



The Ata Modo's Everyday Resistance Against Conservation and Tourism Expansion on Komodo Island, Indonesia

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Abstract

The Ata Modo community is native to Komodo Island and has coexisted with the Komodo dragon for centuries. However, conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island has disrupted their unique interspecies relationship and affected the Ata Modo people's livelihoods. Using a combination of ethnography and published document analysis, this thesis discusses how the Komodo dragon's conservation and tourism efforts have shifted the Ata Modo's livelihoods, displaced them, and restricted their access to resources and living space. In response to their livelihood changes, the Ata Modo community has long resisted expanding conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. This thesis analyses the Ata Modo's resistance against conservation and tourism expansion using an everyday resistance theoretical framework. It examines their everyday struggle through resisting and strategising against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island. Interviews and participant observations have revealed that the Ata Modo community's everyday resistance acts are related to their spirituality and indigeneity. In their everyday resistance, the Ata Modo aim to both protect their livelihoods and leverage their position. These findings not only highlight the Ata Modo community's active agency in the conservation and tourism discourses on Komodo Island. Further, it demonstrates how their subtle and hidden everyday acts of resistance have been powerful enough to challenge and reshape power relations on Komodo Island.

Keywords: Ata Modo, Komodo Island, Komodo dragon, conservation, tourism, livelihoods, everyday resistance.

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List of Abbreviations

CSO	Civil Society Organisation
KCMI	Komodo National Park Collaborative Management Initiative
KNP	Komodo National Park
KNPA	Komodo National Park Authority
PLN	State-owned Electricity Company
PNK	PT Putri Naga Komodo
PT	<i>Perseroan Terbatas</i> or Limited Liability Company
TNC	The Nature Conservancy
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement

The Ata Modo, natives of Komodo Island, have lived for centuries alongside the world's largest ancient lizard, the Komodo dragon (Verheijen, 1987). "Ata" means people in the local language; therefore, 'Ata Modo' means people of Modo. Known as *Sebae*, which translates to "the other half", the Komodo dragon is portrayed in indigenous folklore as the twin of the Ata Modo's ancestors (Dale & Afioma, 2020, p.3). This interspecies relationship between the Ata Modo and the Komodo dragon has been maintained for decades and is still expressed in everyday life. However, the expansion of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island has disrupted their interspecies relationship and significantly affected the Ata Modo community's livelihoods.

The Ata Modo community has experienced radical transformations and enforcements due to the expansion of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. These changing societal dynamics can be traced back to 1912, after the discovery of the Komodo dragon by a Dutch science journal (Barnard, 2011b). During the colonial era, the Komodo dragon became a 'celebrity species' that profited the Dutch colonial government and helped Western institutions and zoos "stay afloat financially" (Barnard, 2011b, p.98). However, these benefits did not go hand in hand with people's welfare as colonial representations of the Ata Modo people constructed them as primitive, whose existence allegedly threatened the ecosystem's sustainability on the island (Asriyani & Verheijen, 2020). As a result, several regulations were introduced to severely restrict local people's access and activities (Barnard, 2011b). It is, therefore, worth noting that the expansion of conservation on Komodo Island is part of a broader historical pattern dating back to the colonial era. Understanding these historical, colonial roots helps to make sense of the underlying power dynamics and the colonial legacies concerning conservation efforts on Komodo Island.

While the colonial period marked the beginning of the Ata Modo community's marginalisation, this intensified in postcolonial Indonesia, especially after the Komodo National Park (KNP) creation in 1980. Both in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia, locals were considered an obstacle and detrimental to the conservation agenda (Asriyani & Verheijen, 2020; Barnard, 2011b; Cribb, 2007). By 1995, the national park had expanded to 173,000 hectares from 31,000 hectares in 1980 (Kusumasumantri, 2022). As more and more areas became protected, more restrictions were imposed on the local community. This included the disruption of their local borders, which would

(potentially) evict them from the national parks (Asriyani & Verheijen, 2020). In 2019, the governor of the province East Nusa Tenggara explicitly stated that Komodo Island is only for the Komodo dragon and not the people, and thus, only animal rights are perceived as important (Henschke & Wijaya, 2019). These examples demonstrate that the creation of the KNP and its conservation efforts for the Komodo dragon have resulted in the locals' exclusion from the land they have occupied and managed for centuries.

In addition to the conservation agenda, the recent tourism expansion on Komodo Island has effectively limited the Ata Modo people's access to their vital livelihoods. In order to boost tourism on Komodo Island, several policies have been made by the national and local authorities. However, while the community's land access and usage have gotten increasingly restricted, powerful tourism actors were granted access and benefits (Dale & Afioma, 2020). It has become clear that both the protection and promotion efforts for the Komodo dragon have significantly affected the Ata Modo's livelihoods. This thesis refers to the expansion of conservation and tourism as the situation in which efforts to preserve and promote Komodo dragons are increasing at the expense of the people's livelihoods. Unfortunately, the extent to which conservation and tourism expansion affect the Ata Modo community's livelihoods remains limited in the existing literature.

In response to the expansion of conservation and tourism on their land, the Ata Modo community has long been engaged in resistance. From news articles, it has been known that they have engaged in several forms of resistance, such as demonstrations, blockades, property destruction, and online petitions to protect their livelihoods (Daniels, 2022; Gokkon, 2018; Haryanto, 2022a). This indicates two things. Firstly, despite its extensive consequences to the people's livelihoods, how the Ata Modo have resisted conservation and tourism expansion has not yet received scholarly attention. Secondly, news articles predominantly highlighted the Ata Modo's open and organised resistance, which typically resulted from a significant momentum or policy that is made known publicly. As conservation and tourism expansion affect their livelihoods on a daily basis, it is equally crucial to investigate how the community has navigated the challenges and resisted in their everyday lives. These kinds of—everyday—resistance may just be as powerful, if not more so, than organised resistance. However, to date, these subtle but powerful ways of resistance are often overlooked in the existing studies (and news articles) on the Ata Modo community.

This thesis investigates the Ata Modo community's resistance in their everyday lives against conservation and tourism expansion. My main focus is on the community's less organised and more

pervasive forms of resistance, more commonly referred to as ‘everyday resistance’. Through everyday forms of resistance, subalterns assert their political presence, which is equally massive and often far more effective than open resistance (Scott, 1986). Therefore, focusing on everyday resistance could offer a more nuanced understanding of how the Ata Modo community has actively navigated, challenged, and taken advantage of conservation and tourism in their everyday lives. This thesis adds to the existing literature on the Ata Modo community in two ways. Firstly, by contextualising the impacts of conservation and tourism expansion on the livelihoods of the Ata Modo, this thesis fills a notable gap in research concerning livelihood transformation faced by local communities. Secondly, this thesis’s focus on the local community’s everyday resistance provides a new understanding of how diverse forms of resistance operate at the grassroots level to resist hegemonic power, such as expanding conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. By highlighting the Ata Modo community’s voices and lived experiences, this thesis sheds light on local communities’ active agencies, challenging the dominant narratives that have positioned them solely as passive victims of development.

1.2. Literature Review

Research on the Ata Modo community has predominantly focused on their interspecies relationship with the Komodo dragon and traditional livelihoods. Verheijen's (1987) research, who wrote the first monograph on the Ata Modo people, has documented their origins and culture. His research supports the broader cultural narrative of their coexistence with the Komodo dragon and proves the indigeneity of the Ata Modo on Komodo Island. To date, Verheijen’s (1987) research is fundamental to studies on the Ata Modo community.

Subsequent studies have explored the history of conservation efforts on Komodo Island, both in the colonial and postcolonial periods (Gustave & Borchers, 2007; Barnard, 2011b; Erb, 2012; Dale & Afioma, 2020). Barnard (2011a; 2011b) examines the Dutch colonial government’s efforts to protect the Komodo dragon, which have shaped the conservation models and policies in postcolonial Indonesia. One implication being the ‘colonial paternalism’ that has persisted in conservation knowledge until the present day (Asriyani & Verheijen, 2020; Cribb, 2007). Despite Barnard’s (2011a; 2011b) contributions to understanding the colonial conservation efforts on Komodo Island, a gap remains about how these efforts affected the Ata Modo people’s livelihoods during the colonial era.

Consequently, existing studies often only place colonial history as the start of the conservation of the Komodo dragon, but not necessarily as the first effort that has affected the Ata Modo's livelihoods and segregated them from the Komodo dragon. This view fails to acknowledge potential historical injustices the Ata Modo community has faced since the colonial period.

Several studies have written about conservation development on Komodo Island in postcolonial Indonesia (Gustave & Borchers, 2007; Erb, 2012; Pannell, 2013; Dale & Afioma, 2020). These studies have highlighted the imposition of knowledge on conservation and the top-down approach in conservation management in the Komodo National Park, including and especially on Komodo Island (Gustave & Borchers, 2007; Erb, 2012; Pannell, 2013). The creation of a national park, a concept deriving from the Western world, perpetuates a strict human-nature dichotomy to create pristine wilderness areas, often at the expense of local communities (Gustave & Borchers, 2007). Building on these findings, Dale and Afioma (2020) suggest viewing conservation as a new commons that has ended traditional commons. Conservation policies have ignored the Ata Modo's land and resource rights, further erasing their place on Komodo Island (Erb, 2012; Pannell, 2013; Dale & Afioma, 2020). Existing studies have also signalled the shift in the Ata Modo's traditional livelihoods due to conservation (Verheijen, 1987; Kodir et al., 2019; Dale & Afioma, 2020). Although these studies agree that conservation policies have marginalised the Ata Modo, the extent to which each conservation design has impacted the community's livelihoods remains underexplored in the existing literature.

While conservation derives from ecological imperatives, Dale and Afioma (2020) argue that economic imperatives have driven tourism development on Komodo Island. The impacts of tourism development on the Ata Modo community are multidimensional. It limits the Ata Modo's ownership and access to land and damages their local language and culture (Verheijen, 1987; Dale & Afioma, 2020). Although conservation and tourism expansion have affected the Ata Modo and their livelihoods, there have been limited efforts to involve the Ata Modo in the decision-making process, which again signals the authorities' top-down approach (Gustave & Borchers, 2007; Kodir et al., 2019). Meanwhile, studies such as that from Aniswara (2020) about the policymaking process in the Komodo National Park have failed to recognise the voices of local communities, including and especially the Ata Modo, whose lives are the most impacted by conservation and tourism expansion.

The imbalance in perspectives regarding conservation and tourism development on Komodo Island calls for research that focuses on the experiences, voices, and perspectives of the Ata Modo people. Several studies have signalled the Ata Modo's resistance against the National Park Authority's

conservation efforts in the past (Gustave & Borchers, 2007; Erb, 2012; Cochrane, 2013). Building on this, Dale and Afioma (2020) take a step further by describing various community mobilisations, including the Ata Modo community, against the government's conservation and tourism policies in 2019-2020. While these studies are important to understanding the Ata Modo community's stances on conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island, there remain limited insights into the Ata Modo's historical struggle and resistance in order to protect their livelihood. This gap highlights the need for research that provides a more nuanced understanding of the Ata Modo people's resistance against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island.

1.3. Research Questions and Main Objectives

This thesis focuses on the Ata Modo community's resistance against the expansion of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. Drawing on the everyday resistance theoretical framework, this research investigates the Ata Modo's subtle but powerful acts of resistance that have enabled them to fight back, negotiate, and leverage their position on Komodo Island. In order to investigate the Ata Modo's lived experience and everyday resistance acts, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. How have the conservation and tourism policies, in the past and present, affected the livelihoods of the Ata Modo?
2. How have livelihood changes-driven resistance among the Ata Modo, and vice versa?
3. What acts of resistance have the Ata Modo organised, and why these specific acts?
4. What have been the implications of these resistance acts to the Ata Modo community?

These sub-questions lead us to the main question of this thesis, which is *“Why and how have the Ata Modo community organised themselves to resist tourism expansion on Komodo Island?”*

In answering the research question, the main objectives of this thesis are twofold. Firstly, to explain the livelihood transformation faced by local communities in the context of conservation and tourism. Secondly, to understand the active agencies of local communities in their resistance against hegemonic power structures. Although the focus of this thesis is narrowly focused on the Ata Modo community, its significance extends beyond the community's boundaries.

1.4. Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 details the theoretical framework of everyday forms of resistance to understand the (everyday) resistance of the Ata Modo community. Chapter 3 critically discusses the methodology and sources used for this thesis. Chapter 4 provides an in-depth analysis of how the development of conservation and tourism has affected the livelihoods of the Ata Modo from the early 1990s. Building on this, Chapter 5 discusses the acts of resistance the Ata Modo community has employed in their everyday lives. It argues that their everyday forms are related to their spirituality and indigeneity. In their resistance, the Ata Modo are not simply opposing but also seeking to challenge, negotiate, and leverage their position in the conservation and tourism discourse on Komodo Island. Chapter 6 is a shorter discussion chapter compared to Chapters 4 and 5. It discusses the main implication of the Ata Modo community's everyday resistance to their livelihood. Finally, this thesis is concluded in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

In order to understand the resistance of the Ata Modo community against conservation and tourism expansion, this thesis's theoretical framework is built primarily on Scott's (1986) everyday forms of resistance. Before discussing the everyday resistance theory, the broader concept of resistance will first be explored. The first section of this chapter is dedicated to understanding resistance, as it can help us better understand how power and the socio-political dynamics within it have shaped local or marginalised communities, including the Ata Modo. The second part of this chapter focuses on the framework of everyday forms of resistance. Everyday resistance is a crucial framework for this thesis as it sheds light on the Ata Modo's active agency in their everyday struggles against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island. Using this framework thus helps to explore the subtle, hidden, yet powerful acts of resistance employed by subalterns, including the Ata Modo community.

