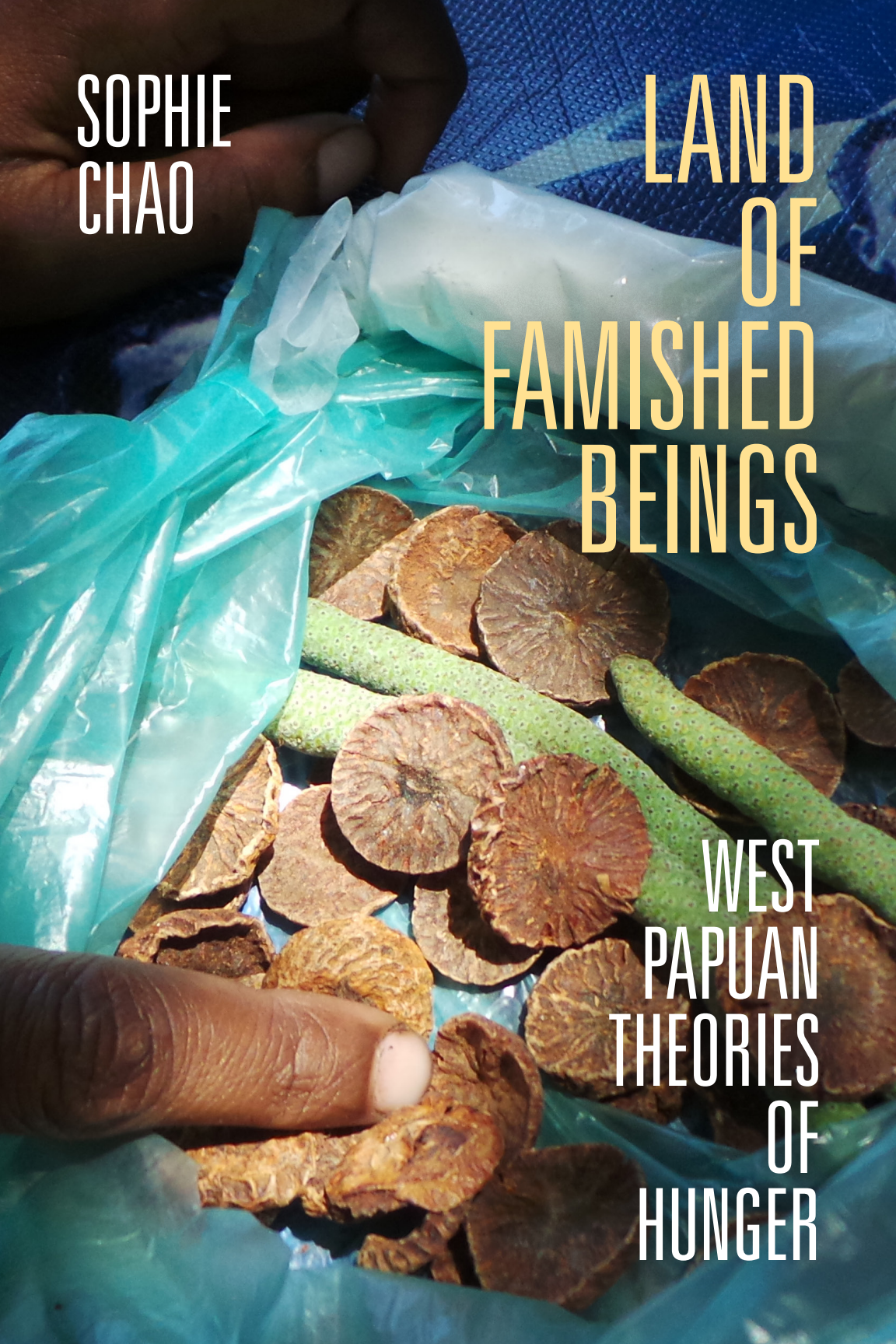
SOPHIE CHAO
LAND OF FAMISHED BEINGS
WEST PAPUAN THEORIES OF HUNGER

Land of Famished Beings

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West Papuan Theories of Hunger

Sophie Chao

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Cover art: Dried betel nuts and slaked lime powder passed around during a community meeting, rural Merauke, West Papua, June 2019. Photograph by the author.

For Mina

CONTENTS

NOTE ON LANGUAGE, NOMENCLATURE, AND IMAGES

This work draws on fieldwork conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, the national idiom in the Republic of Indonesia, and *logat* Papua, a creole of Indonesian and the lingua franca across different Indigenous groups inhabiting the Indonesian-occupied region of West Papua. The Bian dialect of Marind is spoken fluently only by a few elderly villagers in the settlements of Mirav, Bayau, and Khalaoyam, where ethnographic research was undertaken. In this book, terms in Bahasa Indonesia and *logat* Papua are italicized, and terms in the Bian dialect of Marind are underlined. In both instances, terms are translated into English from the source language used by my interlocutors.

The name Merauke refers to the regency of Merauke (*kabupaten* Merauke) and Merauke City to the regency's capital city (*kota* Merauke). The name West Papua refers to the western half of the island of New Guinea, formerly known as Irian Barat and Irian Jaya. Under Indonesian jurisdiction, West Papua is divided into Papua province (*propinsi* Papua) and West Papua province (*propinsi* Papua Barat), with Merauke regency located in Papua province. Pseudonyms are used for all places except major cities, regencies, and provinces. Names of persons have been retained in the original where so requested by the individuals cited. In all other instances, pseudonyms and descriptive qualifiers were chosen by my companions. In line

with my companions' wishes, I have not distinguished pseudonyms from actual names within the text.

All photos were selected for inclusion by the individuals and groups featured therein, by mothers in the case of children and infants, and by close relatives in the case of now-deceased community members.

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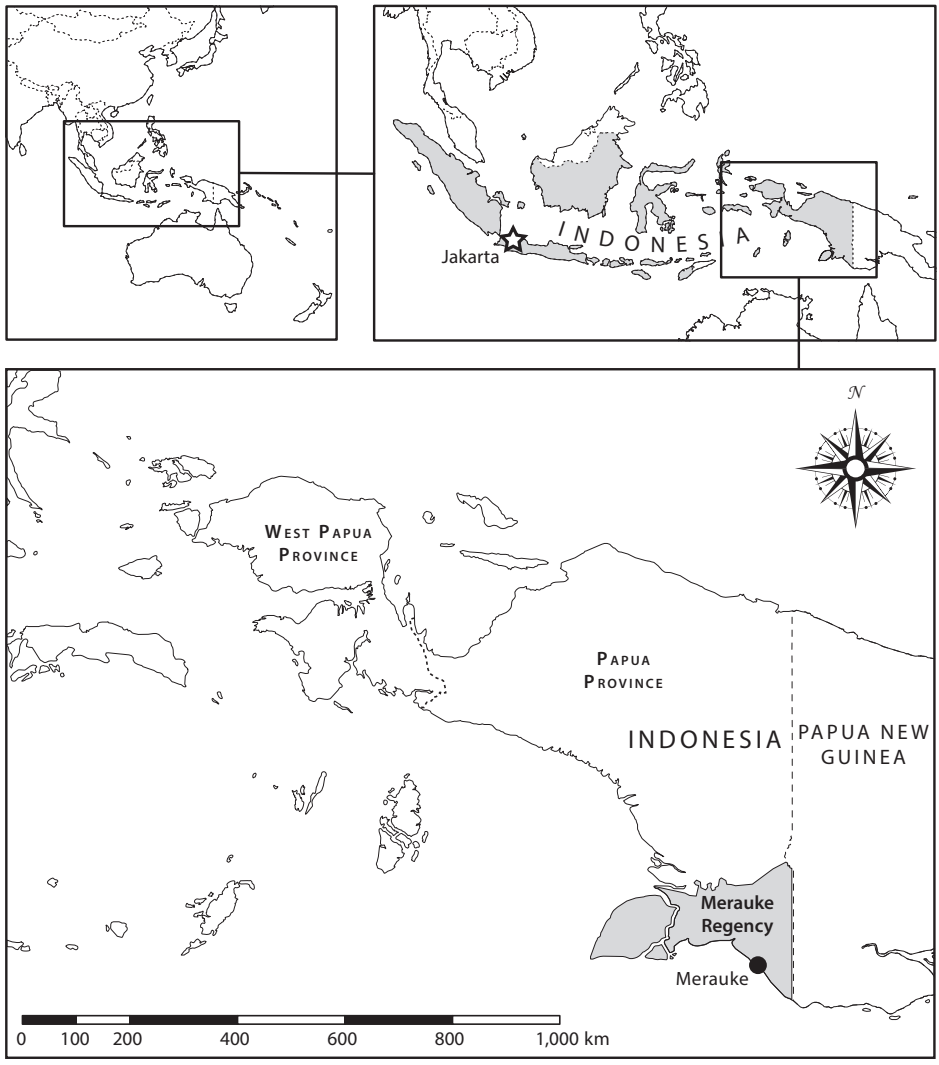

Map 1. Merauke regency, Papua province, Indonesia. Map by Geoffrey Wallace.

