Geoforum 127 (2021) 162–170

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Geoforum

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/geoforum

Selling captive nature: Lively commodification, elephant encounters, and the production of value in Sumatran ecotourism, Indonesia

Lubabun Ni'am [a,1,*], Stasja Koot [b,c,2], Joost Jongerden [a,d,3]

[a] Rural Sociology, Wageningen University, Hollandseweg 1, 6706 KN Wageningen, the Netherlands
[b] Sociology of Development and Change, Wageningen University, PO Box 8130, 6700 EW, Wageningen, the Netherlands
[c] Department of Geography, Environmental Management & Energy Studies, University of Johannesburg, PO Box 524, Auckland Park 2006, Gauteng, South Africa
[d] Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University, Japan

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Captive nature
Elephants
Ecotourism
Commodification
Encounter value
Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Ecotourism has become an increasingly important market-based practice in nature conservation. Several scholars and non-governmental organizations have discussed this as a commodification of nature in the context of capitalist expansion, but only a few have examined how value is produced in this process. Focusing on ecotourism in Tangkahan, in the Sumatra Island of Indonesia, this paper looks at how value is produced in human-elephant encounters. It builds on the concepts of lively commodities and encounter value to show how the incorporation of captive elephants in ecotourism generates value from two layers of interactions between humans and nonhumans. First, captive elephants are trained by *mahouts* for the encounters with tourists; then, the production of value takes place through tourists' encounters with the elephants in ecotourism activities (elephant bathing, elephant grazing, and trekking alongside the elephants). We argue that the expansion of the commodification of nature in some cases requires an understanding of the way this encounter value produces a 'captive nature': lively beings that are enclosed, managed, and employed to sell experiences.

1. Introduction

Ecotourism has become an increasingly important market-based practice in nature conservation. It is promoted by a wide variety of organizations, showing convergence in policies between international financial institutions, including the World Bank and NGOs like Fauna and Flora International (FFI) as well as the emergence of public–private partnerships for the promotion of conservation and ecotourism (Brockington, 2017; Romero-Brito et al., 2016). Ecotourism is celebrated as a pathway to sustainable development through which nature is commodified, ideally without degrading the environment and while supporting local communities (Honey, 2008; Mowforth and Munt, 2016). The shift from exploiting nature (extraction) to producing nature (conservation) has been critically debated in the context of capital's need to reach new spheres of accumulation (Büscher and Arsel, 2012; Büscher and Fletcher, 2015). Several scholars have discussed the expansion of capital into nature in the context of neoliberalism through a variety of commodification processes (Brockington and Duffy, 2010; Büscher et al., 2012; McAfee, 1999; Moore, 2015; West and Carrier, 2004). However, few have further examined *how* value is created out of nature. It is the commodification of nature through ecotourism that we delve into in this paper.

To develop our argument, we discuss the case of Tangkahan, an elephant-based ecotourism site situated in the buffer zone of the Gunung Leuser National Park (GLNP) in Langkat regency, North Sumatra province, Indonesia, where captive elephants are deployed in the production of multispecies encounter value (Haraway, 2008). This paper brings together the notion of encounter value and Karl Marx's understanding of

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: lubabunniam@gmail.com (L. Ni'am), kootwork@gmail.com (S. Koot), joost.jongerden@wur.nl (J. Jongerden).

[1] *Lubabun Ni'am's research interests:* Nature conservation, rural livelihoods, ecotourism, social forestry, agrarian conflicts, social movements, disaster risk reduction, human-elephant relations, multispecies ethnography, capitalism, neoliberalism, Indonesia.

[2] *Stasja Koot's research interests:* Indigenous tourism, Namibia, South Africa, community-based tourism, nature conservation, land issues, global power dynamics, capitalism, philanthropy, autoethnography, trophy hunting, branding, race and ethnicity, wildlife crime, belonging, and development, Indonesia.

[3] *Joost Jongerden's research interests:* agriculture, rural sociology, geography, politics, conflict, regional development, rural development, do-it-yourself development, rural urban relations, social change, social struggle, spatial justice, Kurdistan, Turkey.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2021.10.018
Received 15 November 2020; Received in revised form 22 October 2021; Accepted 27 October 2021
Available online 5 November 2021

value. In *Capital*, Marx (1990, p. 131) argues that commodity production is based on the creation of "use-values for others, social use-values", and he considers nature—natural meadows, unplanted forests, and other things not mediated through labor—as use-value without having an exchange value. In ecotourism, however, experiences with nature are exploited, so both use- and exchange value are created under the mediation of encounters between species.

In the continuous search for new domains of accumulation, the expansion into and commodification of nature has been identified by various authors (Arsel and Büscher, 2012; Brockington and Duffy, 2010; Büscher et al., 2012; Fletcher et al., 2014; Sullivan, 2006; Wieckardt et al., 2020). Assuming this production of new nature, we will shift the focus towards the question of *how* the use-value of nature obtains exchange value. The main argument made here is that the intersection between conservation and capitalism recreates nature, specifically as a *captive nature*. In our case study, the elephants have become crucial coproducers of multispecies encounters. The Tangkahan ecotourism model employs here a double layer of encounters between elephant handlers (*mahouts*) and captive elephants and between tourists and elephants. Ecotourism, the context in which the latter encounter takes place, thus forms the main vehicle for the expansion of capital into nature through the subsumption of encounter value in capitalist production. In this paper, we do not treat captive elephants as the object being commodified (Moore, 2011) but focus instead on the *relations* through which the process of commodification occurs. This advances an understanding of how nature "come[s] to bear capitalist value" (Collard and Dempsey, 2017, p. 78).

The data for this paper have been collected in Tangkahan by the first author pursuing a multispecies ethnography (Kirksey and Helmreich, 2010; Locke, 2017; van Dooren et al., 2016). Three main methods were used during a ten-week fieldwork period between November 2018 and January 2019. First, there was participant observation, in which the first author initially acted as a bystander making observations and gradually became an active participant in a variety of elephant-based activities. He rode captive elephants, prepared fodder, and carried out other minor *mahout* tasks, observing the behavior of the elephants as well as the interactions of the elephants with humans (*mahouts*, villagers, and tourists).

Second, seventeen semi-structured interviews were carried out with a total of twelve individuals: six *mahouts* looking after the elephants, two community leaders organizing tourism packages and working as guides, two NGO leaders responsible for the management of the elephants and *mahouts*, and two veterinarians who occasionally came over to check up on the elephants' healthcare. Some of these were interviewed more than once. In this paper, we use pseudonyms when we mention both the human and elephant participants. Third, three focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted in the forests with *mahouts* and a veterinarian. The first FGD was attended by four *mahouts*, the second by three *mahouts*, and the third by two *mahouts* and one veterinarian. All data collection processes were conducted in Bahasa and the selected interview data translated into English (by the first author).