2.1. Resistance

Studies on resistance have often focused on resisters', especially subalterns', actions to oppose power structures. Hollander and Einwohner (2004, p.538) identify two features integral to resistance studies, namely (1) resistance being an act and (2) it being inherently oppositional to power. The essence of resistance lies in the active behaviour of the resisters, be that verbal, cognitive, or physical, rather than intent or consequence (Baaz et al., 2016; Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). This classification holds true even when the intent behind such actions is ambiguous, unknown, or non-political (Baaz et al., 2016). Moreover, resistance is typically characterised as an act of opposing power (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). It is any activity of the subordinate that causes a problem or is considered a threat to power holders (Baaz et al., 2016). However, following this logic puts resistance dependent on another group's power and dominance, making resisters remain subaltern as they are always and only defined by those in power (Demirović & Robotham, 2017). This perspective emphasises the need to understand resistance beyond the binary of resisters and dominators. Furthermore, if resistance is exclusively perceived as an act of opposition, it runs the risk of confining our understanding of resisters' diverse responses to power struggles in their everyday lives.

A more comprehensive view of resistance that extends beyond opposition acts can offer a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics within a society. This is because resisters have their own politics; therefore, "we must go the whole way" (Ortner, 1995, p.177). This means that a

more nuanced approach that considers the complexities of power relations and the diverse forms of resistance that emerge within them is needed in studies about resistance. De Heredia (2017b, p.69) suggests understanding resistance as a pattern of acts carried out by subordinates to reject elite claims and the effects of domination “while advancing their own agenda”. This signals the politics of resisters in their resistance acts. Through micropolitics, Rasch and Köhne (2016, p.480) reveal how local actors in Palawan and Sumatra both resist and appropriate globalised practices and narratives. Baaz et al. (2016) demonstrate that subalterns’ resisting practices have dissolved, undermined, questioned, or challenged subordination and could produce non-subordinate relations. These examples further show that, in addition to challenging authority, resistance can serve as a means for marginalised groups to assert their agency and negotiate power relations within society (Scott, 1986). Highlighting these processes recognises resisters’ active agencies in protecting their livelihoods instead of consistently placing them as victims of domination. This perspective on resistance is utilised in this thesis, especially by exploring how the various forms of resistance employed by the Ata Modo are aimed not only at protecting their livelihoods but also at taking advantage of conservation and tourism expansion for their own benefit.

Resistance can come in various forms, ranging from overt acts of protest to more subtle forms of everyday resistance (Scott, 1986). Overt in this context refers to the visible and public nature of the resistance efforts, while covert resistance suggests hidden, indirect, and concealed acts (Putnam et al., 2005). Other categorisations of resistance also exist, such as organised resistance and everyday resistance. Unlike organised resistance, everyday resistance is typically subtle, hidden, and does not make headlines (Scott, 1986). Everyday resistance is considered an alternative form of resistance that is less dramatic and visible than organised resistance (Lilja et al., 2017). Essentially, these illustrations showcase the different forms of resistance: one that is overt or open and typically organised resistance, and the other is covert or hidden and typically more dispersed acts of resistance. It is important to note that this categorisation of resistance is not meant to determine which is ‘real resistance’ and which is not. Scholars have explained that power relations is a determining factor that could limit the different forms of resistance (Lilja & Vinthagen, 2018; Scott, 1989; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Besides power relations, this thesis also takes into account the role of culture or characteristics of the Ata Modo community that have influenced their diverse forms of resistance, an aspect that has yet to receive enough attention in current resistance studies. This topic will be further explored in Chapter 5.

2.2. Everyday Forms of Resistance

James Scott (1986) introduced the theoretical lens of everyday resistance to illustrate a different kind of resistance that is not as open as demonstrations, riots, or other organised and collective acts of resistance. Everyday resistance recognises that individuals and communities engage in acts of resistance as part of their everyday lives. Scott's theoretical contribution is his insistence that resistance is primarily informal, hidden, and nonconfrontational (Baaz et al., 2016). It is the silent, mundane, and ordinary acts that people do not consider as resistance but as part of their daily lives (Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Furthermore, everyday resistance is characterised by the widespread use of disguise, either by concealing the resister's identity or the act itself (Scott, 1986). Resisters do not always resist openly to avoid detection, which is essential to their survival and undermines repressive domination (Scott, 1986; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Therefore, direct symbolic confrontation is often avoided, with little or no formal coordination for any activities involved (Scott, 1986; 1989). No formal organisations are created by resisters because none are required. Yet, a form of coordination is achieved that alerts us that what is happening is by no means merely random individual action (Scott, 1989, p.52). The theoretical framework of everyday resistance thus offers a unique perspective on the ways in which the Ata Modo community resist in their everyday lives.

One key aspect of the everyday resistance framework is its emphasis on subalterns' agency in challenging dominant power structures. Most everyday resistance forms are deployed precisely to thwart appropriation by those in power, including the superior class and the state (Scott, 1989). Everyday resistance explores subordinates' patterns of acts against the everyday experiences of domination (de Heredia, 2017b, p.51). Scott's (1986) notable illustrations of footdragging, false-compliance, feigned ignorance, slander, and sabotage show how subordinates weaken or deny domination of the power holders. Vinthagen and Johansson (2013) focus on how subalterns influence the hegemonic structure by working within the system. These studies illustrate the diverse acts of everyday resistance. Resisters are not simply opposing power in their everyday lives; they negotiate and reproduce power relations through their everyday resistance practices. This is why Scott (1986) argues that through everyday resistance, subalterns have asserted their political presence, which is equally massive and often far more effective than open resistance. This aspect of everyday resistance is essential to understanding how the Ata Modo have navigated their ways to defend their livelihoods from conservation and tourism expansion.

Everyday resistance also emphasises the importance of understanding resisters' context, culture, and characteristics to grasp why they resist in such a way. This framework encompasses a continuum of different practices that reflect the larger political context in which they are embedded (de Heredia, 2017b, p.68). This understanding suggests two aspects of everyday resistance. Firstly, as a 'continuum of practices', everyday resistance is not a single act but rather a range of actions. It is not a coherent form of action because of the changing contexts and situations (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016). Secondly, everyday resistance studies emphasise that the way people resist is shaped by the broader political environment they live in. Scott understands resistance as the conflict that emerges from the subordinate's lived experience (de Heredia, 2017a). It is, therefore, crucial to understand the everyday politics of resisters (Rasch & Köhne, 2016). Only by doing so can we identify and examine the intersectionality within everyday resistance and broaden our analysis (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016). This thesis thus seeks to not only identify the Ata Modo community's everyday resistance acts but also to understand their broader context.

While Scott's framework of everyday resistance is groundbreaking to resistance studies, it is not without criticism. Baaz et al. (2016) criticise Scott's sole focus on resistance against explicit claims. This is problematic because it does not recognise unintended resistance and risks excluding much of the normality of the resisters' everyday lives and everyday resistance (Baaz et al., 2016). Meanwhile, the realm of normality sets the ground for everyday resistance (de Heredia, 2017a, p.180). According to scholars like Baaz et al. (2016) and de Heredia (2017a), normalcy in everyday resistance is the critical aspect of this theory as it allows resisters to challenge power relations without attracting suspicions. Scott's (1989) attempt to categorise resistance as a reflection of certain forms of domination also fails to consider the complex interplay between power and resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016). Scott's illustration of everyday resistance risks limiting resisters' agency to solely mitigate and deny domination. Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis will show how the Ata Modo's everyday resistance acts extend beyond denying domination to changing existing power relations on Komodo Island.

Chapter 3. Methodology and Methods

3.1. Methodological Approach: Ethnography

This thesis builds on ethnographic research to gain an in-depth understanding of the Ata Modo community's lived experiences, voices, and perspectives regarding conservation and tourism expansion and how they resist back in their everyday lives. Ethnographic research attempts to understand "another life-world using the self [...] as the instrument of knowing" (Ortner, 1995, p.173). It is the process of producing and representing knowledge or ways of knowing by using ethnographers' personal experiences and how they intersect with the people, places, and things involved in the process (Pink, 2013, as cited in Müller, 2021, p.34). This suggests ethnography's subjective and participatory nature as it relies on ethnographers' own experiences and perspectives as tools for understanding the lives of the people they study. Immersing myself in the Ata Modo culture and context allows me to uncover the (hidden) dynamics and gain a firsthand understanding of the experiences, voices, and perspectives of the Ata Modo.

To understand Ata Modo's experiences, voices, and perspectives, considerable lengthy contact through participant observation within relevant settings and/or relatively open-ended interviews with the Ata Modo people are required (Hammersley, 2006). In order to achieve this, I did fieldwork for six weeks (October 4th to November 14th, 2023) in Komodo village, Komodo Island, and took residence at my host family's house in Komodo village. Although Müller (2021, p.39) warns that a researcher's presence in the field can be alienating, I did not necessarily feel so during the fieldwork. I was privileged enough to be affiliated with Sunspirit as my host institution, host family, and local interlocutor who accompanied my daily journey in the village. This has enabled me to quickly establish contact and trust with the Ata Modo community, making it easier to engage in their daily conversations and activities. More importantly, I could easily mingle and immerse myself as an 'insider' rather than a 'guest' in the village. As many have pointed out, ethnographic fieldwork traditionally lasts longer, for instance, a year (Hammersley, 2006). Although limitations exist in this study (section 3.3.), the Ata Modo community's voices and perspectives were able to be captured through participant observations and in-depth interviews throughout the six-week fieldwork period. Aside from participant observation and in-depth interviews, analysing various types of documents also complements this thesis's research process. All of these sources and methods will be further reflected upon in the following sections.

3.2. Sources and Methods

This study uses qualitative sources and methods to comprehensively investigate the (everyday) resistance of the Ata Modo community against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island. Three types of sources and corresponding methods are employed: (1) analysis of published documents and media articles, (2) in-depth interviews, and (3) participant observation. Table 3.1 details the methods and sources of each sub-research question:

Table 3.1 Sub-research questions and methods

Sub-research questions	Methods
SQ1: How have the conservation and tourism policies, in the past and present, affected the livelihoods of the Ata Modo?	Analysis of published documents, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.
SQ2: How have livelihood changes driven the resistance of the Ata Modo, and vice versa?	Analysis of published documents and in-depth interviews.
SQ3: What acts of everyday resistance have the Ata Modo organised, and why these specific acts?	In-depth interviews and participant observation.
SQ4: What have been the consequences of these everyday resistance acts to the Ata Modo community?	Analysis of published documents, in-depth interviews, and participant observation.

The first method, analysis of published documents and media articles, is important for getting a sense of the history and past dynamics on Komodo Island. Being aware of this aspect can help us better understand the context that has shaped the Ata Modo community, their livelihoods, as well as their (everyday) forms of resistance. In addition to this method, in-depth interviews and participant observations were conducted to get deeper insights into the Ata Modo community's lived experiences. Eleven in-depth interviews were done with the people of Ata Modo, a local CSO, and local government representatives. Lastly, participant observations were conducted to better understand how the Ata Modo give meaning to their everyday lives. The following sections explain, reflect upon, and embed each method within literature.

3.2.1. Analysis of Published Documents and Media Articles

This thesis investigates various published documents and media articles related to the KNP and the Ata Modo community in the past and present. The analytic process of this method involves finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data from documents (Bowen, 2009). This thesis relies on existing published documents, such as regulations and reports from (local and national) government and non-governmental sources. This data source is needed to understand the historical development of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. Furthermore, articles from (online) sources such as Floresa (floresa.co), Sunspirit (sunspiritforjusticeandpeace.org), and Mongabay (www.mongabay.co.id) were pivotal in getting informed on the ongoing developments on Komodo Island. Both Floresa and Sunspirit are based in Flores Island, East Nusa Tenggara, and have vast networks and strong connections to the local communities across the province, including the Ata Modo. They are usually the first to be contacted by local communities in Flores in case of ongoing dynamics and/or polemics involving them. This makes Floresa and Sunspirit an essential source for understanding the development of Komodo Island and the Ata Modo community. Furthermore, as an environmental-based news site, Mongabay has been instrumental in reporting conservation and tourism development on the KNP. While news about (the dynamics on) Komodo Island are not exclusive to Floresa, Sunspirit, and Mongabay, these media are chosen because of their in-depth reports and articles about the dynamics surrounding the KNP and its grave effects on the livelihoods of the Ata Modo community.

