BIOECONOMY& INEQUALITIES

Working Paper No. 17
April 2022

Sustaining Plantations and Certifying Inequalities: Towards A Decolonial Critique of Sustainable Palm Oil Certifications in Indonesia.

By Hariati Sinaga

Legal notice

Editing: Zelda Wenner
Layout: Zelda Wenner
Proofreading: Carla Welch, Sophie Steidel, Zelda Wenner

All working papers are freely accessible under
http://www.bioinequalities.uni-jena.de/Publikationen/Working+Papers.html

Proposed style for citation
Sinaga, Hariati (2022): »Sustaining Plantations and Certifying Inequalities: Towards A Decolonial Critique of Sustainable Palm Oil Certifications in Indonesia.«, Working Paper No. 17, Bioeconomy & Inequalities, Jena. URL: http://www.bioinequalities.uni-jena.de/sozbemedia/WorkingPaper17.pdf

Bioeconomy & Inequalities

Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena
Institute for Sociology
BMBF Junior Research Group
Bioeconomy and Inequalities

Bachstraße 18k
07743 Jena
T +49 | 36 41 | 9-4 50 56
F +49 | 36 41 | 9-4 50 52

bioinequalities@uni-jena.de
www.bioinequalities.uni-jena.de

ISSN: 2566-8498

FRIEDRICH-SCHILLER-UNIVERSITÄT JENA

SPONSORED BY THE
Federal Ministry of Education and Research

Hariati Sinaga

Sustaining Plantations and Certifying Inequalities: Towards A Decolonial Critique of Sustainable Palm Oil Certifications in Indonesia

Abstract

The adverse effects of oil palm development on the environment have put pressures on actors in palm oil industry to ensure the production of sustainable palm oil. The emergence of the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) serves as a response to the pressures. While receiving criticisms, the RSPO certification has also been followed by the rise in an "alternative" sustainable palm oil certification scheme, such as the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO). The Indonesian government introduces the ISPO certification as the RSPO is deemed as a neo-colonialist tool. Contention to the certification mechanisms have mainly focused either on the "greenwashing" or the lack of inclusivity of the certification mechanisms. Drawing on insights from the decolonial approach, this paper sketches a critique that goes beyond the North-South binary and places socioecological relations at the centre of the analysis. Additionally, informed by the domestication literature, this paper conceptualises "sustainability certifications as domestication", arguing that the RSPO and ISPO certifications serve as resource making that reproduces inequalities. As such, this paper also contends that the ISPO is not an alternative sustainable governance despite claiming to be one. Additionally, the paper also seeks to draw lessons from the socioecological relations of palm oil production originating in Central and West Africa.

Biographical Note

Hariati Sinaga is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the BMBF-Junior Research Group „Bioeconomy and Inequalities" at the Friedrich Schiller University Jena. She is a political economist with a focus on labour relations. Her doctoral thesis dealt with trade liberalisation and labour relations in Indonesian automobile and oil palm plantation sectors. Her current research interests are gender and labour relations in Indonesia's oil palm plantation sector.

Keywords: sustainable certification, palm oil, decoloniality, domestication, Indonesia.

Hariati Sinaga

Nachhaltige Plantagen und Zertifizierung von Ungleichheiten: Für eine dekoloniale Kritik an Nachhaltigkeitszertifikaten in Indonesiens Palmölsektor

Abstract

Die negativen Umweltfolgen des Palmölanbaus haben den Druck auf Akteur*innen der indonesischen Palmölindustrie erhöht, eine nachhaltige Palmölproduktion sicherzustellen. Die Entstehung des *Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil* (RSPO) ist eine Antwort der Industrie darauf. Während die Entstehung des RSPO Kritiken auslöste, entstanden gleichzeitig „alternative" nachhaltige Palmöl-Zertifizierungssysteme wie z.B. *Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil* (ISPO). Die indonesische Regierung führte die ISPO-Zertifizierung als Reaktion auf die RSPO-Zertifizierung ein, welche als neokolonial empfunden wird. Kritiken an den Zertifizierungsmechanismen fokussierten hauptsächlich auf „Greenwashing" oder der fehlenden Inklusion von Kleinbäuer*innen. Aufbauend auf Einsichten des dekolonialen Ansatzes skizziert der vorliegende Artikel eine Kritik, die über die Nord-Süd-Binarität hinausgeht und die sozial-ökologischen Beziehungen in das Zentrum der Analyse rückt. Darüber hinaus werden ausgehend von Domestizierungsliteratur „Nachhaltigkeitszertifizierungen als Domestizierung" konzeptualisiert. Dabei wird argumentiert, dass RSPO oder ISPO Zertifizierungssysteme gleichermaßen bei der Produktion von Ressourcen soziale Ungleichheiten reproduzieren. Der Artikel zeigt, dass die ISPO entgegen der eigenen Zielsetzungen keine alternative nachhaltige Governance darstellt. Zum Schluss werden Lehren aus den sozial-ökologischen Beziehungen der Palmölproduktion in Zentral- und Westafrika gezogen, wo diese ihren Ursprung hat.

Kurzbiographie

Hariati Sinaga ist Postdoc Research Fellow der BMBF-Nachwuchsgruppe „Bioökonomie und soziale Ungleichheiten" an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Sie ist Sozialwissenschaftlerin mit einem Fokus auf politische Ökonomie und Arbeitsverhältnisse. Ihre Doktorarbeit behandelte die Handelsliberalisierung und Arbeitsbeziehungen in der indonesischen Automobil- und Palmölindustrie. Der aktuelle Schwerpunkt ihrer Forschung innerhalb der Nachwuchsgruppe sind Geschlecht und Arbeitsverhältnisse in Indonesiens Palmölsektor.

Schlagworte: Nachhaltigkeitszertifizierung, Palmöl, Dekolonialität, Domestizierung, Indonesien.

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

Sustainable palm oil certifications, such as the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) and the Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO), emerge as a response to the devastating environmental effects resulting from the expansion of oil palm development in Indonesia. In 2004, the RSPO was established. The RSPO develops principles and criteria of sustainable palm oil, on the basis of which oil palm plantations are to be certified. There has been a large body of scholarship criticising the impacts of the RSPO certification, particularly on Indonesian oil palm plantations. First, the RSPO certification operates as a market mechanism and thus really depends on the market incentive (Sinaga, 2020, 139). Second, related to this first point, the RSPO certification serves as a voluntary standard. Third, while the RSPO markets itself as a multi-stakeholder initiative and, thus, RSPO is viewed as a contested terrain (Pesquiera and Glasbergen, 2012; Sinaga, 2020, 150), producers and governments from the Global South view the RSPO as exclusive and criticise the fact that it mainly caters to the interests of the actors from the Global North (Hospes, 2014, 431). This also undermines the legitimacy of the RSPO certification. The lack of inclusivity of the RSPO certification is another important issue (Schouten et al., 2012), for example with regard to the participation of smallholders (Brandi, 2020) or the marginalisation of indigenous communities and plantation workers (Sheil et al., 2009; Pesquiera and Glasbergen, 2012, 7; Pichler, 2013; Ponte, 2014; Sinaga, 2020, 146). Fourth, the enforcement of the RSPO principles and criteria for the production of sustainable palm oil remains a problem (Greenpeace, 2021; Carlson et al., 2018). Criticism, mainly from NGOs, argue that RSPO certification has become a "greenwashing" instrument for palm oil companies (Hamilton-Hart, 2014, 178; Sheil et al., 2009, 46; Orsato et al., 2014). Fifth, although some criticism draws attention to the paternalistic character of the RSPO certification within North-South relations, this criticism simultaneously reproduces the North-South binary.

The ISPO was initiated in 2011 by the Indonesian government. While intended as a response to the lack of legitimacy of the RSPO certification, the Indonesian government also perceives the ISPO as an important instrument to enable it to reclaim sovereignty (Sinaga, 2020, 113). The ISPO is a mandatory regulation for sustainable palm oil in Indonesia. Some scholars argue that it serves as a sustainable governance tool that rivals the RSPO (Hospes, 2014), whereas others view the former as complementing the latter, especially on the issue of smallholder participation (Brandi, 2020, 140). Advocates of the ISPO argue that it serves as an "alternative" mechanism in South-South sustainable governance (Higgins and Richards, 2019). This arguably marks a significant shift in sustainable palm oil governance, prior to which the debate was mainly played out within the North-South binary. Nevertheless, studies on the implementation of the ISPO certification identify certain shortcomings, some of which resemble the assessment of the RSPO certification. First, the ISPO standards are less stringent than the RSPO standards (Hospes, 2014; Maskun et al., 2021, 3). The ISPO is framed around Indonesia's competitiveness and focuses more on the legality of plantations as well as plantation management, while arguably factoring in protection of

the environment and of labour rights. Unlike the RSPO, the ISPO does not set specific criteria regarding a high conservation value, but rather refers to protected areas according to government regulations (Suharto et al., 2015). Moreover, the ISPO does not include a specific provision on the protection of indigenous people, such as the right to free prior and informed consent (FPIC) in the RSPO, but rather places emphasis on the existing legal provision as well as on the government's authority to issue permits for the purpose of national development (ibid., 11). Other shortcomings of the implementation of the ISPO are related to the issue of enforcement (Hidayat et al., 2018) as well as the remaining exclusion of smallholders from participation (Hutabarat, 2017; Bakhtary et al., 2021, 6; Dharmawan et al., 2021). Environmental problems, such as deforestation, persist on ISPO-certified plantations (Greenpeace, 2021).

This criticism on sustainable palm oil certifications centres on the questions of what is being defined as sustainable palm oil and who gets to define it. This, for instance, related to the role of experts in defining sustainability standards, demonstrates the practice of "rendering technical" (Li, 2007). A recent article (Pye, 2019) argues that sustainable palm oil certification represents commodity fetishism, in which the palm oil commodity is fetishised to satisfy consumers' demands. While this argument is on the mark, the article does not elaborate on the socioecological relations from which the human and the non-human are alienated as a result of the commodity fetishism described.