In the following sections, we first provide the background of the elephant-based ecotourism in Tangkahan. Then, we describe the emergence of 'conflict elephants' in Indonesia and how they became 'captive nature' by providing a brief description of the Tangkahan elephant-based ecotourism. We explain that the elephants are not necessarily conflict species but become perceived as such in the context of habitat destruction interactions. Next, we delve into the institutionalization of elephant domestication in Sumatra by looking at the establishment of elephant training/conservation centers. After that, we elaborate our theoretical approaches on how multispecies encounters are sold, and we dissect the process of coproducing multispecies encounters in the case of elephant-based ecotourism. For this, we focus on the aspects of physical and non-physical bodily interactions as performed through ecotourism activities, the purpose of the incorporation of captive elephants in ecotourism, and how the elephants are maintained in captivity. In the last section, we present our main conclusion on the expansion of the commodification of nature and the way that encounter value produces 'captive nature' through lively beings to sell experiences.

2. Elephant-based ecotourism in Tangkahan

This research is primarily designed to understand the process of the commodification of encounters with captive elephants in Tangkahan (see Fig. 1). Brought there from the neighboring province of Aceh, the Sumatran elephants (*Elephas maximus* ssp. *Sumatranus*) have become an inseparable part of Tangkahan ecotourism.

What is now the settlement of Tangkahan used to serve as a transit point for logs taken from the forests by the villagers. Most of the men living there used to work as illegal loggers and allegedly caused forest destruction; today, they earn a living through ecotourism, working in guest houses and on food stalls, selling souvenirs, and acting as tour guides. Young people are involved in a company established especially to organize ecotourism activities, the Community Tour Operator (CTO) (Wiratno, 2013). Tangkahan was established in the early 2000s and has been managed by the CTO ever since. Elephant-based activities—consisting of elephant bathing, elephant grazing, and trekking (where the people walk alongside the elephants)—have become the main attractions offered by the CTO, which thus offers a view of the Leuser tropical rainforests (Minarchek, 2020; Orangutan Information Centre, 2009) and the main river that separates the village and the forests. In the low tourism season (September–June), elephant bathing in the river is performed twice daily (in the morning and afternoon), but in the high season (July–August), it can be done up to four times a day.

The captive elephants in Tangkahan are managed by the Conservation Response Unit (CRU), based on an agreement with the GLNP Office. Although the CRU Tangkahan is currently an independent NGO, it used to be a side project of Fauna and Flora International (FFI), an international conservation NGO very active in Indonesia (and globally). The CRU concept (see below) is now being implemented in several locations across Sumatra, mostly in Aceh province, but it has also been adopted in India (Azmi et al., 2006) and Myanmar (Asian Elephant Support, 2015). In its formative years, the CRU Tangkahan was supported by various international donors, among which the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) played a significant role in the introduction of the CRU into Tangkahan, which was achieved by 2002. The CRU Tangkahan was eventually transformed into an NGO that was quite distinct from the other CRUs in Indonesia, which were all organized under the provincial conservation agency. In its information flyer prepared for tourists, the CRU Tangkahan proclaims itself the longest established CRU in Indonesia to have successfully achieved self-sufficiency through ecotourism, thereby confirming the success of its strategy.

The CRU program makes a clear distinction between captive elephants and conflict elephants. 'Conflict elephants' refers to wild elephants that were involved in human-elephant conflicts (Desai and Riddle, 2015; Shaffer et al., 2019). With the conversion of their habitat into agricultural plots and plantations, elephants have increasingly engaged in crop-raiding to feed themselves, and then, with growing state-led and human encroachment around elephant habitats, encounters between elephants and humans have taken the form of conflicts, in which elephants' raiding crops or the presence of such a threat is addressed by scaring, driving out, and even killing the elephants. 'Captive elephants' are either former conflict elephants that have been captured, tamed, and trained or else the offspring of such elephants born in captivity.

Based on the agreement with the GLNP Office, the conservation mandate of the CRU Tangkahan revolves around the production and management of captive elephants in Tangkahan and other conservation activities, such as forest patrols and the mitigation of human-elephant conflicts. At the time of fieldwork, there were nine captive elephants in Tangkahan: six adults and three calves, of which the adult elephants were all former conflict elephants and the calves born in captivity.

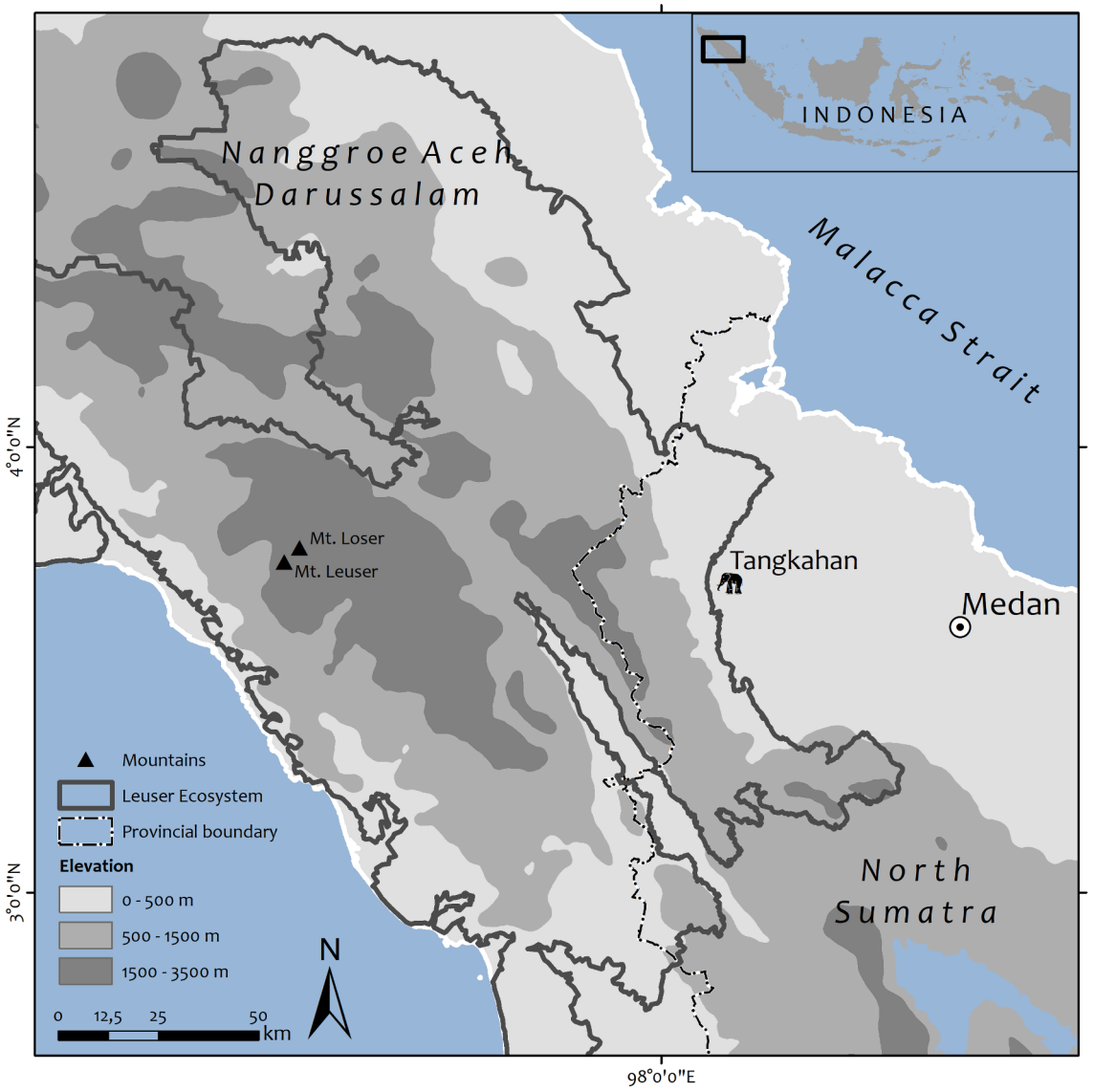

Fig. 1. North Sumatra and Leuser ecosystem (data visualizer: Tombayu Amadeo Hidayat).