INTRODUCTION

Sitting cross-legged on the front porch of her hut in the West Papuan village of Bayau, Ana, an Indigenous Marind woman in her mid-twenties from the Kaize (cassowary) clan, watched the sun sink against the bleary sky. It was a torrid evening in late December 2016. The air quivered with swarms of mosquitoes. Their languorous buzzing mingled with the metallic rattle of chainsaws in a nearby oil palm plantation and the irregular breathing of Ana's two youngest children, Julius and Circia, who lay huddled on a cot of woven sago fibers, sleeping.[1] My companion slowly massaged her legs, then the lids of her eyes, and then her slightly protruding belly, where her sixth child was growing.[2] She said this child was weak and would likely not grow well—just like her five other children, who were not fed well. Only a few days prior, Ana's elder sister, Mikaela, had lost a second child in labor—a misfortune my friend attributed to Mikaela not eating enough sago and to Mikaela's husband not hunting enough game. Ana ran her fingers along the limbs of her slumbering children. She reached out for my hand, pulling it momentarily away from the small pile of papaya leaves we had collected in

the forest earlier that day and that I was destalking in preparation for dinner. My companion murmured: "I worry for these children. I worry about their skin and their wetness. I worry about the world they will inherit. It is a world that will give them nothing good to eat and that will eat them. It is a world of new and different hungers." Then, Ana began to sing.

Ada lagu buat semuanya di tanah-tanah ini
There is a song for every being in this land
Lagu buat kasuari, lagu buat sagu, lagu buat pinang
A song for the cassowary, a song for the sago, a song for the betel nut
Lagu yang cerita hujan, lagu yang cerita tanah, lagu yang cerita keringat
A song that stories the rain, a song that stories the soil, a song that stories the sweat
Tapi setelah sawit datang, kitorang nyanyi lagu baru
But since oil palm arrived, new songs are being sung
Ada lagu tentang hutan, dusun sagu, dan sungai de beri makan
There are songs about being fed—from forests, sago groves, and rivers
Ada lagu tentang jalan, perkebunan, dan kota de makan kita
There are songs about being eaten—by roads, plantations, and cities

Sa nyanyi buat anak-anak, yang su lahir dan belum
I sing for all our children, the born and the unborn
Sa nyanyi buat pace-pace, de jual hutan kita
I sing for all the men, who sell away our forests
Sa nyanyi buat mace-mace, rahimnya su jadi kering
I sing for all the women, whose wombs have all dried out
Sa nyanyi lapar yang hantui, tanah lapar-lapar ini
I sing the haunting hungers of this land, this land of famished beings

Songs have long constituted a central mode of expression and exegesis among the Indigenous Marind People of Indonesian-occupied West Papua, whose experiences and theories of hunger constitute the central theme of this book. These inherited and improvised songs draw into their fold—or, in local parlance, "give voice to" (*kasih suara*)—an array of human and more-than-human beings who together animate the forests, savannas, and wetlands of the southern Papuan landscape.[3] In the last decade, "hunger songs" (*lagu kelaparan*) such as the one uttered by my companion Ana have become

increasingly prevalent among those Marind living along the upper reaches of the Bian River in the West Papuan regency of Merauke. The emergence of this new genre coincides with an unprecedented intensification in deforestation and industrial oil palm expansion across Marind's customary lands and territories. Initiated and performed primarily by women, hunger songs juxtapose the storied origins, lives, and relations of Marind and their cherished plant and animal kin with the deleterious effects of waning traditional food environments on their collective well-being, bodies, and futures. They are performed across the public and private domains of homes and hearths, villages and groves, forests and plantations, and roadsides and riverways. Their lyrics conjure in poignant and poetic ways the transformation of nourishing, sentient forests into impoverished, extractive zones. They speak to the emergence of a discordant and disfigured landscape, haunted by a multitude of beings whose hungers are at once new, different, and insatiable.

Drawing on long-term fieldwork conducted in rural West Papua, this book explores how hunger is understood, theorized, and critiqued by Indigenous Marind inhabitants of an emergent plantation frontier. Its analysis revolves around four central questions: How do Marind sense and make sense of hunger? How does hunger multiply depending on its relative subjects and objects? How do Indigenous theories of hunger offer new ways of thinking about the relationship between the environment, food, and nourishment in an age of self-consuming capitalist growth? And when it comes to storying the violence of hunger, how do Indigenous critiques invite us to reimagine the ethics and politics of ethnographic writing and the responsibilities and compromises that shape anthropological commitments, in and beyond the field?

As Ana's lyrics intimate, hunger has become a matter of growing urgency among Marind of the Upper Bian, who have seen vast swaths of their lands and forests targeted for conversion to privatized agro-industrial monocrops since 2010. Implemented as part of a government program known initially as the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate and later renamed the Food Estate Program, plantation expansion is driven by Indonesian food security policies seeking to achieve national self-sufficiency in staple commodities such as palm oil, sugar, and rice. At the time of writing, monocrops extended across over a million hectares in the regency of Merauke and were expanding at a relentless pace. These top-down developments were taking place without the free, prior, or informed consent of local communities, whose land rights were routinely violated and whose customary representational and decision-making institutions were often overlooked or superseded by state-sanctioned administrative bodies.[4] Local women in

particular were frequently excluded from consultations surrounding land use and food systems—even as they self-identified as, and represented, primary providers of food at both household and village levels.

In my prior career as a human rights advocate, I collaborated closely with Marind activists, local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and transnational coalitions in documenting the adverse impacts of industrial oil palm expansion on Marind's rights to land, food, and environment. It was these activist collaborations, sustained through repeated field visits between 2011 and 2015, that allowed me to develop personal relationships with Marind communities and that lay the grounds for my subsequent long-term fieldwork in Merauke as a doctoral and postdoctoral researcher between 2016 and 2019. Over the course of joint investigative fieldwork, my partners and I gathered evidence of growing food insecurity and malnutrition across the villages of the Upper Bian, which correlated with intensifying rates of deforestation and agribusiness development in the region. Oil palm expansion was threatening the biodiverse ecosystems that Marind rely on for their subsistence, together with the intergenerationally transmitted practices of hunting, fishing, and gathering that forest foodways entail. With forest ecologies giving way to capitalist natures, villagers were becoming increasingly dependent on imported, processed foods such as instant noodles, canned meat, and rice that they received from agribusiness companies as part of corporate social responsibility programs or from the government as compensation for lands surrendered.

Rates of malnutrition, wasting, stunting, and low body weight had soared since the inception of oil palm developments, with particularly pronounced impacts among women, babies, and infants. Data my partners and I obtained from local clinics across the region revealed that malnutrition rates had doubled since 2011 and wasting occurrences had more than tripled over the same period. Of the dozens of children between the ages of four months and four years who passed away during the eighteen months I spent in the field, an overwhelming majority died of malnutrition-related musculoskeletal, gastrointestinal, and immune system ailments including diarrhea, anemia, tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, and bronchopneumonia. These disturbing local realities are symptomatic of a growing trend of rising malnutrition across West Papua, which, together with the eastern provinces of Nusa Tenggara Timur and Maluku, represents one of Indonesia's most food-insecure regions.[5] They also sit within a broader context of ongoing, egregious human rights abuses perpetrated against West Papuans since Indonesian occupation, and which include child killings, disappearances,

torture, and the mass displacement of people without access to food, health care, and education facilities.[6]

Marind activists and allied NGOs I worked with deployed the language of "food insecurity" (*ketidakamanan pangan*) and "malnutrition" (*gizi buruk*) in the many reports, petitions, and statements they submitted to corporate sustainability standards and national and international human rights bodies.[7] The recognition of these terms in legal and scientific discourse, they claimed, would strengthen the visibility and validity of their cases and complaints before global audiences. It was only during ensuing long-term ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation in the Upper Bian, enabled in large part by my professional transition from advocacy ally to activist-researcher, that I came to grapple with the limits of these idioms in capturing and conveying what my companions were experiencing on the ground, and the reasons for their hesitancy to invoke such idioms outside legal and lobbying settings.

In everyday life in the villages, people did not talk about food insecurity or malnutrition. Rather, they spoke of living in a state of permanent and pervasive hunger (*kelaparan*)—a state in which people were not only going hungry themselves but also being eaten by multiple different hungry others. Centering hunger as an object of analysis in turn uncovered other kinds of entangled hesitancies among my interlocutors when it came to the question of how and whether to story violence and vulnerability across the realms of the lived and representational, and the descriptive and theoretical. Described in further detail later in the book, these hesitancies were never about Marind and their hungers alone, but rather were deeply revelatory of the risks and responsibilities that accompany anthropological endeavors and research more generally as the often non-innocent metabolization of others' words and worlds.