Limitations remain to the use of these news articles. As most articles about Komodo Island and/or the Ata Modo are recent (after the 2010s), the reported news mainly only revolves around (the effects of) tourism in the national park and the shift in people's livelihoods from fishing to tourism. This has two main consequences in the mainstream discussion about Komodo Island. Firstly, conservation and its effects on people's livelihoods are not adequately addressed. Secondly, by centring around fishing and tourism as the Ata Modo's livelihoods, this has negated the gender's role in the community as the currently labelled tourism-related jobs (e.g., naturalist guides, boat operators, tourist guides, and souvenir sellers) are still predominantly men's job in the area. The same goes for fishing, which the men of Ata Modo have long dominated. Moreover, the resistance demonstrated by the Ata Modo, as reported in these news articles, was predominantly, if not all, open and organised resistance (e.g., demonstrations and protests) in collaboration with local organisations. While these kinds of news are important to the mainstream understanding of people's resistance, the sole focus

on organised resistance runs the risk of fostering dependency on local actors and organisations. The limited insights provided by existing published documents and media articles about the Ata Modo can be improved by a firsthand understanding through primary sources like in-depth interviews and participant observations with the Ata Modo people.

3.2.2. In-depth Interviews

Eleven semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted in order to understand the Ata Modo community's lived experiences in relation to conservation and tourism expansion. This was done with three main stakeholders: (1) the Ata Modo community, (2) local government officials, and (3) a local CSO. Interviews provide a space for in-depth discussions, which allow researchers to gain valuable insights into how people think and believe (Knott et al., 2022). Therefore, in this thesis, all participants were given an equal opportunity to voice their perspectives during the in-depth interviews. Table 3.2 provides the overview of topics covered during the in-depth interviews. It is worth noting that the table below is simplified for the interest of making this overview. Not all participants could provide detailed elaboration on every topic during our interviews, and not that it was necessary either, especially considering the limited time and the potential exploration of more compelling issues.

Table 3.2 Topics explored during in-depth interviews with each actor.

Actor	History of conservation	Shift to tourism	Changes in people's livelihoods	Past and present resistance	Future resistance strategies	Future plans for Komodo Island
People (8)	v	v	v	v	v	
Government (2)	v	v	v	v		v
CSO (1)	v	v	v	v	v	v

Interviews were conducted according to participants' availability; for example, very early before they left for work or late in the evening. The interviews mostly took place in the participants' homes. Furthermore, all interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and audio recorded with participants' explicit consent. Whenever participants spoke their local language, my local interlocutor translated it into Bahasa Indonesia, or vice versa. In total, eleven in-depth interviews were obtained. This included eight interviews with the community, two with local government

representatives, and one with a representative of a local CSO. Some interviews are more relevant for this thesis' analysis; thus, some are quoted more often than others. For a more comprehensive understanding of conservation and tourism from the authority's perspective, an interview with a Komodo National Park Authority representative was requested. However, the request was rejected. I will return to this point in the Limitation and Reflection section. The list of interview participants can be seen in Table 3.3 below. Each participant is coded to ensure their anonymity. The coding is represented by the letter P for 'Participant' followed by a number.

Table 3.3 List of in-depth interview participants

Code	Group	Background	Date of interview
P1	People	Activist; Souvenir seller	28/10/23
P2	People	Activist; Food seller	07/10/23; 01/11/23
P3	People	Fisher; Souvenir seller	02/11/23
P4	People	Adat elder; Souvenir seller	06/10/23; 02/11/23
P5	People	Souvenir seller	05/10/23
P6	People	Activist; Local tourist guide	03/11/23
P7	People	Activist; Local tourist guide; Tourism awareness community	06/11/23
P8	People	Adat elder; Traditional music player	06/10/23
P9	Govt	Village head	30/10/23
P10	Govt	Retiree of KNPA	25/10/23
P11	CSO	Researcher	26/10/23

After each interview, I would return to have casual conversations with each participant, usually over coffee, lunch, or dinner. This was needed to establish connection and trust with participants, as some participants were somewhat reluctant to freely share their opinions in a formal interview setting. Sometimes, these casual conversations led to an equally interesting and in-depth discussion about issues surrounding local politics, conservation and tourism dynamics in Flores and within the national park. The interview recordings are translated into Bahasa Indonesia and translated into English. All transcribes and translations are mine.

3.2.3. Participant Observations

The aim of doing participant observation was to gain a firsthand understanding of the Ata Modo community's perspectives, values, and experiences by taking an active part in their day-to-day lives. These valuable insights are essential to this thesis and cannot be captured from in-depth interviews alone. Participant observation goes beyond observing, as it entails engaging in natural conversations, making observations, and listening and sharing insights (Kawulich, 2005; Lasso & Dahles, 2018). These allow researchers to co-produce an understanding of people's experiences and the meaning behind actions, mediums, and symbols meaningful to the community (Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Vidich, 1955). As a native Bahasa Indonesia speaker, I could engage in meaningful interactions with the Ata Modo community, although a language barrier sometimes existed when they used *wana* Modo. Furthermore, it is important to do all the everyday things everyone else does, blending in and staying attentive to what is happening in participant observation (Bernard, 2017). Throughout my six weeks of fieldwork in the Komodo village, I followed their regular day-to-day activities, from attending special events such as wedding ceremonies and festivals to joining casual gatherings and conversations. Taking part in the community's daily lives made my presence less of an alien in the village, thus giving me more opportunities to engage and understand their way of life (see Box 3.1).

Box 3.1 Daily outlook during fieldwork

During my extended stay in Komodo village, I stayed with my host family, consisting of three family members (wife, husband, and one child). I spent most of my time living with the woman and child, as the husband often stayed in Labuan Bajo for work. In my daily life, I would start my day by helping prepare breakfast. Sometimes, our neighbour would come to our house either to join breakfast or ask for cooking ingredients. If I did not have a specific agenda that day (e.g., interview participants, visit someone, or attend special events), I would walk around the village with my local interlocutor to see what was happening there. This usually led to something, be it talking with people, trekking to Hill Ora with tourists, or just sitting with other people near the dock. In the village, the dock is the busiest and most strategic location because it serves as the official entrance to the village, houses the ticketing office for tourists, and is situated in front of the village office (*kantor desa*). When the sun had almost set, I would head back to my host family's house and help prepare dinner. Sometimes, we had dinner with our neighbours, usually filled with very interesting conversations. This varied from small talks about how the day went and the funny stories of tourists to a more serious conversation, such as about local politics.

In every activity, I remained cognizant of my surroundings: what I saw, heard, and experienced at that moment. Being aware of the surroundings is essential for doing participant observation as this method entails researchers to “intellectualise what [we] have seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly” (Bernard, 2017, p.274). With regard to this, observational field notes are a central part of the data for this method (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004). All observation notes and details were written in the notebook I carried with me every day (see Box 3.2. for an example). This has helped me review what happened on particular days during the analysis and writing phase.

Box 3.2 Example of field notes

Wednesday, November 1st, 2023.

Today, we heard very devastating news about someone being bitten by a Komodo. People said he was picking tamarind in the forest before he got bit. He was also unfortunately alone, so he had to force himself to walk back to the village. I cannot imagine how difficult and painful it must have been for him. Thank goodness there was a speed boat around so they could immediately take him to the hospital in Labuan Bajo. However, it will still take them hours to get there. I am really hoping that he survives...

News like this is very, very sad to hear. But interestingly, I noticed a difference in reaction between A [husband, local of Komodo Island] and B [wife, Javanese]. B seemed to be more empathetic and, at the same time, scared because of what happened. A, on the other hand, seemed to look calmer. A's friend, who is also a local, also appears somewhat 'ready.' I do not know if this has something to do with their customs or spiritual connection, but this is very interesting to note. Maybe I should talk to A about this when the situation is less chaotic.

Participant observation has helped contextualise the on-the-ground realities on Komodo Island and explain why the Ata Modo resisted conservation and tourism expansion in such a way. Additionally, it has provided a more nuanced understanding of the data obtained from document analysis and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, this method has made me increasingly aware of the discrepancies between what was being framed in existing studies and news articles about the Ata Modo and what happened or was being perceived within the community itself.

3.3. Limitations and Reflections

This thesis predominantly highlights the impact of conservation and tourism development from the Ata Modo's voices, perspectives, and experiences. The chosen methodology and methods have allowed me to get the needed information. Furthermore, my affiliation with my host institution and host family in the Komodo village granted me access to the community, making it easier to gain these valuable insights. However, this also made me closer to some perspectives while distant from others (e.g., the Komodo National Park Authority) with different views regarding conservation and tourism on the island. This limitation was expected because of this thesis' focus; nevertheless, it is worth acknowledging that the missing perspective from the authority's side could have enriched the analysis of this study. For instance, their perspective on the existing conservation policies and future plans in relation to the Ata Modo community. To this end, a certain bias indeed exists in this thesis, as is common and expected in ethnographic research. I am mindful of this bias and aware of my role as a researcher by not making claims or imposing my understanding. My status as an outsider has also been crucial in maintaining a critical awareness of what I saw, heard, and experienced in the field.

Ethnography entails researchers intersecting with the people of the research subject. My main aims throughout the fieldwork period were to mingle, engage, and be involved in the Ata Modo's everyday lives. However, it was not an easy process at the beginning. My background and status as a master's student from a Dutch university initially put me in a somewhat higher position within the community, which could create a barrier that would be unfruitful for this thesis. I was mindful of my identity and privilege, and aware of how this could position me differently from the Ata Modo. During the fieldwork, I tried to engage in regular activities in the village like others, joined any special events whenever I could, helped my host family on a daily basis, and dressed appropriately. I tried to immerse myself in the Ata Modo's culture and customs while simultaneously letting go of my judgements.

The fieldwork period was cut short from eight to six weeks as there was an issue with an authority representative. Although this issue was quickly resolved and I received enough support from my host family and other community members, it still made me feel less safe and uncomfortable for the rest of the fieldwork. This was a setback because a more extended duration could have resulted in a more comprehensive observation and in-depth interviews. Such an incident also raises questions about power relations within the island. During the conversation, the authority representative told me that

the village is under the KNPA's authority because of its conservation status; thus, all external parties' activities must be reported to and monitored by the KNPA. This view contradicts the community's perspectives, especially because of their indigeneity on Komodo Island. While these differing perspectives are interesting and important to this thesis, I sometimes found myself caught in between. It also made me feel cautious, especially when encountering authorities, as if I had done something wrong.

The limitation of this thesis also lies in the language barrier. While the Ata Modo speak Bahasa Indonesia, they primarily use *wana* Modo or their local language on a daily basis. Although the language barrier did not necessarily become a big hurdle throughout my fieldwork, there were instances, especially during regular conversations, that were lost in translation because of my lack of knowledge of the local language. This limited me from following the flow of their conversations, which might potentially enrich my understanding of their views and daily lives. Furthermore, translating the transcripts into English risks losing the nuance and emotion attached to what the participants said in Bahasa Indonesia. While the translating process is carefully done, it might not capture the whole meaning and context of the conversation, especially because some particular words do not have direct translation into English.

Chapter 4. Conservation and Tourism on Komodo Island

“There are many activities that are permitted for other societies but not [allowed for] the Ata Modo. If other Indonesians can do [something], the Ata Modo is prohibited. This is where I see the injustice. As Ata Modo, we have been facing many restrictions other people never have to deal with.” (P1, interview, 28/10/23)

Conservation and tourism efforts in Komodo National Park, particularly on Komodo Island, have predominantly focused on protecting and promoting the Komodo dragon. This has often come by undermining and ignoring the community's rights. As a result, the Ata Modo community has faced restrictions and changes in their livelihoods for generations. While previous studies have detailed the regulations related to conservation and tourism on Komodo Island (Barnard, 2011b; Dale & Afioma, 2020; Pannell, 2013), there have been limited insights into how each policy has impacted the local community's livelihoods. This chapter goes beyond merely laying out these policies by examining the intricate ways in which conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island have directly affected the livelihoods of the Ata Modo. By investigating their livelihood changes, this chapter not only sheds light on how the Ata Modo community cope with the impacts of conservation and tourism expansion but also challenges the dominant view of the authorities when it comes to conservation and tourism.

This chapter starts by examining the historical background of the Ata Modo, including their culture, traditional livelihoods, and interspecies relationship with the Komodo dragon. This is crucial in understanding the community's way of life before conservation and tourism expansion occurred on Komodo Island. The second part of this chapter focuses on the development of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island. The structure of this chapter follows the major 'events' that have significantly shifted the trajectory of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island and simultaneously affected the Ata Modo community's livelihoods. Previous studies and articles that analyse the development of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island typically view conservation and tourism as two separate regimes. For instance, conservation as a “new commons” and tourism as a “new capitalist formation” (Dale & Afioma, 2020, p.7). Such a division will be avoided in this thesis because it risks oversimplifying what has happened on Komodo Island as only conservation *and* tourism, when both aspects are multilayered. Additionally, regulations on Komodo Island could

have influenced conservation and tourism simultaneously. Therefore, by analysing the historical development of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, this chapter will present a more comprehensive understanding of expanding conservation and tourism and their impact on the Ata Modo community's livelihoods.