3. The institutionalization of captive elephants in Sumatra

The decline, fragmentation, and degradation of elephant habitat in Sumatra since the 1970s have given rise to an increasing number of human-elephant conflicts (Departemen Kehutanan, 2007; Hedges et al., 2005; Nyhus et al., 2000; Stoler, 1995), mostly caused by stampeding herds of wild elephants that trample people to death, eat and destroy crops, or crush houses and other properties. Indonesian authorities have tried to reduce the number of human-elephant conflicts by applying various potential solutions to this problem, mostly through measures targeting the elephants. Since the 1980s, the Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the linchpin of elephant conservation in Indonesia, has attempted to translocate herds of wild elephants into protected areas, building fences as a barrier, or capturing them to be trained for human purposes, such as logging, agriculture, and tourism (Santiapillai and Ramono, 1993a, 1993b; Sukumar and Santiapillai, 1993). Villagers have also attempted to drive wild elephants away from their lands by using traditional methods (e.g., using chili-based deterrents, flame torches, firecrackers, or bonfires, or banging on tin cans, drums, or other noisemakers), but generally to no avail and often even creating increased animosity (Gunaryadi et al., 2017). In short, human-elephant conflicts caused by various modes of land enclosure have marked the emergence of 'conflict elephants', which has provided the condition for the transformation of the animals into captivity.

Captivity can be described as the condition of dispossession in which previously free-ranging animals come under the direct control of human beings (Collard, 2020; Csuti, 2008; Riddle and Stremme, 2011). In practice, it institutionalizes a form of biopower over the elephants, which are captured, enclosed, tamed, and also cared for in human-created environments, transforming them into 'humanized animals' as they are produced and learn to submit to human ideals (Braverman, 2013; Wilson, 2019). In the Sumatran case, the capture of wild elephants to transform them into working animals was first proposed in the 1970s (Poniran, 1974), and the Indonesian government ultimately initiated an elephant capture program in 1987. This led to the establishment in Lampung province of an *Pusat Latihan Gajah* (PLG) or Elephant Training Centre (ETC), which gradually proliferated across six different provinces in Sumatra (Azmi and Gunaryadi, 2011; Departemen Kehutanan, 2007; Lair, 1997; Santiapillai and Jackson, 1990).

Since the taming of wild elephants requires the help of already domesticated elephants, Indonesia imported so-called *khoonkie* elephants from Thailand, which are well-trained domesticated elephants used to catch wild elephants (Kahl and Santiapillai, 2004), drive them

onto trucks, and assist in the taming and training processes afterward (Lair, 1997). In 1987, Thailand agreed to sell two *khoonkies* (Lair, 1997; Reilly and Sukatmoko, 2002; Santiapillai and Ramono, 1992), who came with four *mahouts*. Richard Lair (1997) reported that those *mahouts* introduced training methods that essentially rely on inflicting pain to the elephants. With the establishment of another ETC in Aceh province, another two *khoonkies* and two *mahouts* were imported in 1989. Since then, for about one and a half decades (1986–2000), the capture program has become a routine activity directed by the Indonesian authorities (Hedges, 2006), while the ETCs have retained their function as pooling stations of tamed elephants (Departemen Kehutanan, 2007). They became an institutional base for the management of captive elephants in Indonesia.

In the early 2000s, the idea of the CRU began to be implemented as an alternative approach, with one branch in Tangkahan. The new organization was developed in response to many critical investigations into the ETCs. These investigations showed that the ETCs were "unable to demonstrate their role in the global effort to conserve elephants in their natural habitat" (Azmi et al., 2006, p. 36) and introduced a new idea about what elephant conservation should be, particularly after the US Congress passed the Asian Elephant Conservation Act of 1997. It was this influential law that enabled the appropriation of funds for the establishment of CRUs in Sumatra (Nagendran et al., 2013; Nagendran and Riddle, 2008; Stromayer, 2002).

The Sumatran Elephant Conservation Program (SECP) of the FFI Indonesia, a project that the CRU concept was designed to anchor, stated its main objective as being "to conserve Sumatran elephants in their habitats [which were] understood as largely synonymous with lowland forest" (Azmi et al., n.d., p. 1). Similarly, the Asian Elephant Conservation Act explicitly categorized the capturing of elephants for domestication as part of the threat to wild elephants rather than as an acceptable response to human-elephant conflicts. This changed the rules of the game in Indonesian elephant domestication, diminishing the previously justified power to enforce captivity as a solution to human-elephant conflicts.

Global conservation has thus affected local practices, essentially promoting the preservation of natural habitat and its wildlife (Garland, 2008). The CRU translated this into a strategy combining both *in situ* and *ex situ* conservation (Azmi et al., n.d.; Nagendran et al., 2013). Captive nature is regarded as part of the latter, in which the elephant's captivity involves the human ability to handle an elephant, or *mahout*-ship skills. Since *mahouts* are encouraged to take part in forest conservation, they should be equipped with a set of basic technical skills, such as the ability to operate a hand-held navigation receiver, take pictures, and fill in datasheets. Nevertheless, the ideal CRU narrative for the role of *mahouts* relies on the undermining view of the menial tasks of looking after captive elephants. Besides being perceived as an "unexplored" human resource, *mahouts* are regarded as socially minor workers whose "empowerment" through incorporation into field-based conservation is also intended to raise "a sense of dignity" about their role (Azmi et al., 2006, p. 37). Therefore, incorporating *mahouts* (and captive elephants) into a broader agenda of forest conservation means that they would obtain positive outcomes (Azmi et al., 2006), specifically in the form of a stable income through elephant-based ecotourism.

Captive elephant forces were first deployed to work in establishing a new capital venture (Barua, 2019a; Porcher, 2017) for ecotourism in Tangkahan. During the initial planning phase of the settlement in the 2000s, the elephants were not only to accompany *mahouts* and villagers on forest patrols; for at least two years (2004–2006), the labor of captive elephants also played a crucial role in developing potential ecotourism spots. For instance, captive elephants were worked to clear sand to transform a cave into a tourist attraction, while several elephant trekking routes that were to be offered required months of explorations involving the elephants. Also, elephants have been used to prepare tours. There used to be a four-day elephant trekking tour from Tangkahan to Bukit Lawang (the biggest tourist hub in the area), during which the visitors would pass through precarious forestry. Preparing this adventurous tour took months, and the *mahouts* later declared that both they and the elephants had worked too hard to run it.

