was quickly followed by products from surplus-producing wet-rice fields and cash crop gardens. In line with the develop-

mentalist frontierisation of marginal regions by the nascent Indonesian state, beginning in 1951 the Fisheries Department provisioned Lake Lindu with several fish species, most significantly common tilapia (Oreochromis mossambica sp or *mujair* [Indonesian language or Bahasa Indonesia (BI)]) (Whitten, Mustafa and Henderson 2002:52). This 'seeding' of the lake had been intended to foster To Lindu livelihoods, increase their incomes and link them through commodity exchange to the wider region. However, due to a lack of the appropriate technology the To Lindu could not take advantage of this new resource. Instead, the migrant Bugis were the beneficiaries, as they brought gill nets from the south and set up their kin as client fishers, thus transforming the local economy by establishing a complex fish-marketing system, as Bugis marketers mobilised networks of client fishermen and sold their products in Palu and beyond (Acciaioli 2000). Not only did this system represent the dominance of an incursive social formation, it also demonstrated the complicity of the Bugis with state projects to introduce development and 'socialise' 'isolated societies' (K: *masyarakat terasing*). This terminology was used by the Department of Social Affairs for groups in the peripheral areas of Indonesia who, like the To Lindu, were increasingly being frontierised in terms of control, extraction and settlement (Acciaioli 1985:165).

Lindu under the developmentalist imperative of the New Order (1965–1998)

After the 1965 military coup led by Major General Suharto, his New Order focused upon accelerated modernisation; developmentalism became the regime's legitimation. Consequently, Lindu and similar peripheral regions experienced increasing penetration and hence frontierisation in all its aspects, as the imposition of economic development through the intensification of rice and other programs increased extraction and settlement. The policies of the New Order cast all of Outer Indonesia as a vast frontier of control, a region to be subjected to programs of improvement (Li 2007), complemented by licensing large-scale private enterprises (i.e. crony capitalism) that intensified extraction.

Promoting cultural development (Jones 2013) to accord with Javanese civilisational standards (Pemberton 1994) and rendering all village governance throughout the country uniform to accord with the administrative structures of the Javanese form of the village (BI: *desa*), the New Order eliminated the official administrative role of the customary councils (BI: *lembaga adat*), thus reducing the scope for local agency in governance. No longer allowed to adjudicate land disputes and similar matters, customary leaders in areas such as Lindu largely restricted their activities to overseeing bride-wealth negotiations and dressing up in their customary attire to greet government dignitaries and entertain tourists: local custom (BI: *adat*) became merely art, aesthetic display for incursive outsiders (Acciaioli 1985:2007).

Such policies eroded the role of *adat* in regulating lake and land as a commons (Ostrom 1990) previous to the advent of the Bugis.[9] Unmindful of Lindu *adat*, Bugis migrants regarded local resources as a system of open access, maximising their daily take of fish and opening rice fields and gardens as much as their capital and available labour allowed, thus intensifying the extraction frontierisation of Lindu. By the 1970s, the Bugis were economically dominant, using the proceeds of the fish from Lake Lindu they marketed to obtain land from the To Lindu through 'compensation of loss' (BI: *ganti rugi*) transactions, which they quickly converted into land ownership by obtaining government land certificates. However, Bugis' maximisation of fishing from the lake, typical of frontiers of extraction, ultimately produced dire ecological consequences: the depletion of all tilapia in the lake (Acciaioli 2009).

However, changes in environmental governance initiated during the New Order ultimately began to reverse some frontierisation trajectories at Lindu. Despite the intensified exploitation of resources mandated by developmentalism, the New Order also extended government attention to environmental issues, including the declaration of numerous protected areas, in part to consolidate and expand governmental legitimacy and bureaucratic control of territory (Cribb n.d.:26, 36). With the designation in the 1970s of large sections of state forest as nature reserves, wildlife reserves, natural recreation parks, full forest parks, protected forest and, by the 1980s, national parks, conservation frontierisation was sweeping across Indonesia. First declared a biosphere reserve by UNESCO in 1977 (Sangaji *et al.* 2004:17), the Lore Lindu region was subjected to a trajectory of conservation frontierisation through the imposition of a series of protected areas, culminating in the creation of the Lore Lindu National Park, with Lindu designated an enclave in its centre.