4.1. The Ata Modo: Natives of Komodo Island

The Ata Modo community had settled on Komodo Island long before conservation efforts took place. While multiple evidence and claims support their indigeneity, certain narratives—especially from the authorities—label them as ‘wild settlers’ or ‘incomers’, denying their indigeneity. This section puts together all the evidence and claims to highlight their indigeneity to the island before examining the policies that have marginalised them. The Ata Modo history is estimated to span approximately two thousand years (Verheijen, 1987). Various in-depth interviews mentioned that, in the past, the Ata Modo community lived nomadically and scattered around Komodo Island (e.g., Loh Liang, Mount Ara and Loh Sabita. See Figure 4.2.). Upon doing *napak tilas*¹, P1 mentioned that grave altars were found in several places outside the village (P1, interview, 28/10/23). Furthermore, in Loh Liang, neatly arranged *kedondo* trees, previously used to fence or border people's land in the past, are still present today. This evidence suggests past settlements in multiple locations on the island. The Ata Modo community call their land *tana Modo*, and their language *wana Modo* (Verheijen, 1987, p.3). While similarities exist between *wana Modo* and the local languages in the neighbouring regions like Manggarai, Bima, and Bajo, *wana Modo* is unique to the Ata Modo and, thus, shall not be considered the same as those languages (Verheijen, 1987). With their local language and historical evidence, this proves the assumption and narrative that placed the community as wild settlers or incomers from other islands untrue.

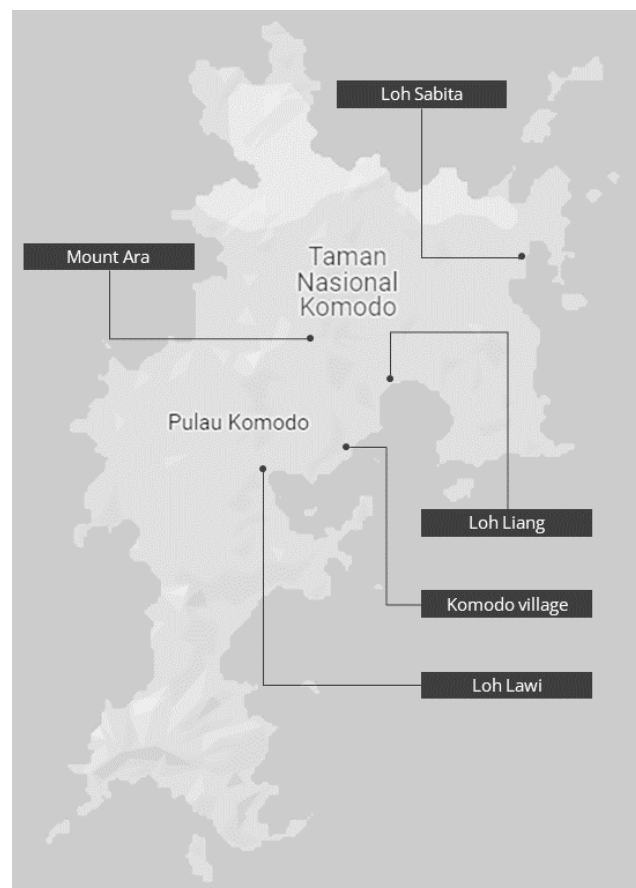
¹ *Napak tilas* refers to a journey to retrace the paths of an individual or a group/community, reflecting on important past events and connecting them to present-day realities. In this case, P1 did *napak tilas* with several other people to retrace the previous civilisation of the Ata Modo community by visiting several spots on the island.

Figure 4.1 Map of the Province of East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia



Source: (Erb, 2012)

Figure 4.2 Map of Komodo Island



Source: Google Maps; Author

In the past, the Ata Modo had their own rules to safeguard, divide, and manage their territory. This was done through their clans. These clans—often also considered ancestors (*leluhur*)—are believed to have originated from the five individuals who were the first to arrive on Komodo Island (P4, interview, 06/10/23). These clans are Umpu Najo, Ginggung Keleg, Ina Mande, Siti Hadijah, and Datuk (P4, interview, 06/10/23). The version of this history varies depending on the clan, with each clan telling their version. The origins of the Ata Modo's five clans written in this thesis is based on an in-depth interview with P4, an Adat elder whose clan is Umpu Najo. According to P4, Umpu Najo, the eldest among all, was the one who decided on each person's territory based on their initial settlement location. From this division, it was settled that Siti Hadijah would guard Loh Sebita, Datuk would be responsible for the village, Ina Mande would take charge of Batu Tiga, Ginggung Keleg would guard Sape Strait, and Umpu Najo would be in charge of Loh Lawi. Another version of the origins of these five clans was written by Verheijen (1987, pp.74-75) in his documentation. Based on this book, a Sumbanese person was given land in Loh Wau. Afterwards, Welak from Manggarai, an Ambonese, and someone from Kapu also entered the island and settled in different areas, such as Loh Liang and Loh Sabita. While the people and the locations differed between the two versions, they highlight the same message: how the Ata Modo community used to have their own ways of guarding and managing their territory through the clan's division before conservation and tourism took over and changed their ways of living.

The Ata Modo has coexisted alongside the Komodo dragon for generations (Verheijen, 1987). They typically refer to the Komodo dragon as *Ora* or *Sebae*. *Ora* means Komodo dragon in their local language. Meanwhile, *Sebae* originated from a legend about Epa, the daughter of Umpu Najo, who gave birth to a twin baby boy and *Ora* (see Figure 4.3). She named the baby dragon *Sebae*, which means 'the other half' (P4, interview, 06/11/23). Their unique interspecies relationship extends to many forms, one being through food sharing (*makan berbagi*) or feeding practice. In the past, the community used to feed the Komodo dragons with the inner parts, bones, and head of the hog deer they hunted (Dale & Afioma, 2020). Furthermore, it is known that Komodo dragon hatchlings would hide from the attack of the (Komodo dragon) adults, including their mothers, by seeking refuge in the woods or people's homes (Project Multatuli & Floresa, 2022). In an in-depth interview, P2 mentioned that a juvenile Komodo dragon used to regularly come to her kiosk in Loh Liang (P2, interview, 01/11/23). She affectionately named the dragon after an Indonesian actor, Baim Wong. For the Ata Modo community, the Komodo dragon is not seen as a scary and threatening creature. Instead, through their traditional beliefs, they claim to have strong connections with the dragon. It is believed

that if a Komodo dragon is injured, its human siblings will also become ill (Goodwin et al., 1997). This further emphasises the unique relationship between the Ata Modo community and the dragon through their coexistence.

Figure 4.3 Painting of Epa and the twins in the Komodo village



Source: Author

Before engaging in tourism, the Ata Modo community has undergone several livelihoods, such as hunting, gardening, and fishing. In the past, deer hunting was crucial for the community's livelihoods. It served both as a source of consumption and income through the sale of *dendeng* (thinly sliced dried meat) (Verheijen, 1987). Additionally, it was customary for the Ata Modo to share the remaining deer parts to feed the Komodo dragon. Deer meat was typically eaten with *mbutaq* or sago made from *gebang* palm. These two were considered the staple food of the Ata Modo. The Ata Modo used to have *lingko* in Loh Liang. *Lingko* is an indigenous Manggarai system that distributes and manages agricultural fields or gardens (Dale & Afioma, 2020). This system entails a circular field divided into wedge-shaped gardens called *moso* or *moho*, with a ritual centre at the field's centre (Dale & Afioma, 2020). Furthermore, there were several gardening-related rituals and ceremonies the Ata Modo practised in the past, such as before planting the seed (*ro Senéng paséq déi*) and during harvesting season (*kerawi lokang* or *kerawi omang rana*) (Verheijen, 1987, p.13). This further shows how their traditional livelihoods and traditions were deeply intertwined. In terms of fishing, the Ata Modo relied on *ngenti ihang* and *bagan*. *Ngenti ihang* refers to a method for harvesting small fish, crabs, and other

sea creatures from puddles and holes, mainly done by women and girls of the Ata Modo (Verheijen, 1987, p.8). Meanwhile, *bagan* fishing employs large nets and kerosene lanterns to attract squid (Lasso & Dahles, 2023, p.639). Today, their hunting and gardening livelihoods are gone, with limited fishing activities still pursued. The following sections will demonstrate how conservation and tourism expansion have removed, restricted, and shifted the Ata Modo community's livelihoods into heavily relying on tourism.

4.2. Conservation in the Colonial era (1912-the 1930s): The First Segregation

The history of the conservation of the Komodo dragon began during the colonial period. Komodo dragons received much attention worldwide after a Dutch article, *Bulletin du Jardin botanique de Buitenzorg*, reported by P. A. Ouwens and J. K. H. van Steyn van Hensbroek, published the discovery of the species in 1912 (Barnard, 2011a, p.87). This discovery sparked interest among Dutch scientists who were studying flora and fauna of the former Netherlands East Indies and, from that point, made the species the focus of conservation (Ouwens, 1912, as cited in Barnard, 2011a, p.87). While many publications were made about the dragons, little attention was paid to Ata Modo unless it was directly related to protecting Komodo dragons (Verheijen, 1987). Unfortunately, there are no detailed records on the impact of this ordinance on local communities' livelihoods aside from their restricted access due to the colonial government's ordinance for protecting the Komodo dragon.

The colonial authorities created several ordinances to restrict local communities as their presence and activities were perceived as harmful to the dragon's sustenance. This reflects colonial paternalism as the colonial rulers believed that nature and wildlife needed Western protection and support to harness their potential due to indigenous people's ignorance (Cribb, 2007). The first ordinance created by the colonial government in 1910 denied the local government's legitimacy. At that time, Komodo Island was governed under the Bima Sultanate. Tension between the colonial and local authorities escalated after the colonial government enacted the 1916 ordinance, where Komodo Island was among the areas designated as nature reserves to further protect the dragon (Barnard, 2011b). This ordinance entails restrictions for any activities that would alter the natural conditions of a reserve. However, exemptions could be made for scientific purposes with the director of agriculture's agreement (Barnard, 2011b). In addition to colonial paternalism, the colonial authorities' focus on research and science towards unique flora and fauna in the former East Indies

reflected a 'pure science' ideology that made colonial rule appear more justified as science and research have implications beyond profiting from the colonised (Barnard, 2011b).

The new ordinance in 1924 became a significant turn of events for the Komodo dragon's conservation efforts due to its contradicting interests in protecting and 'marketing' the dragon. By 1924, the colonial government created another ordinance that "took a position opposite that of the 1910 ordinance" as it removed the ban on exporting protected species (Barnard, 2011b, p.107). The Burden expedition in 1926 showed how easy it was to evade this law. The 1926 Burden expeditions successfully exported Komodo dragons to zoos in Europe and the United States, such as New York, Amsterdam, London, Rotterdam, and Berlin, until early 1927 (Barnard, 2011b, p.99). Komodo dragons, notably labelled as a 'celebrity species' among Western scientific institutions, would draw enormous crowds in those zoos, helping them stay afloat financially (Barnard, 2011b). Given their popularity, more and more requests were made for Komodo dragons. While the colonial government and Western scientific institutions received huge benefits, the dragon's exploitation had badly impacted its population in their natural habitat.

The colonial government's effort to protect the Komodo dragon took an interesting turn after the 1929 De Jong expedition. After the expedition, De Jong concluded that the best approach to protect the dragon is by protecting its entire environment, thus recommending the establishment of a wildlife reserve in certain parts of the island (Barnard, 2011b). By 1932, a government ordinance on Nature Reserves and Wildlife Reserves was enacted, followed by the designation of wildlife reserves on parts of Rinca, Padar, and Komodo islands (Kusumasumantri, 2022). The creation of wildlife reserves has set the tone for the Komodo dragon's conservation efforts in independent Indonesia, especially during the New Order era. Therefore, when discussing conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island, there needs to be an emphasis on the broader historical aspect, which includes the colonial era, as it marks the first attempt to segregate the Komodo dragon from their livelihoods and the Komodo dragon.

4.3. Conservation During the New Order Regime (1965-1998): From Hunting and Gardening to Fishing

Conservation efforts for the Komodo dragon continued and escalated after Indonesia's independence in 1945, especially during the New Order regime of Soeharto (1966-1998).

Unfortunately, there is a substantial historical gap in the conservation history of the Komodo dragon between the 1930s and 1965. During the New Order regime, Komodo Island underwent several conservation designs, such as a wildlife reserve and national park. This has brought significant changes to the region's land control and power relations (Dale & Afioma, 2020). One Adat elder recalled how the government's interference and involvement in the village "had changed our lives" (P4, interview, 06/10/23). The establishment of a wildlife reserve and a national park on Komodo Island transformed the island into an area entirely dedicated to protecting the dragon.