4. Selling captive nature and multispecies encounter value

Trained to sell encounters with tourists, the captive elephants of Tangkahan are *lively commodities in captivity*, one could argue, like the sentient commodities of animals monetized as products, whose dead bodies become produce to be sold. The concept of the lively or sentient commodity was developed by Rhoda Wilkie (2010) in the context of livestock farming, where farmers and farm workers emphasize that the animals being kept to be slaughtered are "aware of their surroundings, of sensations in their body, including pain, hunger, heat, or cold and of emotions related to these sensations" (Turner, 2006, p. 6). Wilkie (2017) argues that sentient commodities have a dual status; they are both objects and sentient beings, sliding in and out of their utility value as commodity. Sentient commodities are "a source and embodiment of ambiguity: they are 'lively commodities' who are bred to die" (Wilkie, 2017) but whose conception shifts when people working with them "recognize that animals are sentient beings, not vacant, unfeeling, and unthinking objects" (Coulter, 2016, p. 47).

While animals in livestock farming are bred to die—they gain commodity status by being killed (their value as commodity is gained and ambiguous status annulled in the slaughter)—the animals in our research must *remain alive* to gain value as a commodity; hence, they are a different kind of lively commodity. According to Rosemary-Claire Collard and Jessica Dempsey (2013, p. 2648), the commodity value of lively commodities "is derived from their *status as living beings*" (emphasis in original). Clearly, life is central to lively commodities (Collard and Dempsey, 2017)—but is the commodity value of a lively commodity gained in the being's living or dying? For Collard and Dempsey (2013, p. 2648), the "vital or generative" qualities of living beings, particularly nonhumans, are the required "qualities that can produce capitalist value as long as *they remain alive*" (emphasis in original). In this case—as in ours—no value is produced when the commodity somehow ceases to live, whatever the cause of death (killing, disease, old age, etc.). Commodities derived from living beings that are no longer alive, such as meat, are not lively commodities; it is the status as 'alive' that is crucial, together with reproductive capacity. In this paper, a core characteristic to be considered is exactly this liveliness, or the "active demonstrations of being full of life" (Collard, 2014, p. 153).

It is not simply the status of being alive that produces value. Here, it is the human *encounter* with the living animal that is the commodity. Donna Haraway (2008), drawing on Marx's (1990) labor theory of value, advanced the concept of 'encounter value' to denominate such a capacity. More precisely, this is an *inter-species* encounter value because the encounter occurs among "*subjects* of different biological species" forming relationships (Haraway, 2008, p. 46). Commodification takes place in the encounter. As Maan Barua (2016a, p. 728) explains, the encounter value should be seen as the "*process* of value generation where [the] bodies, ethologies and liveliness of an animal *makes a difference to*, and *is constitutive of*, those very relations that render or mobilize it as a commodity" (emphasis in original). The notion of encounter value helps us to understand *how* captive nature—specifically here, captive elephants—itself becomes capital—takes on a capitalist value in ecotourism. Furthermore, the "lively perspective" (Barua, 2016a) helps us to understand the crucial role of nonhumans in the commodification of nature. In this paper, *encounterability* is the mode of production, the value exploited through the moments of physical and non-physical bodily interactions between captive elephants, *mahouts*, and tourists.

In contemporary affective economies, in which humans' sensations and emotions toward wild animals, such as elephants, are exploited (Ahmed, 2004; Barua, 2019b; Peeren, 2019), encounterability is a crucial value signifying the relationships among different species, in this case between humans and elephants. At least two different roles that

animals (are made to) play as lively commodities in this sphere of economies can be identified. First, the animals are encounterable species commodified as *things*. In the case of the global trade of exotic animals, such as birds, monkeys, and snakes (Collard, 2020), encounter value is fully embodied in the animals, which are directly sold as the commodities. Second, the animals are not necessarily objects that are sold, since they may be encounterable species that are commodified as a *crucial element of an experience*, as others have previously mentioned in discussions on the commodification of nature in ecotourism (Castree, 2003; Cousins et al., 2009; Reis, 2012). In this case, what is sold as a commodity is not the animal as such, but an experience of it, the experience of having an encounter with the encounterable animals. Thus, the animals are made to produce multispecies encounters through which experience is generated.

With this understanding in mind, we have accordingly extended the way 'lively commodities' is applied in the context of affective economies such as ecotourism, from *selling encounterable animals* to (also) *selling encounters with animals*. Encounter value, that is, can be subsumed under the process of capitalist production either *as* animals or *through* animals. The animals that are the subject of conservation, including iconic species, such as elephants, fall into the second category when they have been incorporated in ecotourism or other types of nature-based tourism, as is the case in Tangkahan.

5. Coproducing multispecies encounters

Captive elephants are deployed in Tangkahan through ecotourism as an important part of the forest conservation agenda. After being dispossessed of their habitats through removal (as part of the broader processes of forest extraction), the life of captive elephants initially has no monetary value; at this point, they have been treated merely as conflict elephants. Even when captured, tamed, and trained in camps, their potential as the bearer of financial value remains idle until they are taken out to join the circuit of capital as working animals. Therefore, the incorporation of captive elephants into the CRU project is a crucial moment in their transformation into commodities as valuable lively beings in wildlife conservation for ecotourism.

The attribution of monetary value (McAfee, 1999) culminates once the captive elephants are involved in the ecotourism activities. This process marks the appearance of value gained from captive elephants as they become financially productive animals. In short, the incorporation of captive elephants in ecotourism signifies their transformation into lively commodities (Barua, 2017, 2016a; Collard and Dempsey, 2013) that embody encounter value (Haraway, 2008).

5.1. Selling physical and non-physical bodily encounters

To understand how encounter value operates, Barua (2016a) suggests a new, lively perspective of the political economy in which commodities are seen as "eventful" living beings: this eventfulness of commodities is one of the characteristics that distinguish the commodification of lively beings from Marx's interpretation, which takes commodities as "uneventful" things. Moreover, as Barua (2016a, p. 729) observes, this lively eventfulness involves humans and animals engaged in laboring activities, or "at their tasks". The tasks are "performed through a range of carnal and ethological registers" and "enacted *in the presence of others* whose own performances necessarily have bearings on the skilled agent's activity, human or animal", and while conducting the tasks, humans and animals act in "temporalities [that] are rhythmic, intrinsic to and emerging from movement itself" (Barua, 2016a, p. 729, emphasis in original). Again, it is not the lively being as such that comprises the commodity; rather, the animal's being alive in a captive or tamed form is an important condition for the human encounter with the performing lively being that signifies the commodification.

Ndoro, one of the first deployed *mahouts* in Tangkahan, explained how the elephants had been trained to perform a set of simple tasks for the encounters. An important job for the *mahouts* is to bathe the elephants by commanding them to enter the river and let them bathe there. In Tangkahan, the elephants are brushed in the water, and to enable tourists to participate, the elephants have been trained to lie down at the riverbed so that the visitors can brush the elephants' bodies comfortably. The elephants are also trained to deliver a performance that affords the encounter increased value by, among other things, spraying water with their trunk over their own back (which removes the sand and mud) and thus washing in the river. To provide a good photographic moment, the elephants face the tourists when they do this, and at the end of the bathing session, tourists take pictures of the elephants and *mahouts*, who sit on top of each elephant. For this, the elephants have also been trained to show the trunk affront, facing the tourists in the most photogenic pose. In short, the physical and non-physical bodily interactions are deliberately prepared to provide encounters between tourists and captive elephants. The design of the encounter precedes the actual performance; the encounter is a scripted performance.