Regional autonomy, indigeneity and the emergence of the Lindu Conservation District (1990s–now)

This final period marks the re-emergence of the impactful exercise of agency by the indigenous peoples of Lindu and other frontierised regions, and hence, viewed anthropologically, the initiation of defrontierisation in some of its dimensions. After the demise of the New Order in 1998, regional autonomy as one of the first measures of the succeeding Era of Reform (BI: *Reformasi*) constituted a partial retreat from the New Order's policy of control frontierisation. The unforeseen consequence of the rampant subdivision of existing administrative units into new units – provinces, regencies, districts and even villages – in a process optimistically labelled 'blossoming' (BI: *pemekaran*) was used by local peoples who considered themselves to be 'regional sons' (BI: *putera*

[9] Acciaioli (2009). See Timo Kaartinen on the erosion of common property institutions in West Kalimantan in this collection.

daerah) or members of indigenous communities (BI: *masyarakat adat*) to re-establish their control over their own territories.[10] The efforts to reverse the influx of Javanese office-holders and bureaucrats exerting political control, as well as of entrepreneurially oriented migrant groups such as the Bugis, who as settlers had become economically dominant in their areas of settlement during the New Order, spawned sectarian violence in areas such as Maluku, North Maluku, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, and Central Sulawesi (van Klinken 2007). Indigenes contested the economic dominance of the migrants who had bought up their land during the New Order, and especially during the straitened circumstances of the regional economic crisis that had begun in 1997 with the devaluation of the Thai Baht. These endeavours by local peoples to reclaim control over their resources thus began the closing of the frontiers of control and extraction – processes of defrontierisation – which also had implications for frontiers of settlement, as some settlers were forced to flee back to their regions of origin (Acciaioli 2001).

Lindu too exemplified some of these patterns of defrontierisation in control, extraction and settlement. The local governmentalisation of conservation became the vehicle by which the indigenous To Lindu sought to regain control of their homeland, reversing the dominance of the Bugis and other migrants.[11] To Lindu mobilisation under the aegis of conservation actually dated from the early 1990s, when, in alliance with local NGOs, the To Lindu successfully resisted the governor's hydroelectric dam project, whose reservoir would have necessitated the resettlement of all the inhabitants of the Lindu plain (Sangaji 2000), by arguing for its inappropriateness in the middle of a national park. Indigenous peoples thus appropriated the frame of Lindu as a frontier of conservation to reverse the government's designation of Lindu as a frontier of control and extraction. The successful To Lindu were touted as an iconic indigenous people (Li 2000), catalysing their integration into the national indigenous people's movement, then emerging as an effective force for defrontierisation. Calls for indigenous sovereignty by the Archipelagic Alliance of Indigenous Peoples (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara [AMAN]) constituted a demand that their homelands no longer be controlled by central government agents, entrepreneurial migrants and international capitalist enterprises. Rather, these territories were to be regarded as 'sovereign' (BI: *daulat*) areas under the control of the indigenous peoples themselves (Acciaioli 2007). This reframing in terms of the recognition of local agency and authority thus contested the prevailing framing of their homelands as frontiers. At the provincial level, the To Lindu emerged as leaders in this effort: the initial head of Central Sulawesi's indigenous people's organisation and the provincial representative of AMAN were both To Lindu.

10 See Oesterheld's account of the analogous effect of *pemekaran* for Mahakam Ulu in this collection.

11 See Timo Kaartinen's account of similar effects of the invocation of conservation by local people to stem the oil-palm frontier in West Kalimantan in this collection.