The creation of the wildlife reserve in 1965 marked the first major transformation in the Ata Modo's livelihoods. That year, the Indonesian government designated a 31,000-hectare area on Komodo Island as a wildlife reserve (*suaka marga satwa*) (Kusumasumantri, 2022). If the 1929 ordinance only set some parts of the island to protect the Komodo dragon, this rule dedicated the entire island, leaving the local community unentitled to their own land. Furthermore, under the wildlife reserve rule, the Ata Modo's hunting and gardening activities were prohibited as they were perceived to be harmful to the sustenance of the dragon. For the KNPA, the community's gardening activities would destroy the island's natural state if allowed (P10, interview, 25/10/23). Various interviews with the Ata Modo people demonstrated how hunting deer and cutting *gebang* palm, the primary ingredient for their staple food *mbutaq*, were no longer allowed in this period of time. They also mentioned that people would be punished and imprisoned if proven breaking the rules. As hunting and gardening were no longer allowed, this meant two things for the Ata Modo. Firstly, the ban on hunting stopped their customary food-sharing practice with the Komodo dragon, thus altering their unique interspecies relationship. Secondly, this practically removed and forced them to shift livelihoods, which further escalated when the national park design took over (Dale & Afioma, 2020).

The Ata Modo underwent a second wave of livelihood transformation after Komodo Island became a part of Komodo National Park in 1980. Komodo National Park (KNP) comprises the three big islands Komodo, Padar, Rinca, and 26 other islets. In 1980, a Ministerial Decree declared 75,000 hectares as part of the national park and was extended to 173,300 hectares in June 1995 to include the marine area and mainland Flores section (Kusumasumantri, 2022). As more and more areas—not only terrestrial but also marine areas—were integrated into the national park, this would mean more restrictions and removal of the locals' access to their livelihood spaces and sources. In the late 1980s, locals had to let go of their lands and gardens in Loh Liang (Dale & Afioma, 2020). People recalled how their gardens were burned by the authorities, along with the slaughtering of their dogs

(P1, interview, 28/20/23; P4, interview, 06/10/23; P11, interview, 26/10/23). In the past, the Ata Modo used to be accompanied by dogs for hunting. Ever since the dogs were slaughtered and hunting was banned, in addition to the expanded Islamic influence in the village, people did not have dogs anymore. Furthermore, they were being relocated to the present-day Komodo village. Previous studies used the term ‘enclave’ to illustrate the village and ‘park and parked community’ to describe the Ata Modo community’s living situation after the displacement (Dale & Afioma, 2020; Walpole, 1997). The enclosure, dispossession, and dissolution after the national park’s creation have ceased the Ata Modo’s traditional commons (Dale & Afioma, 2020).

In addition to causing displacement, the establishment of the national park also led to a shift in locals’ livelihoods to fishing. After hunting and gardening were banned, the Ata Modo had to adapt to fishing as their new (primary) source of livelihood (Dale & Afioma, 2020). This is evident in the substantial increase in the number of *bagan* on the island from only two in 1973 to 26 in 1982 (Verheijen, 1987, p.8). In various interviews with older participants, they recalled how challenging it was to engage in fishing as it required long and hard work. Nevertheless, *bagan* fishing generated high incomes then (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). This encouraged more and more people to engage in this livelihood in the 1990s to mid-2000s, known as the ‘golden decade of *bagan* fishing’ (Lasso & Dahles, 2023).

4.4. The Komodo Dragon’s Internationalisation: Into Tourism Livelihood

Just when the Ata Modo relied on fishing for their livelihoods, they had to shift their livelihoods again due to the emergence of tourism in the region in the late 1990s. The internationalisation of the Komodo dragon has encouraged more tourism-dominant efforts in the Komodo National Park. Internationalisation occurred after the Komodo dragon received global attention in the late 1990s. In 1991, the KNP was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site after being nominated as a biosphere reserve in 1977. The Komodo dragon was also voted one of the New Seven Wonders of Nature in 2011. The Komodo dragon has ever since been considered an outstanding *universal* value (Juru, 2023). This has made the discourse on conservation and tourism on Komodo Island more global than just local, impacting local developments in two main ways.

Firstly, this would significantly increase tourists’ visitation to the KNP. The number of visitors to KNP started to soar in the mid-1990s, with an average of 18% increase yearly (1990-1995) (Erb, 2015;

Lasso & Dahles, 2023). This number increased significantly after 2000 (Lasso & Dahles, 2023) (see Appendix 1). As tourism became more prevalent in the national park, including Komodo Island, more and more local people started to engage in tourism-related jobs, such as selling souvenirs. This tourism livelihood, in turn, has benefitted the Ata Modo community. For instance, the high incomes generated from tourism have enabled the Ata Modo to complete pilgrimage to Mecca (Lasso & Dahles, 2018). Various interviews with the Ata Modo people also revealed how they welcome this new form of livelihood and the benefits they can get for their families. It is, therefore, worth emphasising that the Ata Modo do not necessarily resist against tourism on Komodo Island.

The second impact of the Komodo dragon's internationalisation is how it has attracted the interest of transnational institutions, such as The Nature Conservancy, in managing the national park. The Nature Conservancy (TNC) is a United States-based environmental organisation founded in 1951 with a vision of creating "a world where people and nature can thrive" (The Nature Conservancy, n.d.). The organisation exerted its presence in the national park's management from 1995 until it disappeared from the island in 2010 (Dale & Afioma, 2020; Haryanto, 2018). Together with the National Conservancy Agency,² TNC initiated the national park management initiative through a 25-year management framework in 2000 (Gustave & Borchers, 2007). This management framework essentially entails the formation of a joint venture between TNC and a tourist operator, Jaytasha Putrindo (Dale & Afioma, 2020). Together, TNC and Jaytasha Putrindo set up PT Putri Naga Komodo (PNK), aiming to combine TNC's scientific expertise and Jaytasha Putrindo's experience in the tourism industry to develop marine-based ecotourism as an 'alternative livelihood' for local communities in the national park (Davis, 2003; Gustave & Borchers, 2007). This collaboration reinforced the shift in the Ata Modo community's livelihoods from fishing to tourism.

TNC and Jaytasha Putrindo's collaboration is another example of authorities' interference in the Ata Modo community's livelihoods and top-down nature in the national park's management. By 2015, PNK, KNPA, and the local government set up the Komodo National Park Collaborative Management Initiative (KCMI), focusing on shifting residents' livelihoods from "the current destructive fishing practices" to relying on ecotourism (Cochrane, 2013; Erb, 2012). This initiative is described below:

² National Conservancy Agency or *Direktorat Jenderal Perlindungan dan Konservasi Alam* (Directorate General of Nature Protection and Conservation). Now, it becomes *Direktorat Jenderal Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam Ekosistem* (KSDAE) or Directorate General of Natural Resources and Ecosystem Conservation.

The [Komodo National Park Collaborative Management Initiative] project will experiment with a privatization scheme in park management through a Joint Venture (JV) between the Nature Conservancy (TNC) and a local tourism company (JPU) who will implement a collaborative management strategy based on a 25-year park management plan. The JV will obtain a tourism concession from government to authorize this private sector-NGO partnership to set and collect gate fees, establish and implement tourism carrying capacity limits, and to develop a tourism licensing system. The overall strategy seeks to make Komodo National Park a self-sustaining entity, with its management costs covered by tourism revenue. The project includes substantive positive incentives (a micro-enterprise fund for local family-based business, research and development of sustainable methods of marine resource use, and a community small grants fund) and will enforce negative incentives (regulations and fines) to encourage local communities to switch from the current destructive fishing practices to sustainable livelihoods based on the rational use of park resources (GEF, n.d.).

Under KCMI's management, the Ata Modo's access to their fishing activities was severely restricted. Zoning and fishing restrictions "ended up hurting the livelihoods of the park residents, especially those on Komodo" (Erb, 2012, p.15). Furthermore, the management worked with the state security apparatus to enforce the national park's zoning system and ensure compliance by local residents (Dale & Afioma, 2020). Meanwhile, local communities were not involved in decision-making (Gustave & Borchers, 2007). Although KCMI collapsed in 2010, its initiatives have successfully transformed the Ata Modo community's livelihoods and influenced the creation of a zoning system within the KNP, including on Komodo Island.

4.5. Tourism and Enclave Community

The recent conservation and tourism development on Komodo Island has affected the Ata Modo in two ways. Firstly, the privatisation of the KNP through exclusive or 'super-premium' tourism has benefitted powerful actors while marginalising the community. Secondly, the implementation of the zoning policy has restricted the Ata Modo's access and use of their land's resources. Furthermore, this has made them a "park and parked community" living in an enclave on Komodo Island (Dale & Afioma, 2020, p.6). Although the Ata Modo has enjoyed the benefits of tourism, tourism expansion has increasingly excluded them from their livelihoods.

The concession permit³ established by the Forestry Ministry in 2010 has enabled corporations access to manage and use land inside the national park. This permit granted PT Komodo Wildlife Ecotourism concessions in 2013 to manage 151.94 hectares in Loh Liang (Dale & Afioma, 2020; WALHI & Sunspirit, 2021). Interestingly, Komodo Wildlife Ecotourism is reportedly owned by politicians and entrepreneurs closely linked to President Joko Widodo (Majalah Tempo, 2021). Furthermore, the government also granted a provincially-owned company, PT Flobamora, a permit to build an exclusive resort in the Komodo village (WALHI & Sunspirit, 2021). While the exclusive resort is not yet built, Flobamora has ever since managed tourist visits in Loh Liang until today. The privatisation of KNP has raised concerns among the Ata Modo about the government's commitment to protecting the Komodo dragon:

"If Loh Liang is taken for public purposes, for example, a military base, I would be fine even though they took my father's garden. It is fine if it is truly for conservation purposes; I will look after it. The problem is that they took it [Loh Liang] for the state's business. That is my garden, but now it has become a field for investment. Now, what about me?" (P1, interview, 28/10/23)

The emergence of market-based tourism in the KNP has ignored the Ata Modo's indigenous existence (Dale, 2020). In 2019, the governor of East Nusa Tenggara, Viktor Bungtilu Laiskodat, planned to relocate the Ata Modo as the community is considered wild settlers that disrupted the conservation efforts and exclusive tourism development on the island (Haryanto, 2022b). Furthermore, as a 'super-premium tourism destination', the government launched a plan to increase the ticket fee to the KNP to USD 1,000. Had this plan continued, it would have disrupted the Ata Modo's livelihoods and displaced them from their homes (Dale, 2020). While private companies were granted access, the Ata Modo became squeezed between tourism and restrictions on their land.

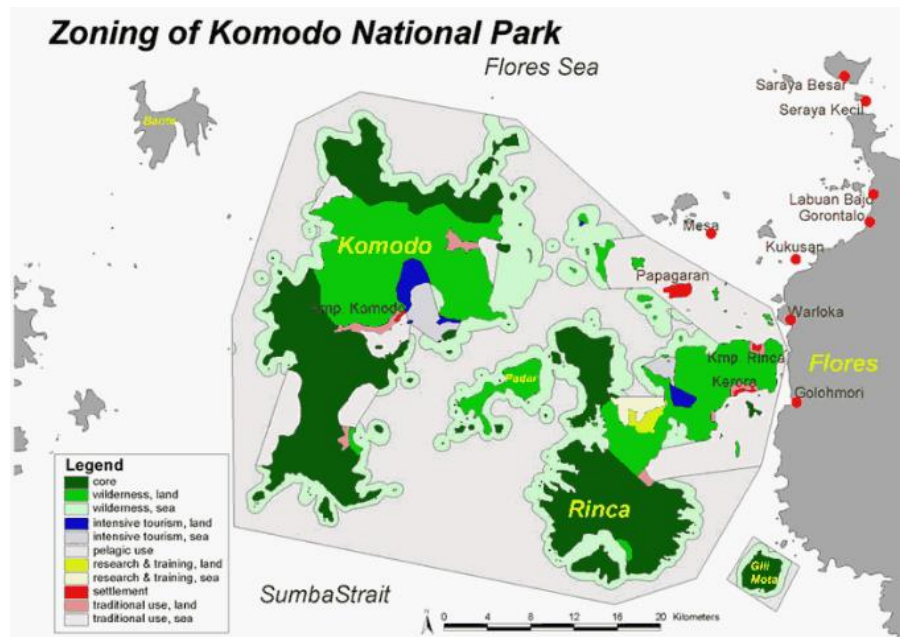
The Ata Modo's livelihoods and living space have increasingly been restricted because of the zoning policy. According to the KNPA's 2012 zoning system,⁴ local communities around KNP were only allowed access to four zones: Land Traditional Zone, Nautical Traditional Zone, Settlement, and Pelagic Use. However, using the first two zones still requires special permits from the head of KNPA, and local communities have to share the zones with any tourism activities (WALHI & Sunspirit, 2021). While the zoning policy was revised in 2020, there were hardly any fundamental changes meaningful

³ *Ijin Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam*. Peraturan Menteri Kehutanan Nomor P.48/Menhut-II/2010 tentang Pengusahaan Pariwisata Alam di Suaka Margasatwa, Taman Nasional, Taman Hutan Raya dan Taman Wisata Alam.