The above discussion on criticism of sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia highlights at least two issues. First, there is an urgent need to put forward arguments that go beyond the North-South binary. This is particularly important if we also consider that the ISPO is labelled a South-South alternative palm oil sustainability standard. Second, many of the criticisms of sustainable palm oil certifications already highlighted issues regarding definition, enforcement, as well as the role of the state and corporations, and yet they do not go into sufficient detail on the socioecological relations underpinning or reinforced by sustainable palm oil certifications. This paper seeks to contribute to these discussions by sketching a critique that goes beyond the North-South binary and places socioecological[1] relations at the centre of the analysis. The current paper sees this as a research gap, which it attempts to address by drawing on insights from the decolonial approach. Basing its analysis on the decolonial critique, the paper is also informed by the domestication literature and presents "sustainability certifications as domestication", arguing that sustainable palm oil certifications reproduce inequalities.

In the next section, I will discuss the theoretical frameworks that influenced this analysis, those being the decolonial approach and the domestication literature. I then set out a decolonial critique on sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia by discussing the logics of coloniality in the certifications. This is followed by the conceptualisation of "sustainability certifications as domestication", which argues that sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia reproduce inequalities. I conclude the

[1] Following Watkins (2021) and Haila (2000), I use the unhyphenated term "socioecological" to put emphasis on the "full integration of Earth's constituents in 'power-laden, negotiated relationships'".

paper with an outlook, in which I propose looking back on the historical origins of palm oil in West and Central Africa and drawing lessons on the socioecological relations maintained by the societies in which palm oil originated.

2 Theoretical Frameworks: The Decolonial Approach and The Domestication Literature

The colonial roots of oil palm plantations in Indonesia render it impossible to analyse the sector without discussing the problem of the colonial legacy. Studies centred on colonial relations are on the rise and are also increasingly interdisciplinary in nature. This body of literature started with the works of what have been dubbed the Pan-African thinkers, including W.E.B. DuBois, Aimee Cesaire, Frantz Fanon and Kwame Nkrumah, who advocate for anti-colonial theories. This corresponds to the work of Edward Said on Orientalism as well as the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group involving Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Ranajit Guha, Homi Babha, Partha Catherjee and Dipesh Chakrabarty. Meanwhile, the coloniality/modernity school of thought mainly builds on experiences from Latin America and the Caribbean. One important concept introduced by the coloniality/modernity body of scholarship is the coloniality of power by Aníbal Quijano (2000), which refers to the colonial matrix of power that succeeds colonialism. According to Quijano, this colonial matrix of power underpins the global hierarchical structures encompassing social, economic and political dimensions of contemporary societies. Here, the term coloniality is used to show not only the continuity of such colonial relations, but also the "darker" side of Western modernity (Mignolo, 2002). Quijano's concept of the coloniality of power is then further expanded by other scholars, who propose concepts such as the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2007), coloniality of nature (Alimonda, 2011), coloniality of labour (Boatcă, 2013) and coloniality of planting (Gray and Sheikh, 2021).

Besides the coloniality of power, scholars of the decolonial approach also deal with two other important themes, those being coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being. With regard to coloniality of knowledge, the questions centre on the Western epistemology underpinning the production of contemporary knowledge. Scholars of the decolonial approach analyse the "geopolitics of knowledge" (Dussel, 1977) as well as the "body politics of knowledge" (Fanon, 1967; Anzaldua, 1987; Grosfoguel, 2011) with a view to challenging the Euro-American centrism in the contemporary production of knowledge. This attempt relates to the second topic, coloniality of being, which takes into account the historical constructions of modern subjectivities rooted in conquest and colonialism (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

The decolonial approach focuses on the global hierarchical structures permeating contemporary society. This theoretical infrastructure thus provides fertile ground for analysing socioecological relations. The domestication literature also takes socioecological relations into account. This body of literature has evolved as an

interdisciplinary subfield encompassing archaeology, anthropology and political ecology, and specifically dealing with human and non-human relations. In particular, the domestication literature is interested in the relations between the domestication of plants and animals and the establishment of and changes in societies (Zeder, 2015). Domestication comes from the Latin word "domus", referring to "a type of upper-class Roman house whose design enclosed women and slaves in its walls" (Swanson, 2018, 142). In the domestication literature, the predominant narrative of such human and non-human relations upholds the idea of the domination of humans over non-humans. Domestication is also mainly viewed as a linear trajectory of progress. Whereas such a mainstream narrative generalises who is defined as human as well as the linearity of the domestication process, it also neglects to take into account the agency of non-humans within the relations between humans and non-humans (Lien et al., 2018). This mainstream narrative of domestication corresponds to the mainstream narrative of the Anthropocene in the climate discourse. Although the term itself remains contested, the concept of the Anthropocene has developed as a hegemonic narrative defined as a new geological epoch in which human activities have significant impacts on the functioning of the Earth (Ellis et al., 2016). This hegemonic narrative of the Anthropocene is criticised as universalising the Eurocentric experiences in modern civilisation and depicting "changes in the Earth's system as unintended consequences of Western civilization," which means such consequences can only be resolved by the same logic that causes them (Barca, 2020, 12). Contending the predominant narrative of domestication, scholars of the domestication literature describe domestication as comprising co-evolutionary processes between humans and non-humans involving multispecies relations. The predominant narrative of domestication also reflects the workings of coloniality. As will be mentioned in the following sections, the power relations which constitute the colonial matrix of power shape the way humans view themselves and their relations with other humans and non-humans. Approached by Marxist scholarship through the concept of alienation, the way humans view themselves and their relations with other humans and non-humans also point to the problem of the idea of Man itself (Wynter, 2003). In interpreting domestication of plants and animals as resource making, Gustavo de L. T. Oliveira (2021) defines domestication as a material dialectic of the co-evolution of socioecological relations, bringing together the scholarships of critical agrarian studies and political ecology. Here, the notion of domestication is associated with historical processes that shape the human population, the emergence of human settlements (e.g. villages, cities, states), labour specialisation and the rise of more hierarchical societies (Gepts et al., 2012).

Using the concept of coloniality of power, scholars of the decolonial approach attempt to problematise and dismantle the power relations that remain intact despite the end of colonial administrations. Together with the concepts of coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being, analyses of the colonial matrix of power show how such power relations shape the way humans view themselves and their relations with other humans and non-humans. In particular, the concept of the coloniality of power is beneficial for the analysis of plantations. This is not only due to the fact that race ideologies serve as

part of the colonial matrix of power that evolves through plantations (Virdee, 2018), but also because plantations serve as a social system that travels (McKittrick, 2013; Woods, 2007, 56). The latter implies the permutations of plantations beyond the agriculture sector, including mining, banking, trade, tourism, etc. Similarly, as an interdisciplinary body of research spanning different fields, the domestication literature could be expanded to include political economy. Indeed, the term "domestic" is also a commonly used term in the field of political economy. The interest in domestication, for instance, is also closely linked to issues of domesticity, widely discussed in gender studies as well as postcolonial literature. Migration studies, labour studies, especially works that focus on forced labour, as well as abolition geographies may find affinities with domestication and imprisonment. Viewed through the three concepts of coloniality, plantations reveal not only the socioecological system of exploitation, but also the socioecological relations of resistance and liberation. This runs in parallel with the domestication literature, which also enables us to understand domestication as world-making. As Lien et al. (2018, 3) summarise, "[t]hrough engagement with domestication, we show how plants and animals matter to politics of human difference." This allows us to employ a more holistic approach in understanding socioecological relations.

Basing its theoretical framework on the decolonial approach, the paper places socioecological relations at the centre of the critique of sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia. While mainly informed by the decolonial approach, the paper also builds on the domestication literature in conceptualising sustainable certification as domestication. The intention is not to provide an exhaustive discussion, but rather an initial theoretical exploration, bringing the two scholarships together. This theoretical exploration make reference to relevant empirical studies in order to support the arguments made by this paper. The paper is based on two premises informed by the decolonial approach and the domestication literature. The first premise draws on the decolonial approach, bringing to fore the logics of coloniality in sustainable palm oil certifications. The second premise is derived from the domestication literature, referring to Oliveira's depiction of domestication as resource-making. In the following, I proceed with the first premise.

3 De-Linking the Logics of Coloniality in Sustainable Palm Oil Certifications

As both an epistemic and a political project, the decolonial approach uses the concept of coloniality to scrutinise and dismantle power relations. I argue that for this purpose, an initial method is de-linking[2] the logics of coloniality. De-linking the logics of coloniality implies bringing to the fore the workings of coloniality. It is admittedly not an easy task since coloniality, being the "darker" side of modernity, implies that the

[2] The hyphenation of de-linking signals the attempt to dismantle the logics of coloniality.

workings of the former are concealed in the workings of latter (Quijano, 2000). This analysis also seeks to explore the persistence of the colonial matrix of power in sustainable palm oil certifications. I argue that at least six logics of coloniality can be identified, as discussed below.

The first logic of coloniality reinforced by the sustainable palm oil certifications is the nation-state. As discussed above, the ISPO certification is seen as an initiative by the Indonesian government to reclaim sovereignty. Though mainly viewed as transnational multistakeholder governance, the implementation of the RSPO principles and criteria remain within the domain of nation-state. Also, drawing on critical state theory and Marxist approaches (Brand et al., 2011; Demirović, 2011), the RSPO is defined as a transnational state, in which the state is perceived as social relations between different forces (Pichler, 2013). Scholars focusing on resource politics have postulated the link between resource politics and state-making (Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001). Paul K. Gellert (2010; 2019) introduces the term extractive regime, arguing that certain commodities shape the emergence, duration and dynamics of economic and political regimes. The decolonial approach makes an important contribution here by identifying the nation-state as one of the logics of coloniality. This allows us to problematise the nation-state not only in terms of its roots in spatio-temporal European history, but also as a universalised and hegemonic collective organisation. On the former, as Yamahata (2019) puts it, the "nation-state is not only a European invention, but also a colonising tool." Here, nation-states, associated with borders and identities, are often the legacy of European colonial powers. According to Ramon Grosfoguel (2006, 177), the nation-state is considered a privileged site for social change, undermining struggles both below and above it. Nationalism, Grosfoguel (ibid., 178) goes on to argue, "is complicit with Eurocentric thinking and political structures." Although nationalism is used by anti-colonial movements to mobilise diverse identities, it has to be borne in mind that nationalism is derived from the European invention of the nation-state (Yamahata, 2019). However, decolonial critics do not dismiss the importance of the nation-state as a site of struggle, but rather highlight the limits of struggles within the nation-state as well as cautioning against the fundamentalism underpinning nationalism.