As the narrative that follows will uncover, Marind experiences and theories point to hunger as a condition that cannot be reduced to an individual, biophysical state defined purely in nutritional, quantitative, or even human terms. Rather, hunger traverses variably situated humans, animals, plants, institutions, infrastructures, spirits, sorcerers, and also anthropologists, who are bound with and against each other in more or less reciprocal relations of feeding and being fed. Across these diverse ecologies of hunger, different foods and associated metabolic processes serve different transformative purposes—some destructive, others generative, and all always dependent on, and diagnostic of, the intersubjective entanglements of consumers and consumed. When approached through the lens of Indigenous Marind philosophies, practices, and protocols, hunger thus reveals itself as a multiple,

more-than-human, and morally imbued modality of being—one whose etiologies and effects are no less culturally crafted or contested than food and eating, and one that also raises vital, if troubling, questions around the ethical stakes of communicating hunger, for both those who experience it and those tasked with writing it.

In exploring how hunger reshapes Marind selves, bodies, and relations in Merauke, this book distinguishes itself from technoscientific accounts of food and diet that are anchored in the quantitative metrics of nutrients, food groups, and calories.[8] It offers a grassroots perspective on food insecurity and malnutrition that informs macroscalar, geopolitical analyses characteristic of political economy approaches and food policy discourses.[9] In both respects, the work responds to the call by the American anthropologists Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Kirsten Hastrup for a "critical medical anthropology" that recognizes how class, race, ethnicity, and gender intersect with geopolitical, historical, and capitalist world systems in ways that are often obscured by the technocratization and medicalization—and consequent depoliticization—of hunger within state and scientific discourses.[10] In particular, the work pushes against the framing of hunger as a universal, stable, quantifiable, or scalable object or referent. Instead, it approaches hunger as an emergent ecology of situated and shifting meanings, narratives, practices, experiences, affects, spatialities, and temporalities, combined in particular material and discursive assemblages in particular places and at particular times.[11] This framing brings into the fold a range of life-forms, institutions, and infrastructures that are connected to one another through variably reciprocal processes of eating and being eaten. It points to hunger as a material and moral *relation* that both troubles and transcends local-global divides.

As Noriko Ishiyama, a Japanese geographer, and Kim TallBear, a Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate science and technology studies scholar, remind us, the fact that relations and relationality are constitutive of worlds does not mean that all relations are good.[12] Centering the violence of hunger as a relation does work on multiple, interrelated levels. It pushes against the straitjacketing of hunger within dominant discourses of food security or malnutrition—framings that, while recognized and deployed by Marind activists themselves in light of their strategic valences and intelligibility to formal policymaking and biomedical institutions, fail to capture in their apolitical, human-centric, and clinical dimensions the bodily, cultural, and affective ways in which hunger manifests and is signified. It identifies in the expansion of industrial food production systems and top-down rural development policies and projects the roots of intensified "nutritional structural

violence," set against cumulative histories of colonial occupation, wherein resource extraction and land exploitation operate hand in hand with Indigenous displacement, dispossession, and disempowerment.[13] It calls for a critical interrogation of the possibility for Indigenous food sovereignty in settler-extractive frontiers like West Papua, where the twin forces of empire and capital exert a visceral grip on human and other-than-human modes of being, becoming, and belonging.[14]

This approach further allows for a reappraisal of hunger as a socially modulated condition and idiom through which distress and the structural violences that produce it and the metabolic injustices that mediate it are differentially experienced and expressed by Indigenous communities on the periphery of the capitalist world system.[15] It draws attention to colonization itself as a project driven by material and ideological forms of hunger, grounded in the protocapitalist logic of property, growth, and surplus, and fueled by the intensifying exploitation of privatized land, labor, and resources, to the benefit of some and the detriment of others.[16] It also raises broader and deeper questions for anthropologists around the politics of writing the violence of hunger through the non-innocent medium of ethnographic texts, as these are shaped by the authority of researchers, the heterogeneous perspectives of their interlocutors, and the equally diverse positionalities of their audiences.

Delving into the dispersed meanings and manifestations of hunger among Marind follows injunctions by the Indian anthropologist Veena Das and the American cultural theorist Kathleen Stewart to approach sociality and suffering through a descent into the ordinary affects, ontological conflicts, and social frictions of everyday life.[17] This approach brings me to attend to Marind's own deliberations and dilemmas over what hunger is, what it does, what can be done with it, why it exists, and why it persists. What emerges from these deliberations and dilemmas, as I trace them in the book, are concepts of hunger that vary in both kind and degree. Certain hungers are positively valued in that they testify to individuals' and groups' investment of labor, toil, skin, and sweat in daily activities that sustain both those individuals and groups and their wider social circles—for instance, hunting game, processing sago, walking the landscape, and providing for one's kin. Some hungers are seasonal and foreseeable, whereas others are protracted and punitive. Some are regulated through local protocols and customary etiquette, while others stem from external forces like government institutions, industrial plantations, road infrastructures, and corporate sorcerers that are difficult, if not impossible, to control. Different foodstuffs are said by Marind to satisfy different kinds of hungers, while other foodstuffs

come with the promise of satiation but never deliver—or, at times, even exacerbate and amplify the hunger of those who consume them.

In each instance, Marind concepts of hunger vary in meaning and manifestation depending on the relationship between the feeder, the food, and the fed within an ecology of eating and being eaten that encompasses not only Marind people and places but also the broader capitalist system within which they are embedded and its unevenly distributed gendered, racial, political, and ecological dynamics. In these and many other respects, Marind conceptualizations identify in the condition of hunger a way of being *in* the world that is also a statement *about* that world and a reconfiguration *of* that world, enacted through different modes of narration, contestation, and interrogation. Hunger, in other words, exists to Marind as a multiple and active disposition rather than solely a passive experience of lack and deprivation—even as hunger also exerts at times viscerally diminishing effects on those who experience it, and even as it is frequently idiomatized by Marind as the result of others eating (in) their place.

Marind philosophies of hunger thus uncover how disparate gastrological regimes are differentially defined and evaluated depending on what foods are believed to satiate or undermine hunger, and depending on the material-semiotic valences of the places, persons, and practices associated with particular foods and particular hungers.[18] They reveal hunger to be a consequence of externally imposed gastrocolonial regimes *and* a site of contested internal gastropolitics among Indigenous Marind themselves.[19] In each instance, hunger comes to constitute a politically charged, phenomenological index for broader dynamics of consumption and production, health and disease, and becoming and belonging.[20] It conjures what the South Asian postcolonial studies scholar Parama Roy identifies as the centrality of the alimentary tract as a "corporeal, psychoaffective, and ethicopolitical contact zone" wherein dynamics of identification, desire, dissent, and difference are performed and debated.[21]

In framing hunger as a *more-than*-local condition and crisis, Marind critiques of the broader political, historical, and economic forces transforming their forests, foodways, and futures speak visceral—if unpalatable—truths about the capitalistic (il)logic of limitless resource and profit accumulation that dictates who must go hungry in order for whom to be fed. Specifically, they urge us to rethink capitalist modernity itself as a regime of excessive, rapacious, and insatiable hunger—one that banalizes the hunger of the dispossessed, neglects the lessons that hunger as a relation can teach us, and,

in doing so, perpetuates what the Black American author and activist bell hooks describes as the violence of empire fueled by "eating the other."[22] In these and other respects, Marind theories of hunger raise vital and unsettling questions for us all around what it means to eat well in an epoch of ecological unraveling, when industrial activities and imperial logics undermine the possibility of nourishing futures at a planetary scale.

The theories of hunger I draw on in making these points are rooted in specific and situated sociocultural frameworks, gendered dynamics, lived experiences, geopolitical contexts, and settler-colonial histories of the Pacific region.[23] But as the materials that ensue will reveal, their scope and significance also extend well beyond the Papuan resource frontier. Far from limited to the geographies and communities wherein they gain ground and grow, Indigenous epistemologies of hunger in rural Merauke position Marind hungerscapes in relation to a range of implicated places, peoples, and practices. These include globally dispersed palm oil consumers and transnational supply chains, predatory state and corporate forces, but also foreign anthropologists and their readerships as equally, if differently, non-innocent mediators and consumers of hunger-as-violence across the realms of the real and the representational.[24]

The interconnection of responsible eating and responsible writing, as it is expressed by my companions in the field and discussed in this book, raised challenging yet critical questions surrounding my positionality as a young, Eurasian, female, middle-class anthropologist and author; my fluctuating and transient identity as "insider" and "outsider"; and my consequent obligations toward those who made my ethnographic research and subsequent scholarly outputs possible—including the one before you. Each of these dimensions has shaped the particular ways in which my role and responsibilities were understood by Marind. Each engages with questions of power, privilege, and vulnerability in the researcher-researched dynamic that are intrinsically linked to, and inform, the book's empirical inquiry, and that sit in turn within longer traditions of interrogating the ethics and politics of ethnographic writing in anthropology. Attending to these questions through their relationship to one another, and from the perspectives of Marind women themselves, illuminates the behind-the-scenes deliberations that took place as my companions and I were drawn into contentious spaces and non-innocent scripts, animated by differently shared harms and differently motivated hesitations, and making the crafting of this book necessary for some but problematic for others.