⁴ The KNPA created a zoning system in 2012 through the Decree of the Environmental and Forestry Ministry No. SK.21/IV-SET/2012.

to the local communities, as it only went as far as simplifying the number of zones from nine to seven (WALHI & Sunspirit, 2021). Meanwhile, numerous fishing areas that used to serve as local fishing grounds were changed to marine conservation zones and tourism spots, effectively removing the available fishing grounds for the Ata Modo (Hastutik, 2021).

Figure 4.4 Zoning system in Komodo National Park



Source: (Dale & Afioma, 2020)

In addition to limiting their access and movement on the island, the zoning system has triggered horizontal conflicts among fishing communities, an aspect overlooked by existing studies on the Ata Modo's livelihoods. Since the zoning system's implementation in 2012, more and more Ata Modo fishers have shifted their fishing activities around Lasa Island, close to Komodo Island (P3, interview, 02/11/23). However, this area is not exclusively reserved for them, as fishers from other islands also come there, creating yet another challenge for the Ata Modo community. The competition for fishing areas on Lasa Island has led the Ata Modo fishers to shift into tourism-related jobs, like naturalist guides or souvenir sellers. P3, for example, sold his *bagan* as fishing could no longer fulfil his family's daily necessities. As a result, since early 2023, he has focused more on carving wood and selling souvenirs (P3, interview, 02/11/23). As more and more fishers switch to tourism-related jobs such as selling souvenirs, this raises a concern about competition between the Ata Modo: "The place [in Loh Liang] is already full. Then if more sellers come, the income will be less" (P3, interview, 02/11/23). This suggests how the zoning's impact on the Ata Modo's livelihoods is intricately layered and has left them with many struggles, both vertically and horizontally.

Chapter 5. The Ata Modo's Everyday Resistance

“We are the Ata Modo. The language we speak is Bahasa Komodo. On this island, there is only Ata Modo. This is why we are determined to survive here [on Komodo Island] and resist the idea of leaving. Even if we must sacrifice our lives, we will still refuse to abandon this place because we are not outsiders; we are natives of this island.” (P2, interview, 07/10/23)

The quote above illustrates how deeply interconnected the Ata Modo are with their land, as well as the challenges they have been facing because of the relocation plans. The preceding chapters have shown how the Ata Modo generally has a positive attitude towards conservation and tourism. At the same time, conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island have affected their livelihoods. These changes include the displacement of the Ata Modo to the now Komodo village, shifts in their livelihoods, and disruption of their interspecies relationship with the Komodo dragon. This chapter investigates the Ata Modo's resistance in response to the livelihood changes they have experienced over the last decades. This chapter will show that it is the *expansion* of conservation and tourism that the Ata Modo resist against, as it poses a risk to their livelihoods. The aims of this chapter are twofold. Firstly, to examine how livelihood changes have driven the Ata Modo community's resistance. Secondly, to identify their everyday forms of resistance against conservation and tourism expansion in their daily lives.

The Ata Modo community has engaged in several overt forms of resistance to protest the government's policies. For example, protest action against the governor's relocation plan in 2019 and demonstration against the increased ticket fee in 2022 (CNN Indonesia, 2022; Taris & Gabrillin, 2019). In organising these forms of resistance, the Ata Modo mainly collaborated with local civil society organisations like Sunspirit and WALHI. In various interviews, some people regarded organised resistance as the most effective in achieving their demands. However, they also realised that these ways are resource-exhaustive: “But until when do we want to keep doing this? It drains energy, not to mention the economic costs that we have to spend” (P1, interview, 28/10/23). Hence, organised and open resistance is not always done by the Ata Modo because of these practical reasons (energy and economic resources) and because they await momentum. It is, therefore,

interesting to investigate the acts of resistance employed in their everyday lives and why they resist in such a way.

It is worth noting that multiple forms of domination exist on Komodo Island. Understanding power relations is crucial as it helps illuminate intersectionality integral in analysing everyday resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016). This way, it also accommodates a better understanding of the Ata Modo's pattern of acts and their subject of resistance. This chapter argues that there are three dominant actors in the conservation and tourism discourses on Komodo Island, namely the KNPA, PT Flobamora, and tourists. First, the KNPA has the official and legal power on Komodo Island, especially with the island's conservation status and as the primary habitat of the Komodo dragons. This has made them a dominant power holder on Komodo Island. Second, tourism activities in Loh Liang are managed by PT Flobamora, giving this company more authority when it comes to tourism. Third, as tourism-based livelihoods become more prevalent on Komodo Island, this has created an imbalance in power relations between the Ata Modo and tourists. This chapter will present how, in their resistant acts, the Ata Modo is resisting different or multiple power holders altogether.

The following sections explore the various forms of resistance in the Ata Modo community's everyday lives. Although these forms are diverse, their acts of everyday resistance are generally linked to their spirituality and indigeneity. This chapter argues that the Ata Modo's acts of resistance are not just random activities that take place everyday; instead, they are a pattern of practices that the Ata Modo utilise to protect their livelihoods (Scott, 1986). This chapter further argues that the Ata Modo strategise and use these acts to achieve one common goal: to leverage their position in the conservation and tourism discourses on Komodo Island. While each resistance act was carried out individually, the whole community benefitted from such resistance (Scott, 1989). The main objective of this chapter is to shift the existing notion that has placed the Ata Modo as passive victims of conservation and tourism expansion into active agents that actively seek to negotiate and leverage their positions in their everyday lives. To analyse the Ata Modo community's resistance, this thesis builds on Scott's framework of everyday forms of resistance. At the same time, this chapter will further demonstrate how the cultural aspects and characteristics of the Ata Modo's everyday resistance may (interestingly) differ from Scott's illustration. This further highlights the importance of everyday resistance studies to expand beyond Scott's framework, given their diverse contexts, cultures, and characteristics.

5.1. Spirituality

Spirituality has become a powerful tool for the Ata Modo community to defend their living space and leverage their position. Their spiritual-related forms of resistance have been manifested in several acts, such as by being possessed by their ancestors' spirits and through Komodo dragon summoning rituals. Because spirituality is seen as something that is 'beyond us' instead of an act to resist, the Ata Modo people could successfully achieve their goals without pushback. This reaffirms the importance of the use of disguise in subalterns' everyday resistance. In the case of Ata Modo, their resistance acts are hidden and shielded behind their spirituality. Furthermore, the Ata Modo's possessed acts have denied domination of the KNPA and undermined tourists' (soft) power over them. While the summoning rituals itself is not necessarily an act of resistance, the impact is important to the Ata Modo's resistance. The success of their summoning rituals has influenced and made the KNPA more dependent on the Ata Modo. These factors combined have made the Ata Modo community's spirituality deserve a particular emphasis in everyday resistance studies.

There are two events in relation to the Ata Modo's possession acts. While each story's context differs, they both show how dominant actors like the KNPA and tourists could not budge when the Ata Modo used their spirituality. Furthermore, this has also given the Ata Modo more room to push back and express dissatisfaction. The first event happened around 2020-2021 when their possessed act was able to stop fence construction initiated by the KNPA. These fences aimed to create a "pure conservation zone" for the dragon (local interlocutor, personal conversation, 04/11/23). Additionally, the KNPA claimed that it would also benefit the community as it could prevent Komodo dragons from wandering into the village (local interlocutor, personal conversation, 04/11/23). On the other hand, creating the pure zone would mean removing people's access to the hill, further restricting their movement on the island. My local interlocutor vividly remembered how, suddenly, there were many cases of Komodo dragons chasing kids near the school. After such incidents, some people complained to the KNPA to stop the project, but they did not pay heed and continued the construction (local interlocutor, personal conversation, 04/11/23). This was soon changed after one of the village secretaries got possessed in the school's field. While possessed by his ancestor's spirit, he cried and told everyone to stop the construction of the fences. He said that the Komodo dragon and the Ata Modo are siblings and, thus, are meant to live side by side, not separately (local interlocutor, personal conversation, 04/11/23). After this incident, the KNPA immediately discontinued the project.

Another possession act occurred on October 14th, 2023, to ward off tourists who did not follow local customs. As they have grown reliant on tourism for their livelihoods, the Ata Modo have increasingly recognised the importance of hospitality. This means that they have become more cautious with their 'service' and avoid openly expressing dissatisfaction with the tourists. Through the possession act, they were able to convey their discontentment and criticism towards tourists while avoiding being blamed. On the last day of the Komodo Culture Festival (14/10/23), a group of young tourists joined and watched the *Kolo Kamba* theatrical performance. The *Kolo Kamba* performance itself is considered sacred among the Ata Modo community. This performance, which derived from their traditional ceremony to repel reinforcements, illustrated how the Ata Modo defended their land from pirates in the past. Due to the mystical nature of the performance, it was common for (mostly) women to be possessed during this performance (P5, personal conversation, 14/10/23). Meanwhile, the young tourists were dressed in minimal clothing, such as shorts, tank tops, with some even bare-chested while walking around the village and watching the performance. Among the possessed people, a woman got angry and shouted at the tourists in *wana* Modo (Figure 5.1). She told them to dress more appropriately. Such an act successfully made the tourists feel conscious and uncomfortable, with some even leaving the festival not long after.

Figure 5.1 Before the possessed woman (in pink) shouted at the tourists.



Source: Author

Spirituality has become a fascinating example of how the Ata Modo's resistance challenged the domination of the KNPA (example 1) and tourists (example 2). Their possession acts highlight a few

things. First, with the different power holders being resisted in each possession act, there is a multiplicity of resistance relations (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016). When it comes to their resistance against conservation and tourism expansion, this does not necessarily and solely mean the authorities, although they are the main subject of resistance. The two illustrations show that the Ata Modo resisted any actors, including tourists, that disrupted their livelihoods and lifestyle under the guise of conservation and tourism. Secondly, the possession acts not only disguise their intent but also allow for deniability because they do not make any official claims (Scott, 1989). The message of each possession act is clear yet vague at the same time because it is conveyed indirectly. Furthermore, no actor is responsible for such acts because the individuals were being possessed by their ancestor's spirit. The third aspect of the Ata Modo's everyday resistance relates to their characteristics that are culturally direct and confrontational. This can be seen in their possession acts that, although hidden and disguised, are still out in the open. The nature of the Ata Modo's possession acts thus differs from Scott's (1986; 1989) illustration, which characterises everyday resistance as avoiding direct symbolic confrontation. This has made the Ata Modo's possession act unique to the context and culture of the Ata Modo community.

The Ata Modo's spiritual connection with the Komodo dragon has also become a powerful weapon to resist the relocation plans the authorities have made multiple times. The Komodo dragon summoning ritual is believed to have softened the authorities' attitude and made them more dependent on the Ata Modo community. In 1988, when the KNPA was preparing for then-President Soeharto's visit to the national park, no single Komodo dragon was said to be in sight (P2, interview, 01/11/23). Although the relationship between the authority and the community was tense at that time, an Adat elder agreed to perform a summoning ritual in Loh Liang (P2, interview, 01/11/23). During Soeharto's visit to Loh Liang in the 1980s, P2 said that Komodo dragons 'magically' appeared in Loh Liang. After this success, the KNPA has consistently sought the community's help with summoning rituals to date (various in-depth interviews). This indicates a changing relation between the KNPA and the Ata Modo, in which the KNPA becomes more dependent on the Ata Modo, especially with their spirituality. As a result, the Ata Modo have gained more influence and strengthened their claim over the Komodo dragon.

5.2. Indigeneity

Through their indigenous ways, the Ata Modo have resisted the conservation and tourism policies that have altered their livelihoods. Their indigeneity plays a crucial role in their everyday resistance. For example, the Ata Modo's allowance for the Komodo dragons to 'steal' their livestock is the community's resistance act against the conservation law. The community's livestock (i.e., goats and chickens) are often lost or eaten by Komodo dragons. Interestingly, this was not necessarily seen as something bad but rather to show their unique relationship: "How many goats have disappeared or been swallowed whole by Komodo? Nevertheless, no one is angry. People are fine (*ikhlas*) with it. So, when it comes to the livestock here, we think some will be donated anyway to Komodo" (P1, interview, 28/10/23). Sincerity (*ikhlas*) and pity were the most commonly expressed emotions when discussing this issue during various interviews. Additionally, there are no 'protective measures' such as cages in the village; goats and chickens still roam everywhere. When the KNPA established fences around Hill Ora that would prevent Komodo dragons from entering the village, this incited resistance instead of support from the Ata Modo. This suggests an omission of this reoccurrence, with some even perceiving this as evidence of their past 'food sharing' tradition. Allowing Komodo dragons to take their livestock has become an effective alternative way for the Ata Modo to feed the dragons. Although all community members engage in this practice, it is done on an individual level and with no coordination. Such a hidden act, and an effective one at that, has allowed the Ata Modo to continue their old traditions while going unnoticed by the KNPA, as it does not violate the conservation law.