Having experienced the benefits of allying with the forces of conservation, the To Lindu gleefully participated in the process of concluding community conservation agreements brokered by The Nature Conservancy (TNC), the co-manager of the Lore Lindu National Park, which did not recognise settler rights. Even TNC acknowledged that throughout these agreements the To Lindu elite were primarily concerned to reverse land alienation to the Bugis, control prime sites of fishing themselves, and limit further migration;[12] in effect, they were asserting their unwillingness for their domain to be regarded any longer as a frontier of control, settlement or extraction by migrants. To Lindu elders limited the opening of gardens by new migrants, stipulating a two-hectare limit for individual land cultivation and enforced reporting requirements for new arrivals. While not entirely closing down Lindu as a frontier of extraction and settlement, these moves have circumscribed it and initiated a process in which indigenous Lindu families seek to lessen the gap between their landholdings and those of the migrants (Acciaioli 2008).

The official declaration of Lindu as a new conservation district (BI: *kecamatan konservasi*) in 2007 furthered this defrontierisation. Once again, using conservation explicitly as their rationale for action in concert with TNC, To Lindu leaders managed to revitalise Lindu as an autonomous *ngata*, though reformatted in modern administrative terms.[13] The 'Lindu charter' that provided the basis of this new administrative unit officially reincorporated the Lindu customary council, raised to the status of a customary board (BI: *majelis adat*), as part of the official district government. The printed handbook codifying Lindu *adat* (Enclave Taman Nasional Lore Lindu 2007), issued as part of the Lindu District's official declaration, enunciated the conservationist rationale of Lindu custom.[14] The new district's governmental apparatus, staffed entirely by indigenous To Lindu, officially reimposed a customary regimen at Lindu, reversing its open-access status as a frontier of settlement and extraction, and re-establishing the commons regulated by *adat*. The entire process of conservation district formalisation functioned to reinstitute Lindu as an autonomous centre, thus counteracting the prior frontierisation of Lindu effected by the New Order's project of imposing a frame of control through governmental homogenisation and its fostering of unregulated settlement and extraction. By reformulating their *adat* as primarily a community resource-management system and managing to make it official as part of the decentralisation process, the To Lindu have recast the frame of the conservation frontier to further their own agency in the processes of defrontierising the dimensions of control, settlement and extraction, while intensifying that frame of conservation (Acciaioli 2009).

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12 Li (2007:226). See Gaibazzi's focus upon the centrality of control of migration in the constitution of frontiers in this collection.

13 See Oesterheld's analogous analysis of Boven Mahakam as a palimpsest in this collection.

14 See Oesterheld's analysis of the role of a local legal codex in the reconstitution of Boven Mahakam in this collection.

Conclusion

Throughout their history, the To Lindu have been subjected to the incursions of others, ultimately inflected by decisions made by the states that have framed this region as a frontier. This paper has endeavoured to present an account of these incursions, as well as the responses to them, by tracing how various trajectories of frontierisation and, more recently, defrontierisation have articulated with each other across the dimensions of control, extraction, settlement and conservation. In many respects Lindu has been a classic instance of an area of 'economic potentials for human exploitation […] contested by social formations of unequal power', as highlighted in Geiger's (2008a:77) definition of the frontier, though in other respects it approached Kopytoff's (1999) ideal type of the internal frontier. Lindu as a frontier has succumbed to territorialisation by the state (Rasmussen and Lund 2018), but that process has not proved to be a further process of subjugation. Rather, the indigenous To Lindu have themselves become the state (cf. Herriman 2012) by assuming the offices of power in the new conservation district that they themselves engineered, albeit within the parameters set by the Indonesian state. In doing so, they have demonstrated that, through the exercise of local agency and by allying with some of the forces that have fostered earlier frontierisation – in this case the institutions of the state and of transnational conservation – the subjugated can reverse earlier processes that subordinated them to settlers, thus enacting defrontierisation in the interests of furthering their local sovereignty.

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