Centering these troubled ethics, as they were debated by my Marind companions, creates generative fissures in the often deceptively smooth veneer of well-polished ethnographies. It unearths possibilities for crafting more honest and humble narratives that insist on remaining creaky and cracked rather than comprehensive and coherent. It interrogates the forms of power, privilege, and positionality that "we" as anthropologists are willing to reckon with, become responsible for, and sometimes relinquish as we attempt, in the words of the queer diasporic Filipina scholar Juno Salazar Parreñas, to craft ethnography that prioritizes "pushing readers to think, feel, and act in different ways" over (or at least alongside) meeting the demands of what academia recognizes as meaningful knowledge production.[25] In holding on to the sense of being torn between conflicting demands from fields both literal and disciplinary, this approach invites what I call a praxis of hesitant anthropology—one that engages up front with the heterogeneity of perspectives, obligations, and at times, betrayals that are so much part of the experience of being there, and (not) writing it.

In centering Marind theories of hunger, this work further raises questions around how to take seriously the heterogeneous ways in which individuals and collectives on the ground understand and critique existing systems of being and knowing, alongside the hermeneutics of hesitancy, suspicion, uncertainty, and doubt, and the forms of situated and strategic discourses, that are equally important to Marind's ever-evolving, dynamic, and internally contested forms of knowledge production and (self-)representation. It also invites us to interrogate the pragmatic and political role that anthropologists can (and cannot) take as mediators of the different interpretive frameworks they are entrusted with in the field, at a time when the values, uses, and good of anthropology are increasingly being interrogated within and beyond the discipline.[26] It underscores how there is no singular or non-innocent move that allows us to escape the power dynamics and compromises inherent to the writerly form. It also draws attention to the perilous lure of presuming or claiming to convey "pure" theory (or ethnography) as a product of the field, and even more so when theory, much like the worlds it interprets and explains, is understood to be coproduced in intersubjective and intercorporeal relation to anthropologists' own presences, bodies, and responsibilities, and also in relation to the disparate audiences to whom ethnographic theory must at times be strategically—if also at times hesitatingly—(re)packaged and performed.

I write this book from the positionality of a Sino-French, female, middle-class anthropologist whose initial access to the field in 2011 was enabled by the support and assistance of both Marind customary representatives and allied local NGOs. My early encounters and interactions with communities in rural Merauke were shaped primarily by my role as a project officer for the nonprofit organization Forest Peoples Programme, in which capacity I was tasked with investigating human rights abuses in the palm oil sector in Indonesia, the world's top palm oil–producing country. The longer I spent living with and learning from Marind, however, the more uneasy and dissatisfied I became with the radical, if necessary, simplification of messy worlds and relations required for effective advocacy in the face of dominant state and corporate institutions. This unease was only further amplified in light of my Marind companions' own reservations and critiques regarding advocacy's at times reductionist way of framing lived realities. As noted earlier, such reductionisms manifest in terms like *food security* and *malnutrition* that, while recognized by international audiences, do not adequately encompass hunger's dispersed meaning, materiality, and morality for many of my interlocutors in the field—and particularly so among Marind women, whose knowledges and experiences of hunger lie at the core of this work.

It was the desire to understand Marind lifeworlds and conceptualizations of hunger through the lens of their own ecosocial epistemological frameworks that eventually brought me to move away from the formal realm of human rights activism and conduct long-term ethnographic fieldwork among the residents of three Marind villages, with whom I had established close relations of trust and rapport in the context of our prior joint investigative research and human rights lobbying, and with whose permission I was able to reside in rural Merauke for a total period of eighteen months.[27]

Retaining an applied or engaged edge to the research endeavor constituted for the vast majority of my Marind hosts a basic precondition for my subsequent anthropological investigations in the Upper Bian, including in the form of single or coauthored nonscholarly activist outputs such as op-eds, reports, documentaries, community petition translations, and media features. At the same time, long-term ethnographic fieldwork was understood by my companions to allow for a differently deep immersion in, and description of, everyday life events, experiences, encounters, interactions, and discourses around hunger that could not easily or usefully be accommodated within advocacy-focused initiatives and associated publications and their more instrumental telos. This included attention to the reflexive ways in which Marind villagers understood, assessed, and critiqued both activist and

anthropological endeavors, and their respective ability to convey internally operative debates and disagreements around hunger's causes and effects, as these were shaped by gender, class, age, and other intersectional factors that generate the heterogeneous perspectives sustained by any single community, collective, or, indeed, individual. It further opened space for staying with, and problematizing, the question of how stories of hunger ought to be narrated for audiences that included but were but not limited to advocacy's usual primary targets—namely, the government and corporations. It was in these and other respects that my professional shift from activist to researcher was associated by my companions with different sets of expectations and possibilities to those afforded by advocacy-oriented activities alone.

In taking hunger as its central object of inquiry, the work before you converses with and extends findings presented in my first book, which examined how industrial plantation expansion in Merauke reconfigures Marind's sense of place, time, personhood, and dreams, and their relations to native and introduced plants and animals, generating a world that many of my companions describe as uncertain (*abu-abu*).[28] Central to this work was the ambivalent ontology of oil palm—an introduced cash crop that Marind resent and fear for its destructive effects but also pity for its own subjection to human control—and the practical and epistemic challenges faced by Marind activists in protecting their lands from state- and corporate-driven developments, in a world region where the theft of sovereignty over Indigenous lands, bodies, and futures is as much of the past as it is of the present.

Alongside its thematic focus on hunger, this book further distinguishes itself in attending specifically to the experiences, theories, and critiques of Marind *women*, whose presence and perspectives were often overshadowed by the male-dominated composition of the Marind anti–oil palm land rights movement that I focused on in my earlier activist work (see figure I.1). While gendered and generational distinctions both shape in different ways the gastropolitical terrains of the Upper Bian, it was first and foremost Marind women (and, in particular, mothers) who acted as my mentors in understanding what it meant to eat well in a more-than-human world, and whose knowledges have shaped the empirical, conceptual, methodological, and ethical insights presented in this book. It was also primarily Marind women who identified in my own professional shift from human rights advocate to anthropologist possibilities for a form of engagement and learning that could, in new and potentially more productive ways, be both *for* and *about* them.

Figure I.1. Women and children of the Upper Bian in rural Merauke, West Papua, 2013. Photograph by Serafina Basik-Basik.

This focus on women's experiences and perspectives is further reflective of the particular, lived contexts in which hunger came to matter during the process of fieldwork, many of which my companions affirmed could be meaningfully storied in an ethnographic work and in ways that advocacy-styled activist outputs like official reports and court cases did not easily allow. Many of these events, interactions, and discourses occurred in the presence of women only, or majoritarily—during foraging expeditions in the forest, family visits to the clinics and hospitals, meal preparations in the village, conversations with fellow female teachers at the primary school where I volunteered as an English instructor, and at the incantation of hunger songs for dead animals and uprooted trees along dusty roads and plantation boundaries. Many more were prompted by visceral manifestations of hunger in everyday life—the constant chewing of betel nut to quell grumbling stomachs between meager meals, the moaning of malnourished infants in their cots at night, the fainting of women exhausted by their labors in the grove, the miscarriages suffered by young mothers too weak to bring their children to term, and the troubling transformations that my companions read in their own and their relatives' bodies and behaviors. Unfolding on the sidelines of organized, large-scale, and largely male-dominated advocacy movements, these events unearthed what the Kānaka Maoli scholar and educator Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua terms the centrality of "the personal and

the familial" as potent political spaces for the articulation, disarticulation, and rearticulation of Indigenous women's theories and critiques.[29]

The need for a separate, ethnographic analysis of hunger, and from women's perspectives in particular, came strongly to the fore in August 2019, when I returned to the field to share my research findings with my host communities and jointly decided with them on the form and outlets in which they would be published.[30] During this workshop, women participants collectively and repeatedly emphasized that hunger demanded treatment in its own right, within a body of work distinct to all others. This work, they insisted, would not be limited to, but nonetheless would prioritize, the views and voices of Marind women, both in uncovering the experience and meanings of hunger *and* in considering the ethical and representational stakes of writing about hunger for differently positioned audiences. In this respect, too, anthropological narratives were often seen by my friends to extend far beyond what activist outputs alone could achieve in terms of reach and readership.