Some critics of the current structure of oil palm development propose that indigenous rights be recognised, for instance through customary rights, or the deployment of a human rights approach as a way of mitigating the adverse impacts of oil palm development and encouraging sustainable development. Apart from the fact that customary rights are politically rooted in colonial efforts to control resources (Peluso and Vandergeest, 2001), the problem with this proposal, from the perspective of the decolonial approach, stems from whether indigenous rights, along with their cosmovisions, are compatible with the nation-state and the notion of human rights. In this regard, it is worth mentioning the case of the Orang Rimba, the indigenous people whose livelihoods are threatened due to palm oil expansion. As their livelihoods are destroyed by palm oil expansion, the Orang Rimba become increasingly dependent on government provisions. In order to be entitled to such provisions, however, the Orang Rimba have to convert to one of Indonesia's recognised religions. Indeed, Indonesia

views indigenous cosmovisions as local beliefs and do not formally recognise them as a "religion" at all. Furthermore, it is important not to romanticise the notion of indigeneity. Examining the case of Indonesia, Tania M. Li (2010) argues that the notion of indigeneity should be understood as performing a constitutive function in capitalist development, cautioning against the paternalistic imposition of indigeneity on indigenous people without addressing the very structure that drives the dispossession of indigenous people from their lands.

With regard to the nation-state, Indonesia's oil palm plantations have also been dubbed a "state within state". The phrase can be traced back to the Deli plantations under Dutch colonialism, when it referred to the plantations in their totality (Breman, 1989). This corresponds to an argument in the literature on plantation economies, which describes plantations as "total economic institutions" (Best, 1968). George Beckford (1972, 8) argues that the plantation is a type of settlement institution. Edgar T. Thompson (2010) draws a parallel between the plantation and the state, claiming that the former is as much a political institution as the latter. In the context of postcolonial state-building, plantations serve as a consolidating institution enabling the state to exert its domination (Roswaldy, 2021). Resembling the colonial legacy, plantations in Indonesia are also instrumental for the state to consolidate gender relations (Sinaga, 2021). Most importantly, the nation-state, as well as the other five logics of coloniality discussed below, are intrinsic in plantation systems.

The second logic is sovereignty. As mentioned earlier, the notion of sovereignty permeates the ISPO certification. Closely tied to the classic notion of the nation-state, the notion of sovereignty deserves scrutiny as one of the logics of coloniality. It is argued that sovereignty formation is intertwined with the practice of the racialisation and settler colonial conquest of North America (Nisancioglu, 2020). In this context, the question arises as to how we can define sovereignty drawing on alternative forms of knowledge. Bauder and Mueller (2021, 4) contend that "Westphalian sovereignty has generally worked against indigenous communities." This is illustrated by the case of the Orang Rimba mentioned above. Furthermore, Frantz Fanon argues that capitalism in postcolonial countries would feature structurally dependent ruling classes. Following decolonisation, there were massive capital outflows from postcolonial states as the colonial powers withdrew their capital. Facing impoverishment resulting from colonialism, the options for the postcolonial ruling classes are either austerity or adhering to the structure dictated by the colonial power. As such, following decolonisation, global capitalism imposes limits on postcolonial states, manifested through questions of sovereignty and national ownership (Salem, 2019). In the case of sustainable palm oil certifications, it serves as a case in point that the ISPO certification arguably reflects ambiguities (Choiruzzad et al., 2021). The ambiguities in this case are the ways in which the ISPO exposes the Indonesian government's attempt to

> "restore the primacy of national domain of governance and provide more room for the domestic palm oil industry while simultaneously internalizing the norms promoted by transnational governance." (ibid., 191).

Moreover, as will be discussed later in this section, the notions of nation-state and sovereignty are particularly important for the emergence of the developmentalist ideology based on modernisation theory. Nonetheless, while it is argued that plantations embody sovereign violence (Thomas, 2019), they are also associated with an alternative imagining of sovereignty, such as that proposed by the Maroons and Maroon communities (Jaffe, 2015; Connell, 2020).

The third logic of coloniality reinforced by the certifications is governance. The large body of literature on sustainability frame both the RSPO and the ISPO as sustainable governance. Governance is often depicted as something that is taken for granted, ignoring the term's geo-historical roots. The literature argues that the term governance, especially "good governance", entered into mainstream discussions in the 1990s, in the post-Cold War context, at a time when some countries were undergoing a transition to (liberalised) market economies (Biermann and Pattberg, 2008). The term often refers to postcolonial states facing the increasing influences of international actors, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). These two institutions are seen as dictating many of the policies imposed by postcolonial states as concessions for development aid or loans. Influenced by developmental economists, the two institutions became interested in the "good governance" of postcolonial states, deeming bad governance a hindrance to national development. This issue is closely related to the adoption of modernisation as a national development agenda, as will be discussed below. The term governance is inseparable from the role of experts and the geopolitics and body politics of knowledge production. What is considered "good governance" is mainly associated with standards derived from the West. The issues surrounding the term "governance" are also connected with the notion of sovereignty, as discussed above. In this regard, it is worth mentioning what Vivienne Jabri (2012) calls the "colonial international", which offers a constructive view of the "international" as featuring the unequal terrain of imperialism. While the geo-historical roots of the term governance dates back to the 1990s, in its embryonic form, the term could be found on plantations. As scholars of plantation economies (Best, 1968; Beckford, 1972) argue, an external dimension shapes the plantation system as it serves overseas trade. Factoring in governance as a logic of coloniality allows us to problematise the RSPO as "transnational governance". Here, transnational is often defined as contrasting with international, in which the former refers to the non-state actors setting the rules and norms. The literature argues that the RSPO serves the interests of business actors in general, particularly palm oil companies and downstream industry (Pichler, 2013).

Fourth is territory. The definitions as well as the implementation of the RSPO and the ISPO are tied to a specific plantation territory and are also based on a specific notion of territory. Again, both of these issues correspond to the notion of nation-state as a logic of coloniality. The modern nation-state is defined as having sovereignty over its own territory. The modern definition of territory is grounded in the European thought of the 16th and 17th centuries, connected to the birth of sovereignty and the modern nation-state (Elden, 2013). Similarly, the literature on territorialisation defines the concept of

territory in terms of state control over land (Peluso and Lund, 2011). Scholars in this literature view territory as an important element, which precedes authority, and analyse the interplay between territory and frontiers (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018). A study on oil palm expansions in Indonesia's borderlands shows how powerful discourses on territorial sovereignty shape the making of the resource frontier (Eilenberg, 2014). While scholarship focusing on this interplay acknowledges the colonial roots of the dynamics between territory and frontier, and thus also understands the notion of the frontier as a contact zone of political and epistemological distinction (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018, 391), it takes the definition of territory for granted. Such definitions foreclose how territory is defined from other alternative forms of knowledge, such as territory as ideas and practices (Halvorsen, 2019). The modern definition of territory is tied to the Westphalian notion of sovereignty, which follows Cartesian reason, emphasising territorial control rather than personal bondage (Wiessner, 2008, as cited in Bauder and Mueller, 2021, 3). The latter is also associated with the idea of territory as embodied knowledge. Nonetheless, local and/or indigenous communities also mobilise opposition within the modern concept of territory, as is shown by scholars through the concept of re-territorialisation (Brad et al., 2015). This resistance shows both that indigenous communities reject their romanticisation as homogenous groups and that they do not always reject the modern concept of territory. The latter also has to be understood as an attempt by local and/or indigenous communities to resist land dispossessions. In short, struggle over land remains important for local or indigenous communities. This echoes Frantz Fanon (2004, 9), who argues that land is extremely valuable for colonised people. Moreover, struggles over land by local and/or indigenous communities against plantation expansion is crucial for preventing or countering the devastating effects of plantation development in terms of corporate occupation (Li and Samedi, 2021).

Fifth is monoculture. The RSPO and the ISPO principles and criteria as important factors in the development of sustainable palm oil do not challenge the monoculture practice of oil palm plantations. In this regard, it is worth noting that monoculture plantation is a colonial invention (Rodney, 1972). Monoculture plantations mainly benefitted the colonial authorities as well as the metropoles. In contrast, dependence on certain cash crops made colonised societies vulnerable, to famine, for instance. As will be discussed in the outlook section, oil palm production has not always involved monoculture cultivation. However, since the arrival of plantations in Indonesia, particularly during Dutch colonisation, monoculture has always been the main feature of the oil palm plantations. During the oil palm development in the New Order regime,[3] the contract farming scheme allowed smallholders to grow food crops on the allocated plots. However, this largely did not materialise for several reasons. Apart from the plantation-driven changes in ecological conditions, which hamper the cultivation of food crops, changing labour relations on plantations also make it difficult for smallholders to grow enough food crops to meet their daily needs. It is also worth noting that the development of monoculture oil palm plantations in Indonesia has occurred in parallel

[3] The New Order regime refers to the regime under Suharto, covering the period between 1966 and 1998.

with rice farming development. The latter serves as an important state-driven symbol for national food self-sufficiency, despite the fact that rice is not the only staple food of the people of the Indonesian archipelago.