Siwah, a leader of the local tour guides, emphasized that elephant packages are offered for their authenticity and bodily interactions between tourists and elephants:

> We provide an intimate interaction with the elephants, how the elephants interact with humans in the water. It is enticing for tourists, as if they are watching the National Geographic Channel, but this is the authentic one. Forests, elephants, and quietness. People do not [generally] have experiences with the elephants that are interesting to share because perhaps they have never had any intimate encounters with the elephants. But, by joining elephant activities over here, they get the experience and can share it: "I know what an elephant's hair looks like! I know that their skin is grainy!" (Interview, December 11, 2018)

In terms of the setting of the encounter, the elephant riverbank washing performance is staged next to the rainforest, which thus provide an image of wilderness for a greater sense of and non-bodily encounter with the elephants. In fact, from the gathering point where tourists wait for the elephants to come out of the trees, the density of the rainforest ensures an awe-inspiring setting: thousands of high, towering trees are filled with the sounds of monkeys, birds, and a large variety of other animals. Tourists can easily catch sight of these creatures running, jumping, and flying around. Then, when the elephants come out from the forests on the far side of the river, they enter and cross over. This is when the tourists normally start to take pictures and make videos of the elephants walking across the riverbed with the forests in the background.

This non-bodily element is typical for tourism, where the visual dimension plays a crucial role in the creation of an appealing spectacle for the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002). It is crucial that the performance is visible; the actual content of the act and how it has come about, its production process, are secondary (Barua, 2017; Debord, 2021; Igoe, 2017). It is this carefully orchestrated, 'authentic' spectacle that provides the encounter and thus the creation of value.

5.2. The narrative of non-exploitative conservation activities

In terms of product creation, the lively production process is "intransitive" rather than "purposive", as Barua (2016b, p. 269) explains, referring to the absence of a "fixed design stamped upon nature to shape it up into final form". There will be no new, concrete products that are being manufactured; there is only the repetition and evolution of eventful moments of spectacular encounter between captive elephants and tourists mediated by *mahouts*. The *trans*-species encounter is an intransitive productive activity, concerned with "setting up conditions for lively commodities to grow" (Barua, 2016b, p. 269).

This process should be distinguished from the type of commodity production described by Marx (1990) in his labor theory of value, which

concerns human labor and its importance in the generation of value in the process of commodity production. Here, labor is humanly provided but also with that of other species. This points to what Alyssa Battistoni (2017) terms "hybrid labor", where both human and nonhuman labor are involved in commodity production. In short, making sense of *trans*-species encounters (van Dooren et al., 2016) requires a reinterpretation of capitalist productive activity to include the processes of growth in which nonhuman beings are among the constitutive agents and further, in the case of elephant-based ecotourism, central to and co-constitutive of the wider context of wildlife conservation.

The growth of captive elephants as a strategy can be introduced to tourists as basic knowledge to inform and internalize their encounters with captive elephants. This is done in an introductory talk in which the history of captive elephants in Tangkahan is recounted by a guide prior to elephant bathing, the first elephant-based activity and the most common package enjoyed by tourists in Tangkahan. This talk is considered crucial to clarify that elephant-based ecotourism as performed in Tangkahan is not about the erasure of the animals from their natural habitat but about looking after the elephants that were previously involved in conflicts. In the ecotourism narrative, the care for conflict elephants is clearly articulated to distinguish it from the previous program, in which capturing and taming wild elephants was portrayed as brutal. Siwah explained it thus:

> The guide has to explain why the elephants ended up in Tangkahan so that tourists do not get us wrong. Since we need to develop ecotourism, they assume that we take the elephants out of the forests. In fact, it is not so. The elephants were conflict elephants. If the guide does not tell that fact, how do they know the truth? (Interview, December 11, 2018)

After the local guides' introductory talk, the tourists are brought to the elephants and *mahouts* take over the role of the tour guide. The aim here is to provide tourists with the sense of contributing to elephant care and conservation efforts, which is why they are switched from the guides to *mahouts* when participating in activities involving the captive elephants. The term '*mahout*' is associated with and has deliberately been reoriented towards the role of an elephant caregiver as opposed to elephant service seller (Azmi et al., 2006; Nazaruddin and Riddle, 2014; Phangkum et al., 2005). Moreover, even in any elephant packages sold in Tangkahan, there are no performances of sophisticated skills by the elephants such as those conducted by circus elephants (Bone and Bone, 2015), as has also been practiced in Indonesia since the 1980s until the ban of such shows in the early 2000s. Even trekking in the forests alongside the elephants is designed to show a short version of elephant grazing, which is another regular daily routine for captive elephants. And when tourists arrive at the elephant center, they have to fill in a guest book and they are being told that their visit is valuable for the effort to save the lives of Sumatran elephants. Directly and indirectly, the ecotourism performance aims to incorporate tourists into a narrative of non-exploitative conservation activities, with ecotourism articulated as saving and caring for former conflict elephants. More specifically, it emphasizes contemporary wildlife conservation based on the idea of animals' 'growth', which is important to understand the process of lively commodification of encounters with captive elephants.

5.3. Maintaining captivity under the rolling system of handling elephants

Importantly, the encounter value based on the human and nonhuman interaction does not stand apart from the interaction between the elephants and *mahouts*. In order to accommodate the existing activities of elephant-based ecotourism, a 'rolling system' of handling elephants has been applied. In this system, the *mahouts* may handle different elephants each day. Although each *mahout* is in charge of one particular elephant (to build *trans*-species bonding), all the *mahouts* have to be able to handle all of the elephants. Thus, when one or more *mahouts* are off duty, others are still available so that all the elephants are covered.

This system differs substantially from other systems of elephant handling, in which a *mahout* builds a lifelong relationship with an elephant—as found, for instance, in India (Hart and Sundar, 2000) and Myanmar (Lainé, 2019). The application of this rolling system, however, is not without risks. At times, the *mahouts* complain that their elephants are becoming naughty, a problem that leads to difficulties in controlling them and increased violence (Münster, 2016). This was especially the case with the adult bull named Songo. The task of handling Songo is considered the most difficult by some *mahouts*; ideally, it was done by one who was more experienced. When the task was assigned, it required extra awareness and circumspection to not put the *mahout* in danger.

The *mahouts* of Tangkahan also recognize the moments when captive elephants rebel. They call a 'rebellious' elephant a '*gajah rusak*', which means a 'broken elephant', referring to the animal's resistance by refusing to work (Wadiwel, 2018). The rebel behavior of captive elephants can be harmful and may result in *mahouts*' deaths (Agence France-Presse, 2015; The Hindu, 2018). Fortunately, no human beings have been killed by the elephants in Tangkahan so far. *Mahout* Ndoro shared the experience he had when Wolu, an adult cow he used to handle, was 'broken' and what he did to resolve the situation:

> Before the enclosure was built, we tethered the elephant [Wolu] to an oil palm tree. I had been negligent in my duties. I did not bring Wolu for bathing routinely. Since she had not been touched [by people] for quite some time, her ticklishness was coming back. She tried to throw me off her back. She screamed when I touched her. To address this issue, we had to stop her from being so ticklish. We tied her to the tree, and then we tickled her. We did it by touching the groin part of her forelegs and the bottom part of her belly. (Interview, December 20, 2018)

Indeed, after engaging with ecotourism as a new routine, at least since 2006 when Tangkahan was officially launched as an ecotourism site, the elephants have been considered unsuited to support human-elephant conflict operations. Songo, the only adult bull in Tangkahan, had been involved in one such operation, but he turned out to be afraid to approach a sedated wild female elephant. More generally, Songo responds strongly to wild elephants' dung in the forests, leading him to look for alternative paths or to turn back. Captured in 2000, Songo had been tamed, but he was not trained for a confrontation with wild elephants.