Aspirational audiences for this ethnographic work identified and invoked by my companions included the Indonesian government bodies and oil palm corporations that are stealing their lands and eating their forests, and the global communities of consumers whose everyday existences are sustained by plantation commodities like palm oil. But women also talked of writing this book for the men in their villages whose decisions and actions undermine intergenerational and ecological continuance. They spoke of stories that needed to be written to honor their children present and long gone, whose lives had to be remembered and retold. To deceased female kin and matriarchs, whose identities are commemorated in this work in the form of pseudonyms that recall and celebrate these women's names and their knowledges. To foreign anthropologists, academics, and students in West Papua, Indonesia, and beyond. To transnational human rights organizations and pan-Melanesia and pan-Pacific feminist grassroots movements. To ancestors, spirits, and the deceased. To withering sago palms. To fleeing cassowaries. To flattened roadkill.

This book interpellates these and other audiences by drawing attention to the distinctive effects of historical, cultural, social, and environmental change on Marind women's sense of self and relationality, as these are shaped by their divergent politics, interests, obligations, and concerns.[31] In doing so, it pushes against what Sarah Nickel, a Tk'emlupsemc (Kamloops Secwepemc) historian, describes as the marginalization of women within scholarship on Indigenous politics resulting from "the depoliticization of

women's work . . . and the collapsing of women's politics within the broader narrative of male-dominated political organizations [that render] women's activities invisible."[32] As such, it is the women of the Upper Bian, as engaged theorists and critics, who have made this book both possible and necessary.

Women in the field explained their particular interest in the question of hunger as intrinsically linked to their sense of identity and pride as food providers and mothers. But their investment in these questions also stemmed from other, more covert sentiments. On the one hand, speaking about hunger offered an avenue for women to condemn the attritive effects of histories of colonial racial capitalism on Indigenous Papuan lands and bodies—to "renarrate" themselves back into these histories and, in doing so, counter what the Kānaka Maoli Indigenous studies scholar Lisa Kahaleole Hall and others identify as the erasure of women's experiences and agencies under settler-colonial rule.[33]

On the other hand, speaking about hunger also enabled women to voice their frustrations, resentment, and anger toward Marind men *within* their communities, whose monopoly over decisions to surrender land to, or otherwise cooperate with, agribusiness corporations many saw as exacerbating food insecurity on the ground. Here, women's narratives served a cathartic function in communicating gendered power asymmetries that have been amplified in the context of intensifying land conversions and that are revelatory of a nascent or implicit Indigenous feminist consciousness around hunger—one that in turn acts as an internal critique and as the potential grounds for activism against the masculinism of both the colonial nation-state and the patriarchy of customary systems.

And yet, the cathartic or self-empowering function of hunger narratives as a mode of "speaking truth to power" was often accompanied by an equally strong sense of shame and culpability among those women who read in hunger a testament to their own failure to fulfill the needs of Marind generations present and to come.[34] This shame was compounded with uncertainties and hesitations that my female companions were widely reticent to convey in the context of formal food activism initiatives—for instance, uncertainties over who exactly was to blame for the emergence of new and different hungers, how the attribution of responsibility was distributed across gendered and racialized scales and subjects, and by whom these hungers ought to be storied for global audiences without reproducing what the Indian American feminist scholar Chandra Talpade Mohanty identifies as the colonial logics of Western feminist theories that present "a

composite, singular 'third-world woman' image" and in doing so, replicate the "authorizing signature of western humanist discourse."[35]

I use the terms *feminism* and *feminist* with care and caution throughout this work. On the one hand, the materials I present are in direct conversation with, and richly informed by, Indigenous, Black, and new materialist/posthumanist feminist theories that in turn cannot be divorced from gender theory or from critiques of racial colonial capitalism, sharing as these currents do the common pursuit of critically analyzing relations of difference and inequality through the lens of gender roles and from the perspective of differently situated women. Much like Marind women's own interpretive frameworks, these scholarly theories are reflective of lived realities at the same time as they are political and discursive practices, driven and shaped by their specific intellectual and empirical origins and contexts.[36]

Bringing Marind women's theories into dialogue with Indigenous and critical race feminist scholarship draws attention to the importance of considering how gendered and situated identities, roles, and relations may differ from, and be incommensurable with, Western models and attendant trajectories of societal transformation, or contexts where feminist action must remain strategically implicit in order to achieve its ends.[37] While a few of my companions who had familiarized themselves with certain strands of feminism in the course of their studies in Merauke City (the capital of Merauke) or Jayapura (the capital of West Papua) recognized affinities between these currents and their own pursuit of justice, recognition, and participation in political life, they also often distanced themselves from Western concepts of equality and democracy and, in particular, the Western feminist push-back against assumed connections between women, land, and the domestic sphere, from which many Marind women derive a sense of pride rather than subordination.[38] Attention to situatedness is all the more important given that the views conveyed in this work do not represent those of all Marind women, nor are they exclusively held by Marind women alone.

Not all women in the villages where I conducted fieldwork were equally interested in questions of hunger—or, more specifically perhaps, in discussing these questions with me. Those who participated in this project did so for very different reasons. In particular, and resonating strongly with similar debates in the sphere of Pacific and Indigenous feminisms, disagreements abounded among women over the relative importance of, and mutually reinforcing or impeding relationship between, struggles for gender equality on the one hand and Indigenous sovereignty on the other. As such, and even as the women I worked with might not self-identify with or deploy

the language of feminism themselves, their contentions over the relationship between gender, land, power, and inequality (in both real-world and representational terms) uncover their deeply nuanced understandings and critiques of the connections and intersections between the historical violence of settler colonialism and the gendered violence of heteropatriarchies and heteropaternalisms both internal *and* imposed.[39]

Attending to women and their situated experiences and knowledges of hunger illuminates new insights into the fraught relationship between gender, food, and ecology on the Papuan plantation frontier. It further allows me to return to previously examined themes in ways that are generative of distinctive and complementary analyses. These include the relationship that my female companions identify between diminishing forest foodways and growing structural inequalities between men and women, the threatening masculinity they attribute to occupying infrastructures and corporate sorcerers, and the gendered modes of historicity and causality that inflect their understanding of the etiologies of hungers past, present, and to come. These findings amplify the opacity (*abu-abu*) of the Marind lifeworld by revealing the diverse and disputed ways in which my female companions grapple with their dual marginalization at the intersections of custom and colonialism—at times rooting their theories of change in their positionality as women, at others in their positionality as Marind, and at others yet at the oft-awkward interstices of gender and Indigeneity.[40]

In tandem with guiding its thematic trajectories, Marind women's experiences and knowledges also shape the narrative terrain and tenor of this work, which were determined together with the individuals whose stories this book attempts to do justice to, and in conversation also with their responses to the generous feedback and queries received from the book's reviewers, which I shared with my companions in translated form.[41] For instance, incorporating particular hunger songs in each chapter, which were recorded, translated, and selected by those who created and crafted them, was deemed critical by women in honoring the songs' communicative and poetic potencies and also in interrupting, inflecting, and informing the text's shifting rhythms and refrains. Alongside particular terms and expressions, translations of selected key quotes were included in full in their source language where so requested by those cited. Primacy has been given to the flow of Marind's own stories and experiences within the body text, with comparative ethnographic examples from across Melanesia and beyond and theoretical debates unfolding in anthropology and consonant fields strategically positioned in detailed endnotes. Together with translations, songs,

and endnotes, the broader chapter structure and narrative arc of the work before you were also developed through a collaborative approach to storytelling. Each chapter opens with a fleshy account of a particular moment in the field that embodies what the American anthropologist Sally Falk Moore terms a "diagnostic event," or a specific instance captured in the stream of time that my companions and I agreed to be especially revealing of hunger's form and effects, either in situ or in retrospect.[42]

For instance, thick descriptions of forest foodways presented in the opening chapter serve to introduce the reader to the intimate bodily and affective pleasures of multispecies commensalities but also to the inherent violence and vulnerabilities that more-than-human relations of eating, being eaten, and not eating entail. These violences and vulnerabilities find heightened expression in subsequent chapters that uncover not only the injuries inflicted by colonial-capitalist regimes on gendered bodies and occupied landscapes but also, and just as importantly, the forms of epistemic sovereignty that Marind women practice in questioning and challenging these injuries and their causes, as they unfold within and across different subjects of hunger, victimhood, and complicity. The stakes of acknowledging these modes of epistemic sovereignty are tackled head-on in the final chapter, which considers in a reflexive mode the non-innocences entailed in the craft and consumption of ethnographic narratives as a particular way of representing and narrating the violence of hunger.