Sixth is extractivism. Following Ye et al. (2019), extractivism can be defined as both resource-mining and resource-control. While the former refers to activities that do not take reproduction into account, the latter refers to the monopoly of control over resources. In the context of oil palm plantations, the latter is indicated by the dominant role of large-scale plantations. Both the RSPO and the ISPO certifications are well suited for large-scale plantations. The emphasis of sustainable certifications on both productivity and technology, which requires access to substantial financial resources, poses a significant challenge to smallholder participation (Bakhtary et al., 2021). As such, despite claiming to be sustainable, both the RSPO and the ISPO reinforce a structure where large-scale plantations dominate. This issue is illustrated by Sime Darby Plantations, a Malaysia-based plantations company, which is the world's largest producer of RSPO-based sustainable palm oil. The dominant role of large-scale plantations in sustainable palm oil certifications may even increase corporate power in oil palm development (Sinaga, 2020, 105–142). Such power significantly underpins the extractive feature of contemporary oil palm development.

Discussions on sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia cannot be separated from the importance of palm oil development for the country. Whilst the sector started during the Dutch colonial period, oil palm plantations gained prominence during the Suharto administration. Since the beginning of the New Order era, the narrative of oil palm development as an important driver for rural development and employment creation has become mainstream within national development discourses. The reliance on oil palm development also reflects the national objective of agricultural modernisation. Following the fall of Suharto, dubbed the Reformasi era, policies that liberalise investment were introduced. As a result, since 2007, Indonesia has been the world's largest exporter of crude palm oil (CPO). Although palm oil is crucial for the domestic market, the foreign market, too, remains an important destination. Furthermore, the expansion of the palm oil sector, once thought to undermine food security, is now even part of the country's narrative of food and energy security (Ginting and Pye, 2013). This also marks a shift in the government's framing of food security, partly connected to the change in the diet of the Indonesian people, especially the urban middle and upper classes. However, the inadequate working conditions facing workers on plantations hamper efforts to fulfil the promise of food security (Sinaga, 2012). Regarding energy security, the palm oil sector has become a key player in Indonesia's transition towards the bioeconomy. Reducing the country's dependency on fossil fuel imports is one of the main drivers of the government's decision to develop the bioeconomy. The literature argues that with the current yields, Indonesia would need land expansion in order to meet its target for the bioeconomy as well as the demands from the foreign market (Khatiwada et al., 2021).

Oil palm development as an important element of Indonesia's national development agenda operates within a development framework that adheres to modernisation

theory. Modernisation theory is premised on the idea of modernisation as a linear path of development. This usually leans towards the idea of Western modernisation and civilisation. It is also worth noting that, as a development paradigm, modernisation corresponds to the Eurocentric notion of the nation-state. As Ramon Grosfoguel (1996, 134) argues, developmentalist ideology emerged from the idea that the nation-state is sovereign and free to rationally control its own development. In terms of agricultural modernisation, this translates into agriculture aimed at producing surplus through technological progress (Haudenschild, 2018, 19). George Beckford (1972) argues that, as an instrument of modernisation, plantation agriculture has opened up undeveloped countries or regions to the modern world economy. This implies external dimensions shape the plantation system, which not only refers to the export market, but also to access to capital and technology. Beckford contends that overseas trade becomes the plantations' *raison d'etre* (ibid., 32; see also Best, 1968, 302–5). This overseas trade also ties the enslaved workers on sugar plantations in the Caribbean to the emerging factory populations in English cities (Mintz, 1986, 176). In the case of Indonesia's palm oil, all these factors are evident in two aspects. First, the fact that the foreign market remains important for the country's palm oil sector shows that the existing framework is based on the idea that participation in the world market offers the country the promise of development. Advocates of modernisation theory believe that a country's lack of participation in the world market impedes its economic development. Second, the fact that the oil palm sector is dominated by large-scale plantation companies, which are increasingly vertically integrated, demonstrates a paradigm underpinned by agricultural modernisation. The progressively important role played by large-scale plantation companies in upstream and increasingly also in downstream segments of the palm oil industry is shaped by policies, such as the Green Revolution, aimed at modernising Indonesia's agriculture. Although since the New Order government came to power, oil palm development has involved various contract farming schemes, which has resulted in smallholders making up around 40 percent of oil palm plantations in Indonesia, smallholders essentially only participate in an oil palm production network characterised by captive or quasi-hierarchal relationships (Sinaga, 2020, 125). Beckford's analysis also highlighted these unequal relations by showing that the external dimension of a plantation system provides plantations with access to capital and technology, which remain inaccessible for peasants (ibid., 26). Access to capital also enables plantations to gain a monopoly over land. These unequal relations, in turn, impede the productivity of peasants, creating a vicious cycle that reproduces inequalities. Furthermore, for Beckford (ibid., 49), vertical integration of the plantation companies essentially preserves the character of slave plantations. Remembering that vertical integration of plantation companies is a feature of agricultural modernisation, this shows the dialectical socioecological relations of the plantation system, which feature rationality and technology, on the one hand, and slavery, on the other.

The link between this developmentalist ideology and extractivism warrants an in-depth discussion. In analysing developmentalist ideology and the nation-state, Ramon Grosfoguel (1996) criticises both neoliberal and neostructural (i.e. state intervention)

regimes in Latin American countries for using the nation-state as the unit of analysis. Commentators therefore fail to see how colonial capitalism is reproduced through a world-system structure. Particularly in the context of neostructural regimes, this teleology appears in the discussions on neo-extractivism as a developmentalist ideology adopted by left-leaning governments in Latin American countries (Gudynas, 2010). A study argues that the case of BioTrade in Sacha Inchi, Peru, is a form of neo-extractivism with imperial rationality (Köppel, 2017). While the neoliberal rationality reinforces the coloniality underpinning the entrepreneurship of indigenous people in Peru, BioTrade operates based on an extractivist logic by prioritising the global market over local realities. Although the term neo-extractivism cannot be used to explain the contemporary development ideology of Indonesia, it is useful to demonstrate the limits of using the nation-state as a unit of analysis for assessing developmentalist ideology. In particular, sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia reinforce neoliberal rationality and the prioritisation on the global market over local realities. Although this paper does not specifically address the neoliberal rationality manifested through the entrepreneurial spirit of oil palm smallholders, viewing palm oil plantations as a form of modern agriculture, in contrast to backward traditional agriculture, indicates such rationality. The prioritisation on the global market over local realities is illustrated by the monoculture practices reinforced by sustainable certifications.

The adherence of Indonesia's oil palm sector to modernisation theory has several implications. First, as modernisation is viewed as an important development path, alternative perspectives on development are undermined. The knowledge of indigenous people, for instance, has a different perspective on well-being, which is connected to their socioecological relations. The Marind people in Papua, whose lands and livelihoods are being threatened by oil palm plantation expansion, view oil palm trees as something foreign and contradictory to their cosmovisions (Chao, 2018). As mentioned above, modernisation as a development paradigm is rooted in the Eurocentric notion of the nation-state. This, again, points to the problem of the concept of the nation-state as a hegemonic collective organisation, often in opposition to the collective organisation of indigenous people. Overall, modernisation as a development agenda shows a lack of plurality of cosmovisions of the national development agenda. This raises important questions about whether the nationalist agenda serves national political and epistemic liberation.

Second, modernisation, particularly agricultural, as an important development path drives and sustains expropriation and exploitation of both nature and labour. While proponents of modernisation theory strongly believe that a country's participation in the world market will help its development, critics point out that this is utopian (Prado, 2020, as cited in Teixeira, 2021, 23) as certain countries' underdevelopment is actually the result of world development. This is essentially what Walter Rodney (1972) calls "underdevelopment", or the scholars of the decolonial approach refer to as "coloniality". Critics of modernisation theory assert that the theory does not take into account the colonial histories through which certain countries achieved their development in the first place (Teixeira, 2021). Specifically focusing on plantations,

George Beckford (1972, 210–211) shows that structural factors impede further progress of plantation society, in which the plantation economy never moves beyond the stage of underdevelopment.
Modernisation as a developmentalist ideology prescribes the (re-)organisation of socioecological relations. In the following, I discuss the second premise of this article, which draws on the concept of domestication as resource-making.

4 Sustainable Certifications as Domestication

The adoption of modernisation as a development perspective means that countries in the Global South have to exhaust their resources in order to enter into and maintain their participation in the world market. This implies continuous re-organisation of socioecological relations. In this regard, Oliveira's (2021) concept of domestication as resource-making is relevant. Referring to domestication as a material dialectic of the co-evolution of socioecological relations, the concept of domestication as resource-making interweaves the extractive logic of colonialism and the (re-)creations of resources that rely on the re-organisation of socioecological relations. I argue that, within this concept, sustainable palm oil certifications can be understood as domestication. I now offer several perspectives to support this argument. First, following Oliveira's concept, sustainable palm oil certifications must be situated in the global historical context of oil palm development. As critics have argued, the RSPO certification serves as a market mechanism to ensure sustainable production of palm oil crafted within paternalistic relations between the North and the South. Not only does the RSPO certification reinforce the status quo in terms of market mechanism, it also simultaneously facilitates the creation of a niche market for sustainable products. These aspects, combined with the paternalistic relations some critics have dubbed neocolonialism, show how the RSPO certification with its principles and criteria for sustainable palm oil facilitate the recreation of palm oil as a resource associated with the ongoing influences of countries in the Global North over their counterparts in the Global South. Meanwhile, as discussed above, the logics of coloniality remain deeply entrenched in the ISPO certification despite it being perceived as an "alternative" to South-South sustainable governance.
Policies endorsing agriculture modernisation both shape and are shaped by socioecological relations. As discussed above, the essential logic of agricultural modernisation is founded on using technological fix to produce agricultural surplus. This refers to various mechanisms, such as mechanisation, the use of agrochemicals, high-yield seeds as well as other types of scientific knowledge in place of traditional knowledge. In Indonesia, this can partly be traced back to the Green Revolution. With regard to oil palm plantations, funding from the World Bank was initially used by the New Order government to finance parastatal plantation companies to open new plantations as well as to finance transmigration programs, aimed at recruiting workers mostly from Java. This mechanism essentially mirrors the operation of plantations