The *mahouts* explained that elephant training is designed according to the physical and mental (intelligence) capacities of each individual elephant, whether for performances in ecotourism, human-elephant conflict mitigation, or other purposes, but an adult bull is usually prepared for human-elephant conflict mitigation missions. Songo, apparently, was not. In fact, none of the captive elephants in Tangkahan are regarded as suited to confronting wild elephants. In the words of *mahout* Ndoro: "They have become *gajah wisata* (tourism elephants)." Indeed, to ensure the continuation of commodification in ecotourism through the employment of lively beings, it is important to keep them "individual, [but] controllable, and encounterable" (Collard, 2020, p. 77).

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented the commodification of encounters with captive elephants as lively commodities in Tangkahan ecotourism practice. We have shown the institutionalization of elephant domestication in Sumatra and thus the subsumption of lively elephants in ecotourism under CRU management. The CRU employs global conservation strategies based on market-based mechanisms to incorporate both the captive elephants and their *mahouts*. Although the CRU sells ecotourism in the context of a broader conservation agenda to preserve natural habitats, elephant-based ecotourism has paved the way for the

emergence of a captive nature based on multispecies encounters. These encounters are performed through moments of physical and non-physical bodily interactions involving the elephants and their *mahouts* as well as the tourists. In other words, the incorporation of the captive elephants in ecotourism constitutes an important transformation for them to become more productive lively beings by attributing a monetary value to their liveliness. The elephants have become lively commodities through their encounters with the *mahouts* and tourists.

Our main conclusion is that the expansion of the commodification of nature requires an understanding of the way encounter value subsumed within the production of 'captive nature': enclosed, managed, and employed as an experience. We have shown how this works and how this exemplifies the expansion of market-based approaches in conservation. The implementation of the elephant capture program led to the establishment of elephant training centers as an institutional foundation for captive elephant management in Indonesia. Captive elephants are trained to perform very specific and photogenic encounters with humans, including elephant bathing, elephant grazing, and trekking alongside the elephants. Selling such encounters with the elephants is designed as spectacular and a contribution to elephant conservation. In tourism, ethical discourses about saving nature are today part and parcel of the overall experiences, including with specific species (Igoe, 2017; Koot, 2021). Yet, selling encounters with captive elephants helps to keep them in captivity, under the direct control and care by humans in a human-made enclosure. Ecotourism thus constitutes a transformative activity through which lively commodities generate value and in which this type of value production also produces captive nature. Furthermore, ecotourism creates the need for these lively commodities to enable the multispecies encounters—involving captive elephants, *mahouts*, and tourists—possible in the first place, which could contradict the purpose of elephant conservation in the long run, that is generally understood as not employing captive elephants for tourism performances.

In *Capital* (1990), Marx's analysis starts with the concept of the commodity, through which he explains the nature of capitalism. As an extension of this approach, we have examined the nature of value production in the context of ecotourism. The value of nature, in our case of captive elephants, is created during moments of physical and non-physical bodily interactions with the *mahouts* and tourists. The performance of the elephants and the scenery against which this takes place comprise the spectacle that is being sold, with the elephants and *mahouts* as the co-providers of labor, first in the years beforehand and then at the moment of encounter. Thus, essentially there are two layers of human-elephant encounters, one between the *mahouts* and the elephants based on many years of preparatory labor and during the tourism performances. Second, the human-elephant encounters that generate the final value, namely between tourists and the elephants (which also involve the *mahouts*). The latter encounter is the commodified product, in which the intransitive character of production produces an experience of nature. This is key to an understanding of how value is produced. In this context, nature itself has been fundamentally transformed—not nature as in 'other than social', which can be discovered, conquered, or extracted, but the nature that is a medium in which tourism is performed through an encounter that generates value.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Lubabun Ni'am: Conceptualization, Methodology, Validation, Resources, Formal analysis, Investigation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing, Funding acquisition. **Stasja Koot:** Conceptualization, Resources, Formal analysis, Writing – review & editing, Supervision. **Joost Jongerden:** Conceptualization, Resources, Formal analysis, Writing – review & editing, Supervision.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the Gunung Leuser National Park Office, the management of the Conservation Response Unit (CRU) Tangkahan, and the villagers of Tangkahan for their permission and acceptance during the fieldwork. Special thanks go to the *mahouts* of Tangkahan and their families for their warmest friendship and willingness to share their experiences. The authors would also like to thank Nadya Karimasari who introduced the first author to Tangkahan and provided valuable insights. Furthermore, they are thankful for the constructive comments given by the participants of the University of Exeter's Anthrozoology as Symbiotic Ethics (EASE) student conference, the United Kingdom, and Advance Theory in Posthumanism class in Heidelberg University, Germany, in which some ideas of this research/paper were previously presented. The anonymous referees have also provided feedback which truly helped to improve the paper.

The first author received a StuNed (Studeren in Nederland) Scholarship by the Government of the Netherlands for the fieldwork of this research as part of his master study in Wageningen University & Research, the Netherlands.