Attending to the non-innocence of ethnographic writing, as it is articulated by Marind women, brings me to pair the ambiguous (*abu-abu*) dynamics of life on extractive resource frontiers with the *abu-abu* nature of anthropological practice itself and the contested forms of responsibility and refusal that ethnographically representing one's own and others' lives entail. Ethical concerns, conundrums, and critiques among Marind women surrounding ethnographic writing were central to the production of this work—from field to press, and likely beyond—and operate as a shadow argument throughout the book, with their full force examined in detail in the final segment. These concerns uncover the importance of disclosing the consequential whys, whos, whens, and hows that matter to the people who make our research and writing possible. They problematize what anthropology can do in pragmatic terms, for and with the places and peoples it describes and theorizes. They bring to fore the methodological challenges that arise in storying hunger as violence through the craft and consumption of ethnography as a non-innocent practice, anchored as much in principles of responsibility and reciprocity as in realities of compromise and complicity.

In examining these questions through the heterogeneous perspectives and critiques of my companions in the field, and their broader implications for anthropology as a discipline and academia as an institution, the book unveils a multiplicity of "hidden transcripts" through which Marind women push against and problematize dominant ideologies across different yet interrelated scales, subjects, and struggles.[43]

The stakes outlined above have shaped the choice and craft of the narratives this book recounts, and that I invite the reader to engage with through a practice of "slow reading" wherein one allows oneself to be pulled into ethical proximity with the events described, while considering carefully the strategic reasons why and to what ends these events may be storied the way they are.[44] In particular, I invite you to consider descriptions and interpretations that might appear to veer toward romanticization within this work—whether in the form of seemingly idealized Indigenous lifeworlds or singularized capitalist violence—through what Elaine Coburn, a white Canadian settler and international studies scholar, and her Indigenous colleagues term a "contrapuntal" reading, or a reading that situates Indigenous experiences and theories against the context of ongoing colonization as a form of resistance to centuries of stigmatization of Indigenous ways of being and knowing.[45]

A similar invitation to the reader applies in the context of the visual elements that accompany this work's textual core. Some of these photographs were taken by me, others by my Marind companions, and yet others by a Papua-based Indonesian documentary photographer, freelance photojournalist, and local activist ally, Albertus Vembrianto, who has dedicated much of his career to documenting and giving voice to Papuan people and landscapes through the medium of pictures, op-eds, documentaries, and books.[46] Selecting these photographs jointly with Marind women involved an often difficult balance between conveying people, interactions, and places in a vivid and visceral way, on the one hand, and avoiding, on the other, the kind of voyeuristic and objectifying gaze that has so long plagued not only the discipline of anthropology but also the media representation of crises in general and of extreme hunger or famine in particular.

Captured at a specific moment in time and within a particular visual frame, the images retained in this work offer what the Colombian anthropologist and photographer Camilo Leon-Quijano describes as "a socially experienced picture that is inevitably incomplete, uncertain, sometimes inconsistent, and contradictory"—not just in relation to their actual contents and contexts of production but also in relation to the many *other* images

with which *these* images are in dialogue, but that were ultimately and deliberately excluded in light of the representational risks I have just outlined.[47] For instance, many images depicting bodies (especially those of children) suffering from malnutrition were included in earlier iterations of the text but later removed so as not to perpetuate the colonial and racializing othering of non-Western bodies. These absences, operating across visual-textual terrains in the form of intentionally omitted photographs and stories, are, in different ways and for different reasons, necessary. But many continue to sit uneasily with my Marind friends, speaking through their conscious erasure to the non-innocences and hesitancies that have shaped both the intersubjective relations of the field and its partial representation within this book.[48]

Finally, a word on theory. In opening this account with a hunger song, crafted and performed by a Marind woman and friend from West Papua, I foreground a key aim of this work—namely, to center the experiential and speculative forms of theorization produced by Indigenous People who persist in the teeth of colonial racial capitalism.[49] Following Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a Māori education studies scholar, I understand "theory" in the broadest sense to encompass the diverse ways in which people interpret the world and, in doing so, make a claim in and about the world.[50] To acknowledge Marind women as theorists, alongside other intellectuals, practitioners, and activists cited in this work, counters what the Fijian sociologist Simione Durutalo and the I-Kiribati and African American scholar and activist Teresia Teaiwa call the "elimination of innovation" in representations of Pacific peoples that fail to "account for changes in [I]ndigenous ways of knowing and being."[51] It challenges what David Welchman Gegeo, a Solomon Islands anthropologist, identifies as the (often hierarchical) positioning of theory as opposite to, and distinct from, everyday practice, activist engagement, and grassroots discourse.[52] It further responds to the invitation by the Fijian and Ngāi Tahu interdisciplinary scholars Suliasi Vunibola and Matthew Scobie to attend to the creative, critical, and innovative ways in which Pacific peoples articulate their worlds "within-and-against, and beyond" the colonial-capitalist relation.[53]

Marind women in rural Merauke have crafted their theories through their bodily, affective, and historical encounters with the forces of colonization, capitalism, plantation modernity, development, and globalization. These theories, as such, are not so much "learned" by Marind from other academic theorists through transnational flows of scholarly concepts or ideological currents as they are generated internally from (often, indeed, with) the grass roots, across rural and urban divides, between men and women,

youth and elders, and at times in creative response to the effects of external forces on local places, people, and bodies—the state, corporations, imperial powers, NGOs, anthropologists, and more. On the one hand, the ecosocial ruptures that Marind (and Papuans more generally) have experienced over two consecutive periods of colonization (Dutch and then Indonesian) have been generative of new kinds of theorizing and new communities of theorists, as people strive to interpret a rapidly changing world and, in doing so, articulate "claims that stick and words that matter," both in and about this world and their own place within it.[54] These theories often take hold and are expressed in everyday life as people encounter the material infrastructures through which the forces of colonial capitalism become palpably present—roads, cities, plantations, and more. But theorizing among Marind also vastly predates the incursion of capitalism and colonialism. It is a collective practice that is birthed in spaces that have long been objects of local observation, immersion, analysis, and interpretation—from forests and swamps to sago groves and savannas. It is in these intimate and more-than-human realms, as much as in those infrastructures introduced and imposed by imperial-industrial regimes, that Marind concepts and philosophies of relationality, violence, and vulnerability find root.

More generally, then, I hope to invite the reader with this framing to interrogate, rather than take for granted, the dynamics of voice and visibility that determine when and why theory becomes Theory, what theory does, how it is distributed and cross-pollinated, who gets to decide what lies within and beyond its ambit and aura, and how theory comes to matter as something not only written and read but also storied and sung.[55] The intention here is to unsettle, enrich, and expand what the British Australian feminist theorist Sara Ahmed calls the "citational chain" of academic theorizing that determines and delimits whom we see ourselves in theoretical conversation with.[56] To adopt this framing pushes against the (white) intellectual monopoly and ownership over theory as a particular and privileged mode of knowledge production and academic capital wherein colonized and silenced "others," as the Kahnawà:ke Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson and the American feminist scholar Andrea Smith note, are positioned as "those who can be theorized about, but not those who can theorize."[57] Instead, it recognizes the complex, transforming, and praxis-based interpretive frameworks through which our field interlocutors, in the role of active knowledge producers, understand, explain, and evaluate the nature of, and relationship between, local realities and global forces, as these arise through their identification of meaningful connections, resonances,

gaps, hesitations, and contradictions—some lived and remembered, others imagined and speculative.

Chapter 1 examines the meanings of satiety and hunger in the forest in light of Marind ethnonutritional frameworks and the principles and practices undergirding the procuration, preparation, consumption, and exchange of traditional forest foods. Both hunger and satiety find expression in the appearance and abundance of people's skin and wetness, generating an energy that is distributed across humans, plants, animals, and elements, and that is enhanced by the affordances of kindred organisms from which forest foods derive. Eating in and from the forest is associated by Marind with peace, liveliness, knowledge, freedom, and the complementarity of gendered and intergenerational forms of labor. In the forest, Marind themselves become good food that satiates the hunger of others by transmitting their sweat, blood, and flesh to animals, plants, and soils through tactile encounters in life and bodily decomposition after death. The ecosocial significance of satiety in the forest in turn shapes the multiple meanings of hunger as a diagnostic of individuals' moral and material relations to human and other-than-human beings.

Chapter 2 examines the transformation of Marind into subjects of new and different kinds of hunger that find root in longer histories of settler-colonial occupation and that have been exacerbated by the recent expansion of industrial oil palm concessions and the subsequent disappearance of food-providing forests. Marind's hunger for forest foods speaks to the devastating consequences of plantation proliferation on the mutually sustaining relations of humans and other life-forms. The hunger for imported, processed goods, in contrast, speaks to a desire for a modern and globalized way of life that nonetheless fails to satiate, and even intensifies, the hunger of those who experience it. A third form of hunger is the hunger for money and human flesh that many Marind women attribute to those male villagers who collude with the agribusiness sector and further their individual interests to the detriment of human and more-than-human communities of life. Together, these emergent ecologies of hungers entail destructive and unilateral, rather than generative and reciprocal, forms of consumption. Insatiable and multiplying, they literally and figuratively eat away at the bodies, environments, and futures of Marind and their other-than-human kin.