The Ata Modo has consistently rejected the zoning policy or any policies that would restrict their movement. They have been resisting the zoning system imposed by the KNPA through their indifferent attitude and varying interpretations towards the zoning policy. This signals a denial and rejection towards the KNPA's authority. When it comes to sea zoning, some people show their indifference by refusing to acknowledge the zoning system: "Fish can swim anywhere, so it does not make sense that they put borders in the sea ... I like fishing, so I go anywhere [to fish]. I do not care" (P1, interview, 28/10/23). Furthermore, there is a significant difference in how the authorities and the Ata Modo perceived zoning on Komodo Island. When discussing the 17-hectare area of their settlement zone during various conversations, the Ata Modo's interpretations vary greatly. Some believe the area is not a continuous stretch that fits the authority's zoning system: "17 hectares can be anywhere. It can be from the beach line all the way to Hill Ora, or here to there" (local interlocutor, personal

conversation, 10/10/23). More importantly, they take advantage of this varying interpretation, as said by P4:

"They [the KNPA] said PLN [State-owned Electricity Company] is the limit. However, if you go there [in the opposite direction of PLN], they never say anything about it. That means there is no limit, right? So, we can use that land to build houses for future generations." (P4, interview, 02/11/23)

These examples show how, for the Ata Modo, the zoning on the island encompasses all areas and is borderless, which significantly differs from the KNPA's perspective with its zoning policy. Their indifferent attitude and varying interpretations when it comes to the island's zoning have thus undermined the boundaries set by the KNPA, as also raised by P7: "Why do we have to respect the KNPA's regulation [on zoning] when we are the ones who have the ownership rights?" (P7, interview, 21/11/23). As with other everyday resistance acts, the Ata Modo do not directly confront the KNPA to show their disagreement. However, their indifferent attitude and varying interpretations have made the zoning system less effective on the one hand, while potentially benefiting their livelihoods on the other and expanding their living space. Such resistance acts, though seemingly insignificant, cumulatively challenge the power relations between the Ata Modo and the KNPA.

Through these subtle, hidden, and non-confrontational acts, the Ata Modo have asserted their political presence by resisting the existing power structures on Komodo Island. This chapter has shown that their indigeneity-related acts reflect the community's awareness of the loopholes in the policies that can be used in favour of their livelihoods. While both their spiritual- and indigeneity-related acts are hidden and non-confrontational, this does not necessarily mean that the community is subversive to the KNPA and tourists, as they have engaged in open and organised resistance. Instead, this chapter argues that, by selectively choosing when to conduct organised resistance and when to continue their everyday resistance acts in protecting their livelihoods, the Ata Modo employ a strategic approach to maximise the impact of their resistance acts. The way that the Ata Modo strategise in their everyday resistance is where their everyday resistance is distinctive from that in Scott's (1986; 1989) illustrations and may contribute to everyday resistance studies. Their way of strategising is not the same as coordination because individuals and the community did not necessarily coordinate this resistance act. Furthermore, by strategising, the Ata Modo's everyday resistance acts aimed beyond opposing the authority but also to leverage their position. This, in turn, can gain them access and benefit their livelihoods.

Chapter 6. The Implications of the Ata Modo's Everyday Resistance: 'Unwritten Authority'

"Whatever the response, we must not miss the fact that the action of the peasantry has thus changed or narrowed the policy options available." (Scott, 1986, p.8)

Subtle, hidden, and non-confrontational acts of resistance employed by the Ata Modo in their everyday lives have challenged and changed power dynamics within Komodo Island. Scott's (1986) statement above illustrates the broader implications of everyday resistance towards policies and authorities. Through their acts, resisters force the authorities to take their perspective into account (Scott, 1986). The previous chapter has shown how the Ata Modo's everyday resistance acts have weakened and denied domination of those in power (i.e. KNPA and tourists). In this short chapter, I discuss how the Ata Modo's everyday resistance acts have produced and given them an 'unwritten authority' that goes beyond the state's legality and the KNPA's authority. Here, this chapter refers to 'unwritten authority' as the informal power that the Ata Modo community possesses that, although not being legalised or officially recognised by the state, influences the decision-making process on Komodo Island. The main objective of this chapter is to examine the Ata Modo's unwritten authority as the main implication of their everyday resistance acts. The Ata Modo's unwritten authority has made them an equally powerful actor, if not stronger, to the KNPA and tourists.

The Ata Modo's spirituality has expanded their capacity to counteract policies that would otherwise segregate them from the Komodo dragon with the relocation plan. This has increased their unwritten authority against the KNPA. The success of the community's Komodo dragon summoning rituals has granted them a more robust claim over the Komodo dragon than the authorities. By repeatedly asking for the Ata Modo's help to hold summoning rituals for the Komodo dragon, this suggests the KNPA's recognition of their spiritual connection with the dragon. At the same time, this also signals the weakened KNPA's authority over the Komodo dragon. As the KNPA began to recognise the interdependencies between the Ata Modo and the Komodo dragon, they have become more reluctant to enforce relocation-related policies. If the Ata Modo were to be relocated, they fear that the Komodo dragon "might also move away" (P10, interview, 25/10/23). Therefore, the Ata Modo's spirituality acts have resulted in them having more bargaining power when dealing with authorities.

Furthermore, this narrative has fuelled public support, which successfully pressured the governor to stop the relocation policy in 2019 (Haryanto, 2022b). These examples highlight how the interspecies relationship, and the historical-cultural aspects surrounding it, have substantial implications for the community's unwritten authority that can be used to resist against relocation-related policies imposed by the authorities.

The Ata Modo's unwritten authority is also evident in their claim over land and borders that extend beyond the state's zoning policy. As explained in the previous chapter, the zoning policy imposed by the KNPA has been challenged through their indifferent attitudes and varying interpretations. Their possession act successfully stopped the KNPA from fencing off the village, which would otherwise shrink their settlement area and segregate them from the Komodo dragon. Furthermore, with their varying interpretations with regard to borders in the village, this has the potential benefit for the Ata Modo to expand their living space. In various conversations, several people mentioned how the empty lands have already been bought by some community members, including the area that appears to be situated outside the local settlement zone. In another case, the community's indigenous claim has contested the KNPA's control over Komodo Island. P1, for instance, succeeded in reclaiming his grandmother's land, which the KNPA tried to take to build a resort office (P1, interview, 28/10/23). These examples shed further light on the Ata Modo's unwritten authority, which is powerful enough for them to not only defend but also to negotiate with the authorities. It further highlights how the Ata Modo's indigenous claims and resistance when it comes to their land can challenge state regulations and force the authority to consistently negotiate with them.

The Ata Modo's authority is unwritten yet powerful as it extends beyond the legalities produced by the state. Their possession acts have rendered them possible to cancel policies and challenge tourists' soft power in the tourism discourse on Komodo Island. Their spiritual connection with the Komodo dragon through the summoning rituals has weakened the KNPA's authority and made them more dependent on the Ata Modo. Furthermore, their indigeneity-related acts have enabled them to continue their past food-sharing practice with the Komodo dragon and defend their living space. The Ata Modo have asserted their agency and made their political presence felt through their hidden, less direct, and non-confrontational everyday acts of resistance (Scott, 1986). Even though the KNPA has the official power, the Ata Modo's everyday resistance has produced an unwritten authority that is equally, if not more, powerful enough to protect their livelihoods against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island has shifted the Ata Modo's livelihoods multiple times, disrupted their indigenous ways of living, and altered their unique interspecies relationship with the Komodo dragon. While under explored in the existing literature, the Ata Modo have long resisted the expansion of conservation and tourism. The central aim of this study has been to demonstrate the Ata Modo's lived experiences with regard to expanding conservation and tourism and, more importantly, how the community has resisted against this in their everyday lives.

In analysing the Ata Modo's resistance acts, this thesis builds on the everyday resistance framework introduced by James Scott (1986). Everyday resistance has provided a critical lens in identifying and investigating the Ata Modo's subtle, hidden, and non-confrontational acts crucial and unique to them to protect their livelihoods from expanding conservation and tourism. These acts of resistance are neither resource-heavy nor require complex organisations, making them more than feasible to be done by all elements within the Ata Modo community. Therefore, everyday resistance also minimises the creation of local patrons or elites; instead, it makes resistance a collective effort—although not being planned out and conducted individually—owned by the whole community.

Interviews and participant observations with the Ata Modo people have revealed that their everyday resistance acts are related to their spirituality and indigeneity. Their resistance has not only served as a means of survival but also as a strategy for protecting their livelihoods and control over their native land. This has made the Ata Modo active agents instead of passive victims in their everyday struggles against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo Island. Their spirituality and indigeneity acts have shown how these different types of resistance are employed not solely because of the power relations at play but also because of their strategy and ability to identify the loopholes in the existing conservation and tourism policies. The Ata Modo's possession acts, summoning rituals, indifferent attitudes, and varying interpretations toward the island's zoning have produced an 'unwritten authority' that is equally, if not more, powerful than the other power holders on Komodo Island, such as (and especially) the KNPA, tourists, and PT Flobamora. Therefore, their everyday resistance extends beyond mitigating and denying domination, as suggested by Scott (1986), to challenging and changing existing power relations that have placed them in a subordinate position. The way that they assert their agency and change the existing power structures makes the Ata Modo's everyday resistance a critical contribution to everyday resistance studies.

Although this study has investigated the Ata Modo's resistance in response to the livelihood changes they have faced, several topics are yet to be explored. First, this thesis has not been able to examine the impact of colonial conservation policies on the Ata Modo's livelihoods. Further research is thus crucial to investigate this aspect in order to provide a complete picture of the historical developments in Ata Modo's changing livelihoods due to conservation and tourism expansion. Second, as the Ata Modo have engaged in multiple organised resistance, it would be interesting to investigate how their organised resistance can encourage everyday resistance and vice versa (Lilja et al., 2017). Further research on this topic could explore how the combination of organised resistance and everyday resistance may strengthen, or even weaken, the Ata Modo's resistance against conservation and tourism expansion on Komodo island.

Finally, the Ata Modo's everyday resistance on Komodo Island has demonstrated the complex interplays between conservation, tourism, and local communities. Rather than viewing resistance solely as an open and organised act, this thesis has demonstrated how the subtle, hidden, and non-confrontational forms of everyday resistance are powerful enough to challenge and change power relations to benefit local communities. Furthermore, by focusing on everyday resistance, this thesis emphasises the importance of local communities' experiences, voices, and perspectives, which are often unmentioned and uninvolved in the conservation and tourism agenda. The Ata Modo's case has shown that, while they have long been marginalised by the expanding conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, the community continues to assert their political presence and active agencies in defending their livelihoods and protecting their interspecies relationship with the Komodo dragon, with or without the help of external actors. After all, the Ata Modo people are natives of Komodo Island, and will continue to be.

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Appendix 1. Tourist arrivals in the Komodo National Park (2001-2020)

Year	International Visitors	Domestic Visitors	Total
2001	1,476	12,612	14,088
2002	1,249	12,863	14,112
2003	1,282	10,305	11,587
2004	13,396	1,651	15,047
2005	16,904	1,742	18,646
2006	16,559	1,114	17,673
2007	19,307	762	20,069
2008	20,814	948	21,762
2009	34,954	1,580	36,534
2010	41,707	2,965	44,672
2011	41,833	6,177	48,010
2012	41,972	8,010	49,982
2013	54,147	9,654	63,801
2014	67,089	13,537	80,626
2015	76,195	19,215	95,410
2016	78,617	29,094	107,711
2017	76,612	48,457	125,069
2018	121,411	55,423	176,834
2019	144,068	77,635	221,703
2020	13,089	38,529	51,618

Source: (Lasso & Dahles, 2023)

Appendix 2. Interview guide with the Ata Modo people

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon/evening. Thank you for making the time for this in-depth interview. My name is Angel. I am a second-year master's student in International Development at Wageningen University. Currently, I am working on my thesis about the Ata Modo people and their resistance against tourism expansion on Komodo Island. In-depth interviews with the Ata Modo people, including you, are then needed to understand the Ata Modo people's lived experiences in relation to tourism expansion. Therefore, your insights and experiences are crucial for the completion of my thesis. Before we start the interview, I would like to mention several things:

- a. This interview will last approximately 45-60 minutes.
- b. There are no right or wrong answers during this interview. Your answers will help me tremendously to understand your perspectives and experiences with regard to conservation and tourism expansion in Desa Komodo.
- c. This interview will be recorded (only audio) for data analysis purposes only.
- d. The outcomes of this interview will be collected and analysed for my thesis. However, your identity will be kept confidential.

Background information

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - a. Name, age, educational background, (current) occupation.
 - b. How long have you worked in your current job?
 - c. What was your previous job? When and why did you switch jobs?
2. How long have you lived in the village?
 - a. (if not a local resident) How and why did you move here?
 - b. What about your (grand) parents?
3. Could you tell me about the history of the Komodo village?
 - a. Based on your childhood experience, what have been the significant changes here? → Think about people's relationship with the dragons, the ties within the community, and shifts in people's jobs and ways of life.
4. Regarding (local) food in the Komodo village, what changes did you observe in the past and present?
 - a. Is there any particular food or dish that reminds you of your childhood?
 - b. From all the local food you mentioned, are they still easily accessible in recent years?
 - c. Has there been any local food that became unavailable? What has caused this unavailability?
 - d. Are there any food or food-related traditions that might be harder to find or practice in the future?
 - e. How do you feel about this scarcity/unavailability?