References

Ahmed, S., 2004. Affective Economies. Soc. Text 22, 117–139.
Arsel, M., Büscher, B., 2012. Nature^{TM} Inc.: Changes and Continuities in Neoliberal Conservation and Market-based Environmental Policy. Dev. Change 43, 53–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2012.01752.x.
Asian Elephant Support, 2015. Mahouts Benefit from Our Caring [WWW Document]. Asian Elephant Support. URL http://www.asianelephantsupport.org/current-projects-in-myanmar/tag/Conservation+Response+Units (accessed 11.11.20).
Azmi, W., Gunaryadi, D., 2011. Current Status of Asian Elephants in Indonesia. Gajah 35, 55–61.
Azmi, W., Patana, P., Subhan, M., Desmerry, H., Ichsan, D.M., Sunardi, E., Thoha, A.S., Barata, U.W., n.d. Conservation of Sumatran Elephants and Their Habitat through Conservation Response Unit in the Buffer Zone of Gunung Leuser National Park. Fauna and Flora International (FFI) Indonesia, Medan.
Azmi, W., Riddle, H.S., Setyabudi, A., Wiratno, Basrul, A., Sunardi, E., Ichsan, D.M., Hardi, S., 2006. Mahouts and Their Elephants Working as Conservation Response Unit in Sumatra. Gajah 24, 35–38.
Barua, Maan, 2019a. Animating Capital: Work, Commodities. Circulation. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 43 (4), 650–669. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132518819057.
Barua, Maan, 2020. Affective Economies, Pandas, and the Atmospheric Politics of Lively Capital. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 45 (3), 678–692. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.v45.310.1111/tran.12361.
Barua, Maan, 2017. Nonhuman Labour, Encounter Value, Spectacular Accumulation: The Geographies of a Lively Commodity. Trans. Inst. Br. Geogr. 42 (2), 274–288. https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.2017.42.issue-210.1111/tran.12170.
Barua, Maan, 2016a. Lively Commodities and Encounter Value. Environ. Plan. Soc. Space 34 (4), 725–744. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775815626420.
Barua, Maan, 2015. Encounter: Living Lexicon for the Environmental Humanities. Environ. Humanit. 7 (1), 265–270. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3616479.
Battistoni, Alyssa, 2017. Bringing in the Work of Nature: From Natural Capital to Hybrid Labor. Polit. Theory 45 (1), 5–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591716638389.
Bone, K., Bone, J., 2015. The Same Dart Trick: The Exploitation of Animals and Women in Thailand Tourism, in: Markwell, K. (Ed.), Animals and Tourism: Understanding Diverse Relationships. Channel View Publications, Bristol, Buffalo, and Toronto, pp. 60–74. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781845415051-008.
Braverman, I., 2013. Zooland: The Institution of Captivity. Stanford Law Books, Stanford.
Brockington, D., 2017. Conservation and Capitalism, in: Richardson, D., Castree, N., Goodchild, M.F., Kobayashi, A., Liu, W., Marston, R.A. (Eds.), The International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment, and Technology. Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg1084.
Brockington, D., Duffy, R., 2010. Capitalism and Conservation: The Production and Reproduction of Biodiversity Conservation. Antipode 42, 469–484. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00760.x.
Büscher, B., Arsel, M., 2012. Introduction: Neoliberal Conservation, Uneven Geographical Development and the Dynamics of Contemporary Capitalism. Tijdschr. Voor Econ. En Soc. Geogr. 103, 129–135. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9663.2012.00712.x.
Büscher, B., Fletcher, R., 2015. Accumulation by Conservation. New Polit. Econ. 20, 273–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2014.923824.
Büscher, Bram, Sullivan, Sian, Neves, Katja, Igoe, Jim, Brockington, Dan, 2012. Towards a Synthesized Critique of Neoliberal Biodiversity Conservation. Capital. Nat. Social. 23 (2), 4–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2012.674149.