during Dutch colonisation. Here, it is worth discussing the rise of oil palm plantations in Southeast Asia during the 19th century.[4] Until the 19th century, trade in palm oil was dominated by supply from Central and West Africa. As will be briefly discussed in the outlook section, oil palm production in Central and West Africa at the time involved labour-intensive processes and small-scale units. The development of oil palm plantations in Southeast Asia during British and Dutch colonialism started when four dura palms were brought from West Africa to Bogor Botanical Garden. The descendants of these palms were then introduced to Sumatra, where they grew better, producing fruit with smaller kernels and higher oil content than the dura palms in West Africa (Rival and Levang, 2014, 16). Southeast Asia's plantations were also comparatively mechanised (Martin, 1988, 60–1). Another key factor is the recruitment of indentured labour on Southeast Asia's plantations, known as "coolies". These socioecological relations that were characteristic of Southeast Asia's plantations during the 19th century depict what has been referred to as the coloniality of planting (Gray and Sheikh, 2021). After Indonesia and Malaysia had been through decolonisation, the hybrid seed of Tenera was introduced in Malaysia, producing more fruit and being further adapted to processes used in Malaysian factories after the 1960s (ibid., 17). This hybrid seed subsequently became the key input for oil palm cultivation in Southeast Asia, including in Indonesia. Southeast Asia's oil palm plantations are in stark contrast to palm oil production in Central and West Africa. The former relies on the cultivation or domestication of oil palm seed, mainly hybrid with higher yield, while the latter, as will be noted below, involves semi-wild or semi-domesticated cultivation. Since it relies on the cultivation of the oil palm tree, which takes at least three years to mature, Southeast Asia's plantations are more capital intensive. Martin Lynn (1997, 123) notes that palm producers in Central and West Africa could not increase the economies of production since only a few producers cultivated oil palm seeds and palm trees also take several years to fruit. Additionally, Southeast Asia's plantations also rely on factories for processing, instead of on more labour-intensive methods. Overall, from the beginning, Southeast Asia's plantations have been operating according to the logic of economies of scale, paving the way for the existence and prominence of large-scale plantations. This confirms the three aspects George Beckford (1972, 33) argued were essential for plantation systems, namely, adequate supply of capital, land and labour. Neither the RSPO or the ISPO certifications challenge this system. This resonates well with arguments against the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which highlights the framework underpinning "agriculture for development" that reflects unilinear and selective processes catering to the interests of agribusiness (Spann, 2017). In relation to the bioeconomy, the reliance on palm oil as a key sector for the development of Indonesia's bioeconomy, could, for instance, also be viewed as an ecomodernist attempt to remedy environmental damages resulting from the use of fossil fuel (Lima, 2020).

[4] Although Southeast Asia's plantations developed in the 19th century, it was only in 1966 that supply from the region overtook Africa as the largest supplier of global palm oil trade (Rival and Levang, 2014, 17).

Second, Oliveira's concept emphasises how domestication, as a material dialectic of co-evolution of socioecological relations, shapes an extractive mode of production. This highlights repeated cycles of resource-making and resource-depleting, in turn associated with territorial expansion underpinning colonialism and imperialism. As Ye et al. (2019) argue, extractivism refers partly to resource-mining, in other words, processes that do not involve the reproduction of resources. Consequently, once resources are depleted, extractive operations will move somewhere else. Here, resource-mining refers not only to the appropriation of nature, but also to the exploitation of labour, which hampers the reproduction of labour. As such, the definition of extractivism used here shows the link between the appropriation of nature and the exploitation of labour, overcoming the alienation of the human as well as the nature-culture divide. As discussed above, despite their attempts to ensure sustainable production of palm oil, both the RSPO and the ISPO certifications reinforce extractivism. This process not only has implications for the reproduction of resources, but also for the social reproduction underpinning plantation operation. The latter is illustrated by several issues, including food security and working conditions. The literature argues that sustainable certifications have unintended negative effects on food security (Oosterveer et al., 2014). The monoculture practices exclude the cultivation of food crops. While sustainable palm oil certifications are designed to ensure the production of sustainable palm oil without compromising the opportunities for employment creation, the latter also translates into an increase in demand for food. Since the RSPO principles and criteria of essentially enclose areas that have high conservation value, plantations may then expand across areas used for food cultivation. A study shows that workers on RSPO-certified plantations face poor working conditions (Gottwald, 2018), which, in turn, hamper the social reproduction of labour. Furthermore, even if smallholder participation in the sustainable palm oil sector were to increase, this would have a devastating effect of deforestation as smallholders may want to expand plantations into forested areas (Brandi, 2020, 139).

As scholars of the decolonial approach remind us, violence is constitutive in capitalist development. Whereas a large body of scholarship in political ecology has contributed to the discussions about resource violence and state violence,[5] the salient insight from the decolonial approach highlights the violence inherent in capitalist development. Echoing this perspective of the decolonial approach, Tania M. Li (2018, 330) concludes that, "violence is built into Indonesia's plantation zones." Coloniality, as the darker side of modernity, depicts the colonial matrix of power permeating the global hierarchical structure. Inequalities are inherent in the colonial matrix of power. As discussed above, both the RSPO and the ISPO certifications reinforce the logics of coloniality. I argue that this can be understood as reproducing inequalities. Additionally, an understanding of sustainable palm oil certifications as domestication refers to dialectical processes of resource-making and resource-depleting that perpetuate inequalities. A study reveals

[5] Whereas the critical resource politics scholarship rejects the notion of the "resource curse" and posits that resource violence is associated with violent institutions (see for example Watts and Peluso, 2014), it does not go into detail about how the institutions underpin the logics of coloniality.

that palm oil expansion has a positive impact on the provision of private goods, but a weaker impact on the provision of community goods in rural Indonesia (Krishna and Kubitza, 2021). This issue also corresponds to the fact that both sustainable palm oil certifications remain at odds with indigenous rights. A recent study (Santika et al., 2020) shows that sustainable palm oil certification was associated with reduced poverty in villages with primarily market-based livelihoods, but not in those that rely on subsistence livelihoods. Recognising sustainable palm oil certifications as reinforcing inequalities is also inevitable when we discuss the persistence of poor working conditions on certified plantations. A case study on an RSPO-based certified oil palm estate reveals that while the estate does not employ casual workers as this is prohibited by the RSPO principles and criteria, it does not forbid harvest workers from bringing in assistants or helpers (Sinaga, 2020, 196). While prohibiting the employment of casual workers is a positive move by the RSPO-based certified estate, the prevalence of harvest assistants indicates a limitation of the RSPO certification, through which inequalities are being reproduced.

Rita Segato (2018, 209) contributes to the discussions on violence and colonial capitalism through her conceptualisation of a "pedagogy of cruelty", which refers to, "all acts and practices that teach, accustom, and program subjects to turn forms of life into things." While violence against women has been analysed by many feminist theorists (Federici, 2012; True, 2012; Samuel et al., 2019), Rita Segato focuses on sexual violence against women. Sexual violence against women, according to Segato, represents material and symbolic economies grounded on the perception of women's bodies as a source for profit and as territory where jurisdictional domination can be exercised. Based on her argument, it is not surprising that sexual violence against women is rampant in areas where the extractive industry flourishes. Rita Segato's theory is largely informed by anti-extractive feminist analyses on body-territory developed by various feminist collectives in Central America, particularly involving indigenous, Black and Afro-descendant women (Gago, 2020). The concept of body-territory contends that the exploitation of the commons and the community is connected to the exploitation of each person's body and collective body through dispossession (ibid., 180). This line of argument corresponds to a feminist analysis that views colonisation and domestication as closely related (Mies et al., 1988). According to this analysis, the domestication of women runs parallel with colonialism, in which both women and the colonised people are exploited. Women as colonies are thus understood as territories being looted through violent force (Gago, 2020, 177). Recalling the argument that sustainable certifications reinforce extractivism as a part of the logics of coloniality, these feminist analyses are useful to help us understand why sexual violence, rape and abuses against women prevail on certified plantations in Indonesia. An investigation report by the Associated Press reveals that women experience rape and abuse even on the certified oil palm plantations in Indonesia (Mason and McDowell, 2020). This critical account, which sheds light on the violence

inherent in the colonial capitalist development of sustainable palm oil certifications, certainly transcends proposals aimed at adopting practices of gender equality and women's empowerment in sustainable palm oil certification (see Basnett et al., 2016).

5 Conclusions and Outlook: Lessons from Central and West Africa

The RSPO and the ISPO certifications have been appreciated as timely responses to the pressures to ensure production of sustainable palm oil. Nevertheless, a large body of scholarship has levelled criticisms at these sustainable palm oil certifications. This paper attempts to contribute to this scholarship by offering a critique that goes beyond the North-South binary and placing socioecological relations at the centre of the analysis. Drawing on theoretical insights from the decolonial approach, this paper attempts to criticise the sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia by exploring the logics of coloniality. By bringing to fore the logics of coloniality, this paper demonstrates how these logics are deeply entrenched both in the RSPO and the ISPO certifications. These logics are intrinsic in the plantation system. I argue that exposing the logics of coloniality is an important step towards providing a critique that goes beyond the North-South binary. Moreover, building on Oliveira's concept of domestication as resource-making, this paper proposes "sustainable palm oil certification as domestication", which can be understood as dialectical processes of resource-making and resource-depleting that reproduce inequalities. Since the RSPO and ISPO certifications reinforce the logics of coloniality and reproduce inequalities, this paper also argues that the ISPO is not an alternative sustainable governance despite claiming to be one.