Conservation and tourism on Komodo Island
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5. What do you think of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, especially here in the village?
 - a. What was the situation like before? Could you elaborate more on this?
 - b. What have been the significant changes between the previous and present situation?
6. How do you see conservation and tourism affecting you and your family?
 - a. How has it affected your job? What about your spouse?

- b. How has it affected your livelihoods?
- c. How has it affected your daily life?

7. How do you see conservation and tourism affecting...

- a. The Ata Modo community?
- b. Komodo dragons?
- c. The (local/national) government?
- d. Local business owners?
- e. Big businesses/corporations?

8. Have you heard about the tourism zoning policy in the Komodo National Park?

- a. (if yes) What do you think of the zoning policy?
- b. (if yes) How has the zoning policy affected the Ata Modo people?
- c. (if yes) What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
- d. (if not) What do you think this policy entails?

9. Have you heard about the designation of Labuan Bajo and Komodo National Park as one of the super-premium tourist destinations?

- a. (if yes) How has this affected the Ata Modo people?
- b. (if yes) What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
- c. (if yes) In your opinion, how will this affect the Ata Modo people in the future?
- d. (if not) What do you think this policy entails?

10. Considering the current conservation and tourism situation, what do you think should be improved upon?

- a. What would be the best way to engage the Ata Modo people in conservation and tourism on Komodo Island?
- b. How would you imagine this to be realised?
- c. Who has the responsibility to make this happen? Why is it so?

Ata Modo people's ways of resisting
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11. As an Ata Modo, what would you perceive as threats? Could you give an example?

- a. Do you think the threats that you mentioned will (re)occur in the future? Why so?
- b. How do you think these threats will be best managed/overcome in the future?
- c. Which actors are needed to support you and the Ata Modo community? Why is it so?

12. What do you think of resistance? Why so?

If they are unfamiliar with the term 'resistensi', perhaps try other words like 'perlawanan' or 'pertahanan'.

- a. Do you think resistance can help you, your family, or your community in any way? Why so?

After hearing their thoughts on resistance, explain that resistance, as used in this thesis, refers to the 'everyday forms of resistance.' This form of resistance also and mainly covers the covert act of resistance. This is characterised by any hidden, subtle, and non-direct symbolic confrontation forms of resisting those in power, especially regarding tourism expansion on Komodo Island.

- b. Which acts of resistance do you see as more beneficial? Why is it so?

13. Have you been involved in any acts of resistance in the past decade?

- a. Why did you (not) participate in any resistance?
- b. How do you feel about the (specific) resistance?
- c. (if yes) How did you first get involved?

- d. (if yes) When and how was it being organised?
 - e. (if yes) How were they usually organised?
 - f. (if not) Are there any things or instances that will make you involved in resistance?
14. Have any of your family members been involved in any acts of resistance in the past decade?
- a. As far as you know, why were they (not) involved in any resistance?
 - b. How do you feel about their involvement?
15. Have you observed differences in the roles of women and men of Ata Modo in the resistance?
- a. (if yes) In your opinion, what shapes these (role) differences?
 - b. (if not) What makes it the same for women and men in the resistance?
 - c. Could you give examples of why it is the same or different?
16. Has there been any collaboration or support between the Ata Modo people and other parties so far?
- a. (if yes) Could you mention the organisation's name?
 - b. (if yes) What kind of collaboration has been organised so far?
 - c. (if yes) What kind of collaboration would you still like to see in the future?
17. How has resistance affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, and vice versa?
18. Overall, what lessons have you learned regarding the community's resistance?
- a. What have been the achievements of the resistance so far?
 - b. What have been the downsides of the resistance so far?

Final remarks

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview and for sharing your valuable insights. Your contribution to this discussion is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 3. Interview guide with local government officials

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon/evening. Thank you for making the time for this in-depth interview. My name is Angel. I am a second-year master's student in International Development at Wageningen University. Currently, I am working on my thesis about the Ata Modo people and their resistance against tourism expansion on Komodo Island. In-depth interviews with the people involved in the resistance of the Ata Modo people, including your organisation, are then needed to understand the people's resistance. Therefore, your insights and experiences are crucial for the completion of my thesis. Before we start the interview, I would like to mention several things:

- a. This interview will last for approximately 45-60 minutes.
- b. There are no right or wrong answers during this interview. Your answers will help me tremendously to understand your perspectives and experiences with regard to conservation and tourism in Desa Komodo.
- c. This interview will be recorded (only audio) for data analysis purposes only.
- d. The outcomes of this interview will be collected and analysed for my thesis. However, your identity will be kept confidential.

Background information

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - a. Name, age, educational background, city/town of origin.
 - b. How long have you worked here, and which position do you currently hold in the organisation?
 - c. What does this position entail?
2. Could you share a little bit about your organisation?
 - a. What is the focus or mission of your organisation, especially on Komodo Island?
 - b. What kind of activity has your organisation conducted on Komodo Island, especially in the village?
 - c. What was/is your role in these activities?
3. How long have you been involved in Komodo Island?
 - a. Could you share your experiences working here, especially with the Ata Modo?
 - b. What did you know about the history of the village?
 - c. What have been the significant changes here?

Conservation and tourism on Komodo Island
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4. What do you think of conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, especially in the village?
 - a. What was the situation before?
 - b. What have been the significant changes between the past and present situation, especially with regard to conservation-related policies and regulations?
5. How do you see conservation affecting...
 - a. The people of Ata Modo?
 - b. Komodo dragons?
 - c. Local NGOs?
 - d. The (local/national) government?
 - e. Local business owners?
 - f. Big businesses/corporations?

6. What do you think of the zoning policy in Komodo National Park?
 - e. How has the zoning policy affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, especially in the village?
 - f. How has the zoning policy affected the Ata Modo people? Specifically on their livelihoods.
 - g. What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
 - h. How will this zoning policy affect the Ata Modo people in the future?
7. What do you think of Labuan Bajo as one of the super-premium tourist destinations?
 - e. How has this affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island?
 - f. How has this affected the Ata Modo people? Specifically on their livelihoods.
 - g. What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
 - h. What are the future plans for Komodo Island as a super-premium tourist destination?
 - i. How will this policy affect the Ata Modo people in the future?
8. Considering the current conservation and tourism situation, what do you think should be improved upon?
 - a. How would you envision conservation on Komodo Island, especially in the village?
 - b. What would be the best way to involve the Ata Modo people in conservation?
 - c. Who has the responsibility to make this happen? Why do you say so?

Ata Modo people's way of resisting

9. What would you perceive as threats when it comes to Komodo Island? Could you give an example?
 - a. What would you consider as threats to the Ata Modo community? Could you give an example?
 - b. What would be the best way to manage/overcome these threats and prevent them from reoccurring in the future?
10. What do you think of resistance? Why so?

If they are unfamiliar with the term 'resistensi', perhaps try other words like 'perlawanan' or 'pertahanan'. After hearing their thoughts on resistance, explain that resistance, as used in this thesis, refers to the 'everyday forms of resistance.' This form of resistance also and especially covers the covert act of resistance. This is characterised by any hidden, subtle, and non-direct symbolic confrontation forms of resisting those in power, especially concerning tourism expansion on Komodo Island.

 - a. Do you think resistance can help the Ata Modo community? Why do you think so?
 - b. How has people's resistance affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, and vice versa?
12. Based on your experience, which actor has been the closest to supporting and helping the Ata Modo community?
 - a. Could you give examples?
 - b. What do you think of this collaboration between Ata Modo and the actor you mentioned?

Final remarks

13. What are your organisation's plans to further support the Ata Modo people?
 - a. Regarding conservation, tourism, and the livelihoods of the Ata Modo. What would be your role?
 - b. Will there be any collaborations with other actors, such as NGOs, in the future?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview and for sharing your valuable insights. Your contribution to this discussion is greatly appreciated.

Appendix 4. Interview guide with CSOs

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon/evening. Thank you for making the time for this in-depth interview. My name is Angel. I am a second-year master's student in International Development at Wageningen University. Currently, I am working on my thesis about the Ata Modo people and their resistance against tourism expansion on Komodo Island. In-depth interviews with the people involved in the resistance of the Ata Modo people, including your organisation, are then needed to understand the people's resistance. Therefore, your insights and experiences are crucial for the completion of my thesis. Before we start the interview, I would like to mention several things:

- e. This interview will last for approximately 45-60.
- f. There are no right or wrong answers during this interview. Your answers will help me tremendously to understand your perspectives and experiences with regard to conservation and tourism expansion in Desa Komodo.
- g. This interview will be recorded (only audio) for data analysis purposes only.
- h. The outcomes of this interview will be collected and analysed for my thesis. However, your identity will be kept confidential.

Background information

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
 - d. Name, age, educational background, city/town of origin.
 - e. How long have you worked here, and in which position do you currently hold?
 - f. What does this position entail?
 - g. What made you first join the organisation? And what made you stay until now?
2. Could you share a little bit about your organisation?
 - d. What is the focus or mission of your organisation?
 - e. What drives your organisation to get involved in Desa Komodo?
 - f. How long has your organisation been engaged with the Ata Modo community?
 - g. What kind of activity has your organisation conducted with the Ata Modo?
3. How long have you been involved in Komodo village?
 - d. What drives you personally to get involved, specifically about this issue?
 - e. Could you share your experiences working here, especially with the Ata Modo?
 - f. Based on your experience, what have been the significant changes in the village?

Conservation and tourism on Komodo Island
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4. How has conservation and tourism affected the livelihoods of the Ata Modo community?
 - a. What was the situation before?
 - b. What have been the significant changes regarding conservation in the past and present?
5. How do you see conservation and tourism affecting...
 - g. Komodo dragons?
 - h. Local NGOs?
 - i. The (local/national) government?
 - j. Local business owners?

k. Big businesses/corporations?

6. What do you think of the zoning policy in Komodo National Park?

- i. How has this policy affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island?
- j. How has the zoning policy affected the Ata Modo people? Specifically on their livelihoods.
- k. What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
- l. How will this zoning policy affect the Ata Modo people in the future?

7. What do you think of Labuan Bajo as one of the super-premium tourist destinations?

- j. How has this policy affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island?
- k. How has this policy affected the Ata Modo people? Specifically on their livelihoods.
- l. What have been the changes before and after the policy was implemented?
- m. As far as you know, what are the future plans for Labuan Bajo, and especially Komodo Island, as a super-premium tourist destination?
- n. How will this affect the Ata Modo people in the future?

8. Considering the current conservation and tourism situation, what do you think should be improved upon?

- d. What would be the best way to involve the Ata Modo people in conservation and tourism?
- e. How would you think profits could best be invested in projects that benefit the Ata Modo people?
- f. Who has the responsibility to make this happen? Why do you say so?

Ata Modo people's way of resisting

9. As someone who has worked (closely) with the Ata Modo, what would you perceive as threats for the community? Could you give an example?

- a. Would you think the threats you mentioned will (re)occur in the future? Why so?
- b. How will these threats be best managed/overcome in the future?
- c. Which actors are needed to support the Ata Modo community? Why do you think so?

10. What do you think of resistance? Why so?

If they are unfamiliar with the term 'resistensi', perhaps try other words like 'perlawanan' or 'pertahanan'.

After hearing their thoughts on resistance, explain that resistance, as used in this thesis, refers to the 'everyday forms of resistance.' This form of resistance also and especially covers the covert act of resistance. This is characterised by any hidden, subtle, and non-direct symbolic confrontation forms of resisting those in power, especially in relation to tourism expansion on Komodo Island.

- c. Do you think resistance can help the Ata Modo people?
- d. Which acts of resistance do you see as more beneficial for the Ata Modo community?

11. Based on your experience, how have the Ata Modo resisted conservation and tourism?

- a. Could you give examples of this?
- b. What was your organisation's role in this? And what about your personal involvement?
- c. How do you feel about their resistance?

12. Have you observed any differences in the roles of women and men of Ata Modo in the resistance?

- d. (if yes) In your opinion, what shapes these (role) differences?
- e. (if not) What makes it the same for women and men in the resistance?
- f. Could you give examples of why it is the same or different?
- g. How has your organisation ensured that gender-inclusive approaches are integrated into the support for the Ata Modo community?

13. How has people's resistance affected conservation and tourism on Komodo Island, and vice versa?
- a. What have been the achievements of the resistance so far?
 - b. What have been the challenges of the resistance so far?
 - c. Overall, what lessons have you learned regarding the community's resistance?
14. Could you explain the collaboration between your organisation and the Ata Modo community in their resistance efforts?
- a. What kind of roles has your organisation undertaken?
 - b. What was your role? Why?
 - c. With whom in the community did your organisation usually get in contact? Why?

Final remarks

15. Has your organisation collaborated with other organisations before, especially in supporting the Ata Modo community?
- a. (if yes) What kind of collaboration has been done so far?
 - b. (if yes) Why were the reasons to collaborate with those organisations?
 - c. (if not) Why not?
16. What are your organisation's plans to further support the Ata Modo people?
- c. What would be your role in this regard?
 - d. Will there be any collaborations with other actors in the future? Why?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview and for sharing your valuable insights. Your contribution to this discussion is greatly appreciated.