Castree, Noel, 2003. Commodifying What Nature? Prog. Hum. Geogr. 27 (3), 273–297. https://doi.org/10.1191/0309132503ph428oa.
Collard, R.-C., 2020. Animal Traffic: Lively Capital in the Global Exotic Pet Trade. Duke University Press, Durham and London.
Collard, Rosemary-Claire, 2014. Putting Animals Back Together, Taking Commodities Apart. Ann. Assoc. Am. Geogr. 104 (1), 151–165. https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2013.847750.
Collard, Rosemary-Claire, Dempsey, Jessica, 2017. Capitalist Natures in Five Orientations. Capital. Nat. Social. 28 (1), 78–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1202294.
Collard, Rosemary-Claire, Dempsey, Jessica, 2013. Life for Sale? The Politics of Lively Commodities. Environ. Plan. Econ. Space 45 (11), 2682–2699. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45692.
Coulter, Kendra (Ed.), 2016. Animals, Work, and the Promise of Interspecies Solidarity. Palgrave Macmillan US, New York.
Cousins, J.A., Evans, J., Sadler, J., 2009. Selling Conservation? Scientific Legitimacy and the Commodification of Conservation Tourism. Ecol. Soc. 14.
Csuti, B., 2008. Elephants in Captivity. In: Fowler, M.E., Mikota, S.K. (Eds.), Biology, Medicine, and Surgery of Elephants. Blackwell Publishing, Iowa, pp. 15–22.
Debord, G., 2021. The Society of the Spectacle. Unredacted Word, Cambridge.
Departemen Kehutanan, 2007. Strategi dan Rencana Aksi Konservasi Gajah Sumatera dan Gajah Kalimantan 2007–2017.
Desai, A.A., Riddle, H.S., 2015. Human-Elephant Conflict in Asia. United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) and Asian Elephant Support.
Fletcher, R., Dressler, W., Büscher, B., 2014. Nature™ Inc.: The New Frontiers of Environmental Conservation. In: Büscher, B., Dressler, W., Fletcher, R. (Eds.), Nature™ Inc.: Environmental Conservation in the Neoliberal Age. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, pp. 3–21.
Garland, Elizabeth, 2008. The Elephant in the Room: Confronting the Colonial Character of Wildlife Conservation in Africa. Afr. Stud. Rev. 51 (3), 51–74.
Gunaryadi, D., Sugiyo, Hedges, S., 2017. Community-based Human–Elephant Conflict Mitigation: The Value of an Evidence-based Approach in Promoting the Uptake of Effective Methods. PLoS ONE 12, e0173742. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0173742.
Haraway, D.J., 2008. When Species Meet. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis and London.
Hart, L., Sundar, 2000. Family Traditions for Mahouts of Asian Elephants. Anthrozoös 13, 34–42. https://doi.org/10.2752/089279300787000055.
Hedges, S., 2006. Conservation, in: Fowler, M.E., Mikota, S.K. (Eds.), Biology, Medicine, and Surgery of Elephants. Blackwell Publishing, Iowa, pp. 475–489.
Hedges, S., Tyson, M.J., Sitompul, A.F., Kinnaird, M.F., Gunaryadi, D., Aslan, 2005. Distribution, Status, and Conservation Needs of Asian Elephants (Elephas maximus) in Lampung Province, Sumatra, Indonesia. Biol. Conserv. 124, 35–48. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biocon.2005.01.004.
Honey, M., 2008. Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?, 2nd ed. Island Press, Washington.
Igoe, J., 2017. The Nature of Spectacle: On Images, Money, and Conserving Capitalism. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
Kahl, M.P., Santiapillai, C., 2004. A Glossary of Elephant Terms. Gajah 23, 1–36.
Kirksey, S.E., Helmreich, S., 2010. The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography. Cult. Anthropol. 25, 545–576. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1360.2010.01069.x.
Koot, S., 2021. Enjoying Extinction: Philanthrocapitalism, Jouissance, and 'Excessive Environmentourism' in the South African Rhino Poaching Crisis. J. Polit. Ecol.
Lainé, N., 2019. Why Did the Khamti Not Domesticate Their Elephants? Building a Hybrid Sociality with Tamed Elephants. In: Stépanoff, C., Vigne, J.-D. (Eds.), Hybrid Communities: Biosocial Approaches to Domestication and Other Trans-Species Relationships. Routledge, Oxon and New York, pp. 221–235. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315179988-13.
Lair, R.C., 1997. Gone Astray: The Care and Management of the Asian Elephant in Domesticity. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok.
Locke, P., 2017. Elephants as Persons, Affective Apprenticeship, and Fieldwork with Nonhuman Informants in Nepal. HAU J. Ethnogr. Theory 7, 353–376. https://doi.org/10.14318/hau7.1.024.
Marx, K., 1990. Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, London.
McAfee, Kathleen, 1999. Selling Nature to Save It? Biodiversity and Green Developmentalism. Environ. Plan. Soc. Space 17 (2), 133–154. https://doi.org/10.1068/d170133.
Minarchek, Matthew, 2020. Creating Environmental Subjects: Conservation as Counter-insurgency in Aceh, Indonesia, 1925–1940. Polit. Geogr. 81, 102189. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2020.102189.
Moore, J.W., 2015. Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital. Verso, London and New York.
Moore, Lorraine, 2011. The Neoliberal Elephant: Exploring the Impacts of the Trade Ban in Ivory on the Commodification and Neoliberalisation of Elephants. Geoforum 42 (1), 51–60. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2010.09.002.
Mowforth, M., Munt, I., 2016. Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World, 4th ed. Routledge, London and New York.
Münster, Ursula, 2016. Working for the Forest: The Ambivalent Intimacies of Human-Elephant Collaboration in South Indian Wildlife Conservation. Ethnos 81 (3), 425–447. https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2014.969292.
Nagendran, M., Clyne, P., Riddle, H., 2013. Conserving Asia's Wild Elephants [WWW Document]. U. S. Fish Wildl. Serv. USFWS. URL https://www.fws.gov/endangered/news/episodes/bu-Fall2013/story3/ (accessed 8.20.19).
Nagendran, M., Riddle, H.S., 2008. The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Asian Elephant Conservation Fund - The First Ten Years of Support. Gajah 29, 45–51.
Nazaruddin, S., Riddle, H.S., 2014. Indonesian Mahout Workshop - Forum Komunikasi Mahout Sumatera, Indonesia. Zoos Print XXIX, 21–22.
Nyhus, P.J., Tilson, R., Sumianto, 2000. Crop-Raiding Elephants and Conservation Implications at Way Kambas National Park, Sumatra, Indonesia. Oryx 34, 262–274. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-3008.2000.00132.x.
Orangutan Information Centre, 2009. Guidebook to the Gunung Leuser National Park. Yayasan Orangutan Sumatera Lestari-Orangutan Information Centre (YOSL-OIC), Medan.
Peeren, Esther, 2019. The Affective Economies and Political Force of Rural Wildness. Landsc. Res. 44 (7), 834–845. https://doi.org/10.1080/01426397.2018.1427706.
Phangkum, P., Lair, R.C., Angkawanith, T., 2005. Elephant Care Manual for Mahouts and Camp Managers. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok.
Poniran, S., 1974. Elephants in Aceh, Sumatra. Oryx 12 (5), 576–580. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0030605300012618.
Porcher, J., 2017. Animal Work. In: Kalof, L. (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 302–318.
Reilly, J., Sukatmoko, P., 2002. The Elephant Training Centre at Way Kambas National Park, Sumatra: A Review of Its Operations and Recommendations for the Future. Gajah 21, 1–40.
Reis, Arianne C, 2012. Experiences of Commodified Nature: Performances and Narratives of Nature-based Tourists on Stewart Island, New Zealand. Tour. Stud. 12 (3), 305–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797612461090.
Riddle, H.S., Stremme, C., 2011. Captive Elephants - An Overview. J. Threat. Taxa 3, 1826–1836. https://doi.org/10.11609/JoTT.o2620.1826-36.
Romero-Brito, T.P., Buckley, R.C., Byrne, J., 2016. NGO Partnerships in Using Ecotourism for Conservation: Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis. PLoS ONE 11. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0166919.
Santiapillai, C., Jackson, P., 1990. The Asian Elephant: An Action Plan for Its Conservation. International Union for Conservation of Nature/Species Survival Commission (IUCN/SSC) Asian Elephant Specialist Group.
Santiapillai, C., Ramono, W.S., 1993a. Why Do Elephants Raid Crops in Sumatra. Gajah 11, 55–58.
Santiapillai, C., Ramono, W.S., 1993b. Reconciling Elephant Conservation with Economic Development in Sumatra. Gajah 10, 11–18.
Santiapillai, C., Ramono, W.S., 1992. Asian Elephant: Nature's Four-Wheel Drive Vehicle. Gajah 9, 18–26.
Shaffer, L.J., Khadka, K.K., Van Den Hoek, J., Naithani, K.J., 2019. Human-Elephant Conflict: A Review of Current Management Strategies and Future Directions. Front. Ecol. Evol. 6 https://doi.org/10.3389/fevo.2018.00235.
Stoler, A.L., 1995. Capitalism and Confrontation in Sumatra's Plantation Belt, 1870–1979, 2nd ed. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.
Stromayer, K.A.K., 2002. The Asian Elephant Conservation Act, the Asian Elephant Conservation Fund, and the Conservation of the Wild and the Domesticated Asian Elephant, in: Giants on Our Hands: Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Domesticated Asian Elephant. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, pp. 241–248.
Sukumar, R., Santiapillai, C., 1993. Asian Elephant in Sumatra: Population and Habitat Viability Analysis. Gajah 11, 59–63.
Sullivan, Sian, 2006. Elephant in the Room? Problematising 'New' (Neoliberal) Biodiversity Conservation. Forum Dev. Stud. 33 (1), 105–135. https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2006.9666337.
Agence France-Presse, 2015. Thai Elephant Gores Handler to Death and Runs Off Carrying Three Tourists [WWW Document]. The Guardian. URL https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/27/thai-elephant-gores-handler-to-death-and-runs-off-carrying-three-tourists (accessed 8.20.19).
The Hindu, 2018. Elephant on Parade Kills Mahout [WWW Document]. The Hindu. URL https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/kerala/elephant-on-parade-kills-mahout/article23430564.ece (accessed 8.20.19).
Turner, J., 2006. Stop-Look-Listen: Recognising the Sentience of Farm Animals. Compassion in World Farming Trust, Hampshire.
Urry, J., 2002. The Tourist Gaze, 2nd ed. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi.
van Dooren, Thom, Kirksey, Eben, Münster, Ursula, 2016. Multispecies Studies: Cultivating Arts of Attentiveness. Environ. Humanit. 8 (1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1215/22011919-3527695.
Wadiwel, D., 2018. Chicken Harvesting Machine: Animal Labor, Resistance, and the Time of Production. South Atl. Q. 117, 527–549. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-6942135.
West, Paige, Carrier, James G., 2004. Ecotourism and Authenticity: Getting Away from It All? Curr. Anthropol. 45 (4), 483–498. https://doi.org/10.1086/422082.
Wieckardt, C.E., Koot, S., Karimasari, N., 2020. Environmentality, Green Grabbing, and Neoliberal Conservation: The Ambiguous Role of Ecotourism in the Green Life Privatised Nature Reserve, Sumatra, Indonesia. J. Sustain. Tour. 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2020.1834564.
Wilkie, R., 2017. Animals as Sentient Commodities. In: Kalof, L. (Ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 279–301.
Wilkie, R.M., 2010. Livestock/Deadstock: Working with Farm Animals from Birth to Slaughter. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
Wilson, H.F., 2019. Animal Encounters: A Genre of Contact. In: Böhm, A., Ullrich, J. (Eds.), Animal Encounters: Kontakt, Interaktion Und Relationalität. Berlin, J.B, Metzler, pp. 25–41.
Wiratno, 2013. Dari Penebang Hutan Liar ke Konservasi Leuser: Tangkahan dan Pengembangan Wisata Leuser. Yayasan Orangutan Sumatera Lestari-Orangutan

Information Centre (YOSL-OIC) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Jakarta, Medan.