As palm oil is an important input for Indonesia's transition towards bioeconomy, ensuring the sustainability of palm oil production is crucial. As this paper discusses at great length, sustainable palm oil certifications in Indonesia not only reinforce the logics of coloniality but can also be understood as "domestication". While the paper is interested in "domestication" as resource-making, sustainable palm oil certifications also domesticate the notion of sustainability in terms of imagining socioecological relations pertaining to palm oil production. As indicated earlier, the logics of coloniality reinforced by sustainable palm oil certification in Indonesia are inherent in the plantation system. While contemporary palm oil production, including certified sustainable palm oil, predominantly occurs on plantations, this was not the case in the countries where palm oil originated. I propose that we look back at the origins of palm oil in Central and West Africa in order to grasp the socioecological relations historically maintained by the societies there. This serves as an important basis for envisaging sustainable palm oil. This also sheds light on alternative forms of knowledge overlooked in the discussions on oil palm development. As with the history of rice cultivation in the Americas (Carney, 2001), the historical origins of palm oil in West and Central Africa are either less known or only mentioned in passing, illustrating the coloniality of knowledge in the agriculture sector. These "sociologies of absences" (de Sousa Santos, 2001, 13)

need to be brought to light in order to, "envision what is beyond them as a condition for their successful resistance and possible alternatives." In the following, I will briefly discuss the socioecological relations constituting the palm oil production in Central and West Africa as well as the palm oil diaspora in Bahia, Brazil. This discussion also helps counter the problems of the Plantationocene scholarship, which diminishes the deep history of the Black struggle and the ways in which the enslaved propose alternative multispecies relations (Davis et al., 2019, 5).

In the context of its historical origins in Central and West Africa, palm oil was produced from semi-wild or semi-domesticated oil palm trees. The tropical forests across the region provided an excellent environment for the palm trees to grow (Rival and Levang, 2014, 13). The seeds were dispersed by animals and humans following harvest time. Areas with slash-and-burn cultivation provide fertile ground for the growth of oil palm trees. The spread of oil palm trees was accompanied by the development of intensive agriculture in the region's forests (Lynn, 1997, 55). Deliberate planting of oil palm trees, or palm tree farming, largely did not occur until after the 19th century following the emergence of oil palm trade with Europe (ibid.) The trees grew together with other food crops. The polyculture practice of palm oil production mainly involved small-scale production units (Lynn, 1997, 56). Whereas the wild palm trees were accessible to everyone and the rights of usage of palm trees were enjoyed by the community as a whole, the oil palm trees that grew around certain compounds were attached to the households that tended the trees (ibid., 51). Palm oil is an essential part of the cuisine and overall culture of the people in Central and West Africa. The oil palm tree, for instance, is viewed as the tree of life in Yorubaland. The spiritual belief associated with palm oil is combined with the use of palm oil as traditional medicine. The processing of palm fruit into palm oil is labour intensive and mainly done by women. Indeed, women[6] have always played a key role in palm oil processing and trading, particularly before Central and West Africa began to participate in the global palm oil trade. Societies in Central and West Africa already had a long history of domestic trade in palm oil prior to exporting palm oil to Europe.

The spread of palm oil to Latin America is connected with the history of the transatlantic slave trade. Palm oil was brought as a food staple for the enslaved, and was sometimes also used as medicine, even by the Europeans. This shows how African agricultural and medical knowledge was appropriated by the Europeans through the transatlantic slave trade (Watkins, 2021, 69). The prominence of palm oil or dendê oil in Afro-Brazilian culture is apparent. Dendê serves as „a material and symbolic essence of Afro-Brazilian identity and expression, simultaneously providing direct connection to Africa" (ibid., 20). Dendê is also an important element of Afro-Brazilian spirituality (ibid., 19). The supply of dendê for Afro-Brazilian cuisine mainly relies on palm oil from Bahia's Atlantic rainforest. The rainforest is home to oil palm trees in various agroecological settings, with the majority being of semi-wild palm groves (ibid., 21). This resembles the main characteristic of oil palm production in Central and West Africa, as mentioned above.

[6] According to Oyèrónké Oyewùmí (1997), for the Yoruba people, the term "woman" is, however, a colonial invention, which shows how colonialism shapes gender relations in colonised societies.

Animals, particularly vultures, play an important role in the dispersion of the oil palm seeds. Palm oil was brought to Bahia through the slave trade and demonstrates the socioecological resistance of Afro-Brazilians. The former shows that Bahia serves as a "space of encounter" (McKittrick, 2011). The latter is associated with how enslaved people collaborated in and with landscapes to shape environmental change and agricultural developments in the colonial Americas (Watkins, 2021, 29). This included provision grounds and subsistence plots, facilitating socioecological change and diasporic creativity. Subsistence plots became "the botanical gardens of the Atlantic world's dispossessed" (Carney and Rosomoff, 2009) and epitomised "cultural guerrilla resistance to the plantation system" (Wynter, 1971). The plots also embody different forms of knowledge. This embodied knowledge later inspired emancipated slaves, who became peasants and began to practice polyculture on their smallholdings. This demonstrates that the practice of agrobiodiversity is an integral part of subsistence plots (Carney, 2021). As a sacred symbol of the Afro-Brazilians people, dendê has a diasporic link to African oil palm. This is an example of how territory is being defined by different forms of alternative knowledge, such as ideas, practices, and personal bonds. It also corresponds to what scholars in the domestication literature call a "domus" that extends far beyond the locality and implies taking into account the shifting of socioecological relations. More importantly, Afro-Brazilian dendê, which is a symbol of resistance and liberation, resembles domestication as world-making.

The discussions above enable us to identify several issues that can help us imagine sustainable palm oil from the perspective of the decolonial approach. First, the socioecological relations pertaining to oil palm production in Central and West Africa as well as the palm oil diaspora in Brazil allow us to view sustainable palm oil from a post-extractive perspective. Palm oil production is a part of a polyculture cultivation system, which enables people to grow other food crops as well. Palm oil production involves small-scale units because it is primarily to be used for subsistence purposes. This also implies re-centring local livelihoods and realities. The emphasis on small-scale production also shows the key role played by peasants in the production of sustainable palm oil. Second, the socioecological relations also enable us to imagine a notion of sustainable palm oil that involves human/non-human relations as co-evolutionary processes. The semi-wild or semi-domesticated character of oil palm production in Central and West Africa as well as in Bahia highlights the co-agency of animals and plants, revealing "hybrid geographies" (Whatmore, 2002). These socioecological relations also benefit both humans and non-humans, thus illustrating "mutualism" (Bronstein, 2015, as cited in Watkins, 2021, 54). Third, not only is palm oil an essential part of food and culture in Central and West Africa as well as in Bahia, but it is also an important aspect of people's spirituality. Both the decolonial approach (Ortega, 2017) and the domestication literature (Remme, 2018) take into account the spiritual dimension, often dismissed by other scholarships that remain influenced by the Western separation of nature and culture. The issue of spirituality raises questions on how palm oil is perceived by indigenous peoples who are dispossessed due to palm oil

expansion, as we learn from the case of the Marind people in Papua mentioned in the previous section. Third, the issue of spirituality is tied to cosmovisions, inseparable from land and knowledge. Land should not only be understood as something territorial as per the modern definition, but also as something non-territorial, such as practices, ideas and personal bonds. Here, knowledge goes beyond Cartesian dualism. Hence, imagining sustainable palm oil must involve encouraging community rootedness and relationality that overcomes the nature-culture divide.

Literature

Alimonda, Héctor (2011). *La naturaleza colonizada. Ecología política y minería en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Clacso.

Anzaldua, Gloria (1987). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Fransisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.

Bakhtary, Haseeb; Haupt, Franziska; Luttrell, Cecilia; Landholm, David & Jelsma, Idsert (2021). "Promoting sustainable palm oil production by independent smallholders in Indonesia: Perspective from non-state actors." Briefing Paper, Climate Focus, The Meridian Institute. https://www.climatefocus.com/sites/default/files/Indonesian%20Palm%20Oil%20Smallholders_Briefing%20Paper.pdf, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Barca, Stefania (2020). *Forces of Reproduction: Notes for a Counter-Hegemonic Anthropocene*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bassnett, Bimbika Sijapati; Gynch, Sophia & Anandi, Cut Augusta Mindry (2016). "Transforming the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil for greater gender equality and women's empowerment." CIFOR Info Brief. https://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/infobrief/6383-infobrief.pdf, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Bauder, Harald & Mueller, Rebecca (2021). "Westphalian Vs. Indigenous Sovereignty: Challenging Colonial Territorial Governance." *Geopolitics*: 1–18. doi: 10.1080/14650045.2021.1920577

Beckford, George L. (1972). *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economies of the Third World*. London: Oxford University Press.

Best, Lloyd A. (1968). "Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy." *Social and Economic Studies* 17 (3): 283–326.

Biermann, Frank, & Pattberg, Phillip (2008). "Global Environmental Governance: Taking Stock, Moving Forward." *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* 33: 277-294. doi: 10.1146/annurev.environ.33.050707.085733

Boatcă, Manuela (2013). "Coloniality of Labor in the Global Periphery: Latin America and Eastern Europe in the World System." *Review. Fernand Braudel Center.* 36 (3–4): 287–314.

Brad, Alina; Schaffartzik, Anke; Pichler, Melanie & Plank, Christina (2015). "Contested territorialization and biophysical expansion of oil palm plantations in Indonesia." *Geoforum* 64: 100–111. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2015.06.007

Brand, Ulrich; Görg, Christoph & Wissen, Markus (2011). "Second-Order Condensations of Societal Power Relations: Environmental Politics and the Internationalization of the State from a Neo-Poulantzian Perspective." *Antipode* 43 (1): 149–175. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00815.x

Brandi, Clara (2020). "The Changing Landscape of Sustainability Standards in Indonesia: Potentials and Pitfalls in Making Global Value Chains More Sustainable." In *Sustainable Standards and Global Governance: Experience of Emerging Economies*,

edited by Archna Negi, Jorge Antonio Pérez-Pineda, and Johannes Blankenbach, 133–144. Singapore: Springer.

Breman, Jan (1989). *Taming the Coolie Beast: Plantation Society and the Colonial Order in Southeast Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Carlson, Kimberly M.; Heilmayr, Robert; Gibbs, Holly K.; Noojipady, Praveen; Burns, David N.; Morton, Douglas C.; Walker, Nathalie F.; Paoli, Gary D. & Kremen, Claire (2017). "Effect of oil palm sustainability certification on deforestation and fire in Indonesia." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 115 (1): 121–126. doi: 10.1073/pnas.1704728114

Carney, Judith (2001). *Black Rice: The Africa's Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Carney, Judith & Rosomoff, Richard Nicholas (2009). *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World*. Berkeley: The University of California Press.