Chapter 3 examines the transformation of Marind into objects of hungers that are attributed to an array of invasive, foreign, and masculinized entities—roads, cities, the government, and corporations. The effects of

these hungers manifest in the depletion of victims' bodily skin and wetness but can also take more ambiguous, indirect, and non-innocent forms—the mysterious disappearance of kin and friends on the roads and in the cities, the vulnerability of women to sexually transmitted diseases and sexual abuse, and the susceptibility of Marind men to sorcery-induced mental manipulation, among others. Far from being restricted to human subjects and objects alone, hunger becomes a defining trait of diverse infrastructural and institutional forces that operate across different sites and scales, and that together consume Marind and the nourishing ecologies they depend on to survive and thrive.

Chapter 4 examines how Marind explain and rationalize the causes of hunger. Some women understand hunger as a punishment meted out by ancestral spirits on their male relatives for their failure to protect the forest and its animal and plant dwellers from death and destruction. Other women identify hunger's roots in the ongoing colonization of West Papua and the multiple forms of dispossession that have accompanied settler occupation. Yet other Marind women interpret hunger as a necessary and altruistic sacrifice in achieving a greater good—namely, feeding the nation and feeding the world. This etiology speaks to religious notions of martyrdom and sacrifice instilled through historical processes of Christian missionization and conversion. It also expresses an acute, if troubling, awareness and acknowledgment among Marind women of the unequal resource distribution dynamics underlying the neoliberal capitalist system—one in which some people must go hungry in order for others to be satiated.

Chapter 5 considers the ethical conundrums that arose in the course of my ethnographic research on hunger among Marind communities and the conflicting expectations of Marind women pertaining to the disclosure (or withholding thereof) of the findings documented in this work. These conflicting demands on the part of my variably situated hosts draw reflexive attention to how the nature and negotiation of power, privilege, and precarity within community-researcher relations can at once transform, transcend, and trouble the layered meanings and matterings of hunger, in and beyond ethnographic terrains. They invite a practice of hesitant anthropology that acknowledges the force of uncertainty and doubt in shaping the worlds we study, while at the same time reckoning with the non-innocence of ethnographic writing as a compromised and compromising exercise in responsibility and reciprocity.

I conclude by drawing on Marind theories of hunger to reflect on the conceptual, political, and practical implications of reframing hunger as a culturally modulated, historically situated, and morally imbued phenomenon,

in an epoch of ever-intensifying capitalistic extraction and anthropogenic activity. I identify avenues for future research that takes hunger as a starting point for reimagining struggles for social, environmental, racial, and multispecies justice as mediated and moved by the pursuit of metabolic justice. I leave the last words to Mina, a child from the village of Mirav, whose hunger song first sparked this foray through the land of famished beings, and to whom this book is dedicated.

NOTES

Introduction

1 In this work, *oil palm* refers to the plant known in Linnean scientific taxonomy as *Elaeis guineensis Jacquin*, and *palm oil* to the edible oil that is obtained from the fruits and kernels of the oil palm plant.

2 The terms *companion* and *friend* gloss a range of different and changing relationships that I entertained with Marind individuals and groups in the field—colleague, apprentice, and teacher, sister, aunt, adopted pig-daughter, and more. Inspired by the Australian anthropologist Melinda Hinkson's characterization of her friendship with the Warlpiri woman Nungarrayi as a form of dynamic, generative, if never friction-free "journeying," I choose these terms to honor the many forms of accompaniment that shaped my research with the women of rural Merauke. These include literal accompaniments in the forests, villages, and plantations but also intellectual and affective companionships that undergirded the writing process and that sustained and challenged in meaningful ways the tenor of our intersubjective relationships and the substance and structure of the text before you. I reserve the term *interlocutor* for broader statements on the researcher–research subject dynamic, in recognition of its contextually shaped and situated forms across time and place, and individual and collective. Hinkson, *See How We Roll*, 21.

3 In this work, *more-than-human* and *other-than-human* serve as qualifiers for native plants, animals, and elements, as well as ancestral creator spirits,

whom Marind refer to collectively as amai and dema, respectively. The terms also encompass an array of introduced or foreign entities, forces, and infrastructures that participate in shaping the Marind lifeworld—cities, roads, plantations, corporations, oil palm, and others. With a few exceptions, I favor *more-than-human* over *multispecies* to make space for beings who do not fit comfortably within dominant scientific frameworks of *bios*. In doing so, I align my analysis with Indigenous Marind ways of classifying beings, relations, and matter that do not necessarily or primarily find anchorage in the Western, taxonomic concept of "species." Chao, "Thinking Beyond Bios"; Price and Chao, "Multispecies"; TallBear, "Interspecies Thinking"; Winter, "Unearthing the Time/Space/Matter."

4 As I describe elsewhere, sugarcane, oil palm, and timber companies operating in Merauke are systematically failing to respect the right of the Marind to withhold their consent to land conversion, and communities often give their consent based on deceptive information and restricted freedom of choice. Where provided to villagers, details about the design, implementation, and anticipated impacts of planned projects (both positive and negative) tend to be insufficient or partial, terms of compensation unilaterally imposed, and contracts vague or nonexistent. National and local regulations stipulating the right of communities to give or withhold their consent are also rarely implemented, interpreted to suit the interests of corporations and the government, or trumped by national interest priorities. Forest Peoples Programme, PUSAKA, and Sawit Watch, *"Sweetness Like unto Death"*; see also Colchester and Chao, *Conflict or Consent?*; Chao, "Cultivating Consent."

5 Food Security Council, Ministry of Agriculture, and World Food Programme, *Food Security and Vulnerability Atlas of Indonesia, 2015*, xvi.

6 These violations were most recently documented in a statement published in January 2021 by the United Nations special rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, the special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary, or arbitrary executions, and the special rapporteur on the human rights of internally displaced persons, which called for urgent humanitarian access to West Papua as well as a full and independent investigation into abuses committed against Indigenous Papuans, including the violation of their right to food and to health. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, "South-East Asia/Agrofuel."

7 These include the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil, the Office of the Compliance Advisor Ombudsman of the International Finance Corporation, the Indonesian National Human Rights Commission, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the United Nations special rapporteur on the right to food, and the United Nations special rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

8 According to the British anthropologist Michael Young, the prevalent perception of hunger as a primarily biological condition partly explains its relatively sporadic treatment as a topic of ethnographic inquiry. This stands in contrast to food and eating, whose sociocultural dimensions have long constituted staples of anthropological analysis. Young, "'Worst Disease,'" 111; see also Scheper-Hughes, "Hungry Bodies," 232.

9 The condition of hunger was in fact central to the original formulation of "geopolitics," a term coined by the Brazilian physician and geographer Josué de Castro in his seminal but underacknowledged work, *Geografia da Fome* (The geography of hunger). This foundational text lay the conceptual ground for a vast body of scholarship in political economy that theorizes food insecurity and famine as products of world systems dynamics and geopolitical inequities, rather than outcomes of biological or environmental factors alone. De Castro, *Geografia da Fome*; see also Devereux, *Theories of Famine*; Drèze and Sen, *Political Economy of Hunger*; Nally, *Human Encumbrances*; Sen, *Poverty and Famines*; Watts, *Silent Violence*.

10 Scheper-Hughes, "Madness of Hunger," 433; Hastrup, "Hunger," 727. On the medicalization, technocratization, and depoliticization of "hunger" in modern food security, nutritional science, and humanitarian discourse and practice, see de Waal, *Famine That Kills*; Edkins, *Whose Hunger?*; Kwiatkowski, *Struggling with Development*; Nally, "Against Food Security"; Nott, "'How Little Progress'?"; Sanabria and Yates-Doerr, "Alimentary Uncertainties"; Scott-Smith, *On an Empty Stomach*; Scrinis, *Nutritionism*; Tallis, *Hunger*; Yates-Doerr, "Opacity of Reduction."