Carney, Judith (2021). "Subsistence in the Plantationocene: dooryard gardens, agrobiodiversity, and the subaltern economies of slavery." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 48 (5): 1075–1099. doi: 10.1080/03066150.2020.1725488

Chao, Sophie (2018). "In The Shadow Of The Palm: Dispersed Ontologies among Marind, West Papua." *Cultural Anthropology* 33 (4): 621–649. doi: 10.14506/ca33.4.08

Choiruzzad, Shofwan Al Banna; Tyson, Adam & Varkkey, Helena (2021). "The ambiguities of Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil certification: internal incoherence, governance rescaling and state transformation." *Asia Europe Journal* 19: 189–208. doi: 10.1007/s10308-020-00593-0

Connell, Robert (2020). "Maroon Ecology: Land, Sovereignty, and Environmental Justice." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 25 (2): 218–235. doi: 10.1111/jlca.12496

Davis, Janae; Moulton, Alex A.; Van Sant, Levi & Williams, Brian (2019). "Anthropocene, Capitalocene, … Plantationocene? A Manifesto for Ecological Justice in an Age of Global Crises." *Geography Compass*: 1–15. doi: 10.1111/gec3.12438

De Sousa Santos, Boaventura (2001). "Nuestra America: Reinventing A Subaltern Paradigm of Recognition and Retribution." *Theory, Culture and Society* 18 (2–3): 185–217. doi: 10.1177/02632760122051706

Demirović, Alex (2011). "Materialist State Theory and the Transnationalization of the Capitalist State." *Antipode* 43 (1): 38–59. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00810.x

Dharmawan, Arya Hadi; Mardiyaningsih, Dyah Ita; Rahmadian, Faris; Yulian, Bayu Eka; Komarudin, Heru; Pacheco, Pablo; Ghazoul, Jaboury & Amalia, Rizka (2021). "The Agrarian, Structural and Cultural Constraints of Smallholders' Readiness for Sustainability Standards Implementation: The Case of Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil in East Kalimantan." *Sustainability* 13: 1–20. doi: 10.3390/su13052611

Dussel, Enrique (1977). *Filosofia de Liberación*. Mexico: Edicol.

Eilenberg, Michael (2014). “Frontier constellations: agrarian expansion and sovereignty on the Indonesian-Malaysian border.” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 41 (2): 157–182. doi: 10.1080/03066150.2014.885433

Elden, Stuart (2013). *The Birth of Territory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ellis, Eerle C; Maslin, Mark Andrew; Boivin, Nicole & Bauer, Andrew (2016). “Involve social scientists in defining the Anthropocene.” *Nature* 540: 192–193.

Fanon, Frantz (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz (2004). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Federici, Silvia (2012). *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland: PM Press.

Gago, Veronica (2020). *Feminist International: How to change everything*. London: Verso Books.

Gellert, Paul K. (2010). “Extractive Regimes: Toward a Better Understanding of Indonesian Development.” *Rural Sociology* 75 (1): 28–57. doi: 10.1111/j.1549-0831.2009.00001.x

Gellert, Paul K. (2019). “Neoliberalism and altered state developmentalism in the twenty-first century extractive regime of Indonesia.” *Globalizations* 16 (6): 894–918. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2018.1560189

Gepts, Paul; Bettinger, Robert; Brush, Stephen; Damania, Ardeshir; Famula, Thomas; McGuire, Patrick & Qualset, Calvin (2012). “Introduction: The Domestication of Plants and Animals: Ten Unanswered Questions.” In *Biodiversity in Agriculture: Domestication, Evolution and Sustainability*, edited by Paul Gepts, Thomas R. Famula, Robert L. Bettinger, Stephen B. Brush, Ardeshir B. Damania, Patrick E. McGuire, and Calvin O. Qualset, 1–8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ginting, Longgena & Pye, Oliver (2013). “Resisting agribusiness development: the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate in West Papua, Indonesia.” *ASEAS – Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 6 (1): 160–182. doi: 10.14764/10.ASEAS-6.1-9

Gottwald, Eric (2018). “Certifying Exploitation: Why 'Sustainable' Palm Oil Production Is Failing Workers.” *New Labor Forum*: 1–8. doi: 10.1177/1095796018765767.

Gray, Ros & Sheikh, Shela (2021). “The coloniality of planting: the legacy of racism and slavery in the practice of botany.” *The Architectural Review*, January 27. https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/the-coloniality-of-planting, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Greenpeace (2021). “Sawit Ilegal dalam Kawasan Hutan: Karpet Merah Oligarki.” October 21. https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-indonesia-stateless/2021/10/7bc9eaae-sawit-di-kawasan-hutan-21-okt.pdf, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Grosfoguel, Ramón (2011). “Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality.” *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1 (1). doi: 10.5070/T411000004

Grosfoguel, Ramón (2002). “World-Systems Analysis in the Context of Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality.” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 29 (2): 167–187.

Grosfoguel, Ramón (1996). “From Cepalismo to Neoliberalism: A World-Systems Approach to Conceptual Shifts in Latin America.” *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 19 (2): 131–154.

Gudynas, Eduardo (2010). “Ten Urgent Theses about Extractivism in Relation to Current South American Progressivism.” *Americas Program Report*, January 21. http://postdevelopment.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/NewExtractivism10ThesesGudynas10.pdf, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Haila, Yrjö (2000). “Beyond the Nature-Culture Dualism.” *Biology and Philosophy* 15: 155–175. doi: 10.1023/A:1006625830102

Halvorsen, Sam (2019). “Decolonising territory: Dialogues with Latin American knowledges and grassroots strategies.” *Progress in Human Geography* 43 (5): 790–814. doi: 10.1177%2F0309132518777623

Hamilton-Hart, Natasha (2014). “Multilevel (mis-)governance of palm oil production.” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 69 (2): 164–184. doi: 10.1080/10357718.2014.978738

Haudenschild, Daniel (2018). “Modernity/Coloniality in Legitimizing Agribusiness: The Case of the Southern Agricultural Growth Corridor of Tanzania.” Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam.

Hidayat, Nia Kurniawati; Offermans, Astrid & Glasbergen, Pieter (2018). “Sustainable palm oil as a public responsibility? On the governance capacity of Indonesian Standard for Sustainable Palm Oil (ISPO).” *Agriculture and Human Values* 35: 223–242.

Higgins, Vaughan & Richards, Carol (2019). “Framing sustainability: Alternative standards schemes for sustainable palm oil and South-South trade.” *Journal of Rural Studies* 65: 126–134. doi: 10.1016/j.jrurstud.2018.11.001

Hospes, Otto (2014). “Marking the success or end of global multi-stakeholder governance? The rise of national sustainability standards in Indonesia and Brazil for palm oil and soy.” *Agriculture and Human Values* 31: 425–437.

Hutabarat, Sakti (2017). “ISPO Certification and Indonesian Oil Palm Competitiveness in Global Market: Smallholder Challenges Toward ISPO Certification.” *Agro Ekonomi* 28 (2): 170–188. doi: 10.22146/jae.27789

Jabri, Vivienne (2012). *The Postcolonial Subject: Claiming Politics/Governing Others in Late Modernity*. London: Routledge.

Jaffe, Rivke (2015). “From Maroons to dons: Sovereignty, violence and law in Jamaica.” *Critique of Anthropology* 35 (1): 47–63. doi: 10.1177/0308275X14557093

Khatiwada, Dilip; Palmén, Carl & Silveira, Semida (2021). “Evaluating the palm oil demand in IndCarl onesia: production trends, yields, and emerging issues.” *Biofuels* 12 (2): 135–147. doi: 10.1080/17597269.2018.1461520

Krishna, Vijesh V. & Kubitza, Christoph (2021). “Impact of oil palm expansion on the provision of private and community goods in rural Indonesia.” *Ecological Economics* 179. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2020.106829

Köppel, Jonas (2017). “The imperial rationality within BioTrade: A contribution to the neoextractivist debate.” *Alternautas* 4 (2): 76–91.

Li, Tania Murray (2007). *The Will to Improve*. London: Duke University Press.

Li, Tania Murray (2010). “Indigeneity, Capitalism, and the Management of Dispossession.” *Current Anthropology* 51 (3): 385–414. doi: 10.1086/651942

Li, Tania Murray (2018). “After the land grab: Infrastructural violence and the “Mafia System” in Indonesia’s oil palm plantation zones.” *Geoforum* 96: 328–337. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.10.012

Li, Tania Murray & Samedi, Pujo (2021). *Plantation Life: Corporate Occupation in Indonesia's Oil Palm Zone*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lien, Marianne Elisabeth; Swanson, Heather Anne & Ween, Gro B. (2018). “Introduction: Naming the Beast -Exploring the Otherwise.” In *Domestication Gone Wild: Politics and Practices of Multispecies Relations*, edited by Heather Anne Swanson, Marianne Elisabeth Lien, and Gro B. Ween, 1–32. Durham: Duke University Press.

Lima, Mairon G. Bastos (2020). *The Politics of Bioeconomy and Sustainability: Lessons from Biofuel Governance, Policies and Production Strategies in the Emerging World*. Cham: Springer.

Lugones, Maria (2007). “Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System.” *Hypatia* 22 (1): 186–209.

Lynn, Martin (1997). *Commerce and economic change in West Africa: The palm oil trade in the nineteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maldonado-Torres, Nelson (2007). “On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the development of a concept.” *Cultural Studies* 21 (2): 240–270. doi: 10.1080/09502380601162548

Martin, Susan M. (1988). *Palm Oil and Protest: An Economic History of the Ngwa Region, South-Eastern Nigeria, 1800-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maskun; Achmad; Anwar; Assidiq, H. & Bachril, S.N. (2021). “Palm oil cultivation on peatlands and its impact on increasing Indonesia's greenhouse gas emissions.” *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 724. doi: 10.1088/1755-1315/724/1/012092

Mason, Margie & McDowell, Robin (2020). “Rape, abuses in palm oil fields linked to top beauty brands.” *The Associated Press*, November 18. https://apnews.com/article/palm-oil-abuse-investigation-cosmetics-2a209d60c42bf0e8fcc6f8ea6daa11c7, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

McKittrick, Katherine (2011). “On plantations, prisons, and a black sense of place.” *Social and Cultural Geography* 12 (8): 947–963. doi: 10.1080/14649365.2011.624280

McKittrick, Katherine (2013). “Plantation Futures.” *Small Axe* 17 (3): 1–15. doi: 10.1215/07990537-2378892

Mies, Maria; Bernholdt-Thomsen, Veronika & von Werlhof, Claudia (1988). *Women: The Last Colony*. London: Zed Books.

Mignolo, Walter D. (2002). "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (1): 57–96. doi: 10.1215/00382876-101-1-57

Mintz, Sidney (1986). *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Penguin Books.

Nisancioglu, Kerem (2020). "Racial sovereignty." *European Journal of International Relations* 26(1_suppl): 39–63. doi: 10.1177/1354066119882991

Oliveira, Gustavo de L. T. (2021). "Soy, domestication, and colonialism." In *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Resource Geography*, edited by Matthew Himley, Elizabeth Havice, and Gabriela Valdivia, 335–344. London: Routledge.

Oosterveer, Peter; Adjei, B. E.; Vellema, Sietze & Slingerland, Maja (2014). "Global sustainability standards and food security: Exploring unintended effects of voluntary certification in palm oil." *Global Food Security* 3: 220–226. doi: 10.1016/j.gfs.2014.09.006

Ortega, Mariana (2017). "Decolonial Woes and Practices of Un-knowing." *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 31 (3): 504–516. doi: 10.5325/jspecphil.31.3.0504

Orsato, Renato J.; Clegg, Stewart R. & Falcão, Horacio (2013). "The Political Ecology of Palm Oil Production." *Journal of Change Management* 13 (4): 444–459. doi: 10.1080/14697017.2013.851916

Oyewùmí, Oyèrónké (1997). *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Peluso, Nancy Lee & Vandergeest, Peter (2001). "Genealogies of the Political Forest and Customary Rights in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60 (3): 761–812. doi: 10.2307/2700109

Peluso, Nancy Lee & Lund, Christian (2011). "New frontiers of land control: Introduction." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38 (4): 667–681. doi: 10.1080/03066150.2011.607692

Pesqueira, Luli & Glasbergen, Pieter (2012). "Playing the politics of scale: Oxfam's intervention in the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil." *Geoforum* 45: 296–304.. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.11.017

Pichler, Melanie (2013). "'People, Planet & Profit': Consumer-oriented Hegemony and Power Relations in Palm Oil and Agrofuel Certification." *Journal of Environment and Development* 22 (4): 370–390. doi: 10.1177/1070496513502967

Ponte, Stefano (2014). "'Roundtabling' sustainability: Lessons from the biofuel industry." *Geoforum* 54: 261–271. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.07.008

Pye, Oliver (2019). "Commodifying sustainability: Development, nature and politics in the palm oil industry." *World Development* 121: 218–228. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2018.02.014

Quijano, Aníbal (2000). "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15 (2): 215–232. doi: 10.1177/0268580900015002005

Rasmussen, Mattias Borg & Lund, Christian (2018). “Reconfiguring Frontier Spaces: The territorialization of resource control.” *World Development* 101: 388–399. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.01.018

Remme, Jon Henrik Ziegler (2018). “Pigs and Spirits in Infugao: A Cosmological Decentering of Domestication.” In *Domestication Gone Wild: Politics and Practices of Multispecies Relations*, edited by Heather Anne Swanson, Marianne Elisabeth Lien, and Gro B. Ween, 50–71. Durham: Duke University Press.

Rival, Alain & Levang, Patrice (2014). “Palms of controversies: Oil palm and development challenges.” Center for International Forestry Research. https://www.cifor.org/publications/pdf_files/Books/BLevang1401.pdf, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Rodney, Walter (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Roswaldy, Perdana P. (2021). “Planting the State: Plantations and Postcolonial State-Building.” Paper Submitted for Third Year Milestone.

Salem, Sara (2019). “‘Stretching’ Marxism in Postcolonial World: Egyptian Decolonisation and the Contradictions of National Sovereignty.” *Historical Materialism* 27 (4): 3–28. doi: 10.1163/1569206X-00001840

Samuel, Kumudini; Slatter, Claire & Gunasekara, Vagisha (2019). *The Political Economy of Conflict and Violence Against Women: Cases from The South*. London: Zed Books.

Santika, Truly; Wilson, Kerrie A.; Law, Elizabeth A.; St John, Freya A.V.; Carlson, Kimberly M.; Gibbs, Holly; Morgans, Courtney L.; Ancrenaz, Marc; Meijaard, Erik & Struebig, Matthew J. (2021). “Impact of palm oil sustainability certification on village well-being and poverty in Indonesia.” *Nature Sustainability* 4: 109–119. doi: 10.1038/s41893-020-00630-1

Schouten, Greetje; Leroy, Pieter & Glasbergen, Pieter (2012). “On the deliberative capacity of private multi-stakeholder governance: The Roundtables on Responsible Soy and Sustainable Palm Oil.” *Ecological Economics* 83: 42–50. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2012.08.007

Segato, Rita Laura & McGlazer, Ramsey (2018). “A Manifesto in Four Themes.” *Critical Times* 1 (1): 198–211. doi: 10.1215/26410478-1.1.198

Sheil, Douglas; Casson, Anne; Meijaard, Erik; van Noordwijk, Meine; Gaskell, Joanne; Sunderland-Groves, Jacqui; Wetz, Karah & Kanninen, Markku (2009). “The impacts and opportunities of oil palm in Southeast Asia: what do we know and what do we need to know?” Center for International Forestry Research Occasional Paper. doi: 10.17528/cifor/002792

Sinaga, Hariati (2020). *Competitive Pressures and Labour Rights: The Indonesian Oil Palm Plantation and Automobile Sectors*, Augsburg: Rainer Hampp Verlag.

Sinaga, Hariati (2021). “*Buruh Siluman:* The Making and Maintaining of Cheap and Disciplined Labour on Oil Palm Plantations in Indonesia.” In *Bioeconomy and Global Inequalities. Socio-Ecological Perspectives on Biomass Sourcing and Production*, edited by Maria

Backhouse, Rosa Lehmann, Kristina Lorenzen, Malte Lühmann, Janina Puder, Fabricio Rodríguez, and Anne Tittor, 175–193. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Spann, Michael (2017). "Politics of Poverty: The Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals and the Business of Agriculture." *Globalizations* 14 (3): 360–378. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2017.1286169

Suharto, Rosediana; Husein, Karim; Sartono; Kusumadewi, Desi; Darussamin, Asril; Nedyasari, Dhiny; Riksanto, Djaka et al. (2015). "Joint Study of the Similarities and Differences between the ISPO and the RSPO Certification Systems." Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Indonesia and Indonesian Sustainable Palm Oil Commission. https://www.greencommodities.org/content/gcp/en/home/resources/reports/report--joint-study-on-the-similarities-and-the-differences-of-t.html, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Swanson, Heather Anne (2018). "Domestication Gone Wild: Pacific Salmon and the Disruption of the Domus." In *Domestication Gone Wild: Politics and Practices of Multispecies Relations*, edited by Heather Anne Swanson, Marianne Elisabeth Lien, and Gro B. Ween, 141–158. Durham: Duke University Press.

Teixeira, Barbara Magalhães (2021). "Underdevelopment, extractivism, and conflict in the Global South and the role of systemic alternatives." *Journal of Conjuntura Austral* 12 (59): 21–34. doi: 10.22456/2178-8839.113853

Thomas, Deborah W. (2019). *Political Life in the Wake of Plantation: Sovereignty, Witnessing, Repair*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Thomson, Edgar Tristram (2010). *The Plantation*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

True, Jacqui (2012). *The Political Economy of Violence Against Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Virdee, Satnam (2019). "Racial capitalism: An account of its contested origin." *The Sociological Review* 67 (1): 3–27. doi: 10.1177%2F0038026118820293

Watkins, Case (2021). *Palm Oil Diaspora: Afro-Brazilian Landscapes and Economies on Bahia's Dendê's Coast*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Watts, Michael & Peluso, Nancy (2004). "Resource violence." In *Critical Environmental Politics*, edited by Carl Death, 184-197. New York: Routledge.

Whatmore, Sarah (2002). *Hybrid Geographies: nature, cultures, spaces*. London: Sage Publications.

Woods, Clyde (2007). "Sittin' on Top of the World: The Challenges of Blues and Hip Hop Geography." In *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, edited by Katherine McKittrick, and Clyde Woods, 46–81. Cambridge: South End Press.

Wynter, Sylvia (1971) "Novel and History, Plot and Plantation." *Savacou* 5: 95–102.

Wynter, Sylvia (2003). "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man and Its Overrepresentation." *The New Centennial Review* 3 (3): 257–337. doi: 10.1353/ncr.2004.0015

Yamahata, Yatana (2019). “Decolonising World Politics: Anti-Colonial Movements Beyond the Nation-State.” E-International Relations. https://www.e-ir.info/2019/12/15/decolonising-world-politics-anti-colonial-movements-beyond-the-nation-state/, last accessed on 03/16/2022.

Ye, Jingzhong; van der Ploeg, Jan Douwe; Schneider, Sergio & Shanin, Theodor (2019). “The incursions of extractivism: moving from dispersed places to global capitalism.” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 47 (1): 155–183. doi: 10.1080/03066150.2018.1559834

Zeder, Melinda A. (2015). “Core questions in domestication research.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 112 (11): 3191–3198.