A word on citations. In *Pollution Is Colonialism*, Max Liboiron, a Red River Métis/Michif geographer, critiques the tendency in scholarly works to introduce Indigenous authors with their nation/affiliation while leaving settler and white scholars unmarked. This approach, Liboiron points out, is problematic because it "re-centers settlers and whiteness as an unexceptional norm, while deviations have to be marked and named." In this work, I adopt and adapt Liboiron's citational methodology in identifying all scholars cited by their cultural or ethnic background and by their primary disciplinary affiliation. Where such information was not readily or publicly available and given I could not consult all works both published and in progress, I contacted scholars directly to explain my citational approach and seek out how they wished to be identified. One individual chose to be identified only by discipline and not by cultural heritage or land relations, so I have added the qualifier "unmarked" following their field of expertise. I thank all the individuals who responded to my query (and most did). I extend particular gratitude to those who took this opportunity to initiate a broader and deeper conversation with me around the importance and imperfections of attempting to encompass in any one digestible statement

the multiple factors that shape one's sense of being and belonging—from the cultural, gendered, and national, to the racial, religious, regional, and more. Liboiron, *Pollution Is Colonialism*, 3n10.

11 Cousins, "Antiretroviral Therapy," 434; Yates-Doerr, "Intervals of Confidence," 230.

12 Ishiyama and TallBear, "Nuclear Waste," 200–201; see also Giraud, *What Comes after Entanglement?*; Govindrajan, *Animal Intimacies*.

13 Ulijaszek, Mann, and Elton, *Evolving Human Nutrition*, 18; see also Chappell, *Beginning to End Hunger*, 53.

14 Kanem and Norris, "Examination of the Noken and Indigenous Cultural Identity"; Whyte, "Food Sovereignty"; Fresno-Calleja, "Fighting Gastrocolonialism"; Coté, "'Indigenizing' Food Sovereignty"; Washburn, "'No Page Is Ever Truly Blank'"; Wilson, *Postcolonialism*.

15 Nichter, "Idioms of Distress Revisited," 404–5; Hardin, *Faith and the Pursuit of Health*, 54; Mendenhall, *Rethinking Diabetes*, 10.

16 Goldstein, "Ground Not Given," 101; Winchester, *Land*.

17 Das, *Life and Words*; K. Stewart, *Ordinary Affects*. On the importance of attending to the everydayness of hunger as mundane reality rather than spectacular event, see Essex, "Idle Hands," 195; Messer and Shipton, "Hunger in Africa," 230; Phillips, *Ethnography of Hunger*; Singh, "Hunger and Thirst," 576–78.

18 I borrow the term "gastrologies" from the American anthropologists Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz to describe how Indigenous Marind foodways shape and are shaped by culturally mediated and intersecting gastrogeographies (who eats what, where), gastropolitics (who gets what food, from whom, under what circumstances, and with what consequences), and gastro-identities (who becomes what by virtue of what is or is not eaten). Errington and Gewertz, "Pacific Island Gastrologies," 591.

19 Santos Perez, "Facing Hawai'i's Future"; Appadurai, "Gastro-Politics."

20 Holland, Ochoa, and Tompkins, "On the Visceral," 395; see also Hardin, *Faith and the Pursuit of Health*; Solomon, *Metabolic Living*.

21 Roy, *Alimentary Tracts*, 23–24. While beyond the ambit of this particular work, hunger's ethicopolitical valences as a form of protest have also been extensively explored in the context of hunger strikes, which constitute expressions of bodily and metabolically mediated refusal, dissent, and resistance to dominant institutional orders. See, for instance, Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*; Gómez-Barris, "Mapuche Hunger Acts"; P. Anderson, *So Much Wasted*; Grant, *Last Weapons*.

22 hooks, *Black Looks*, 21; see also Ahenakew, *Towards Scarring*, 37–38; Bartolovich, "Consumerism," 234.

23 In this respect, the work before you complements ethnographic accounts that examine hunger, malnutrition, food insecurity, and eating disorders from perspectives situated in the "Global North" and that attend to late capitalist economies' relationship to food excess, waste, scarcity, and inequality in Anglo, European, or settler-American contexts. See, for instance, Boarder Giles, *Mass Conspiracy*; Caldwell, *Not by Bread Alone*; Dickinson, *Feeding the Crisis*; Garthwaite, *Hunger Pains*; Guthman, *Weighing In*; Mendenhall, *Rethinking Diabetes*; Warin, *Abject Relations*; Warin and Zivkovic, *Fatness, Obesity, and Disadvantage*.

24 Here, I follow David Welchman Gegeo in approaching "Indigenous epistemology" as "a cultural group's ways of thinking and of creating and reformulating knowledge using traditional discourses and media of communication . . . and anchoring the truth of the discourse in culture." Like all epistemologies, Indigenous epistemology constitutes, in the Lenape Indigenous studies scholar Joanne Barker's terms, "an active hermeneutic, a politics of interpretation and representation, [that is] contingent upon the historical contexts, political systems, and social relationships in which they are articulated." It includes the fact of Indigenous knowledge itself but also how that Indigenous knowledge is theorized and constructed, and how it is then applied, or, as the Native Hawai'ian cultural practitioner Manulani Aluli-Meyer puts it, "what one knows, how one knows, and what is worth knowing in a changing world." Gegeo, "Indigenous Knowledge," 311; Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, "Whose Knowledge?," 381–403; Barker, "Indigenous Feminisms"; Aluli-Meyer, "Our Own Liberation," 125; see also Semali and Kincheloe, *What Is Indigenous Knowledge?*, 24; Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 39.

25 Parreñas, "Ethnography after Anthropology," 456. Parreñas's invitation brings to mind the Australian anthropologist Michael Taussig's critique of academic writing as "agribusiness writing," or an institutionalized mode of production that conceals the means of production, prioritizes mastery over wonder, and approaches writing as a means, rather than a source, of experience for readers and writers alike. Taussig, *Corn Wolf*, 5–6.

26 Jobson, "Case for Letting Anthropology Burn"; joannemariebarker and Teaiwa, "Native Information"; see also the contributions to the *American Ethnologist* fiftieth anniversary special issue of 2024, edited by Susanna Trnka, Jesse Hession Grayman, and Lisa L. Wynn and themed around the question "What Good Is Anthropology?" and their 2023 forum in the same journal, "Decolonizing Anthropology: Global Perspectives."

27 Ethics approval for fieldwork was sought and obtained from my university, the application for which was drafted jointly with Marind community members to center local principles and protocols of responsible, respectful, and reciprocal research. Customary rituals, hosted by village elders in each of the three villages at the onset of my fieldwork, were integral to formalizing

my welcome to and extended stay within these settlements. These rituals were complemented with additional ceremonies performed at regular intervals throughout my research, during which decisions were revisited and validated regarding my participation in everyday village life, the use of the data collected, and the ways in which these data would be communicated to outside audiences in the form of scholarly and engaged outputs. In an effort to comply with national laws, additional fieldwork permits were sought from the Indonesian government through the then Ministry of Research and Technology. The almost-immediate rejection of these applications by the government in light of "security and safety concerns" for my well-being as a foreign visitor was widely understood by communities as symptomatic of a broader trend in restrictions to freedom of movement and expression in West Papua, where access to researchers and journalists remains tightly controlled. This broader political context only heightened the importance of conducting the proposed research in the eyes of many of my companions, the vast majority of whom had in any case voiced strong opposition in the first place to the pursuit of formal permission from what is widely perceived as a colonizing and occupying nation-state. For further details on my relationships with Marind communities and the political and practical stakes of my research in Merauke, see Chao, *In the Shadow of the Palms*, 3–4, 22–27.

28 Chao, *In the Shadow of the Palms*.

29 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, "Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies," 88. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua's invitation also resonates with the call by the Cree/Saulteaux political scientist Gina Starblanket to center everyday personal relationships as a "primary site of political action" in the pursuit of Indigenous and gender sovereignty. Starblanket, "Being Indigenous Feminists," 37.

30 These activities took place alongside a formal workshop I organized in August 2019 with the support of a Wenner-Gren Engagement Grant, titled "Oil Palm Expansion in West Papua: Multi-stakeholder Workshop on Sustainability in the Agribusiness Sector." Attended by Indonesian government, corporate, and not-for-profit organizations, as well as Marind representatives, the workshop offered a platform for Marind to communicate the adverse impacts of oil palm developments on their livelihoods, land rights, cultural well-being, food security, and physical environment. The workshop resulted in a set of recommendations for achieving rights-based, culturally sensitive, and environmentally sustainable palm oil production in rural West Papua, including "the development of binding and verifiable safeguards, standard operational procedures, and protocols to protect Indigenous communities' food and water security and cultural food sovereignty." Chao, "Engaged Anthropology."

31 On the gendered dimensions of globalization and modernization in the Pacific, see Jolly and Macintyre, *Family and Gender*; Macintyre and Spark, *Transformations of Gender*; Wardlow, *Wayward Women*.

32 Nickel, "'I Am Not a Women's Libber,'" 299.

33 Kahaleole Hall, "Strategies of Erasure," 274–79; see also Barker, "Introduction: Critically Sovereign," 21; Ross, "From the 'F' Word," 45. On colonial racial capitalism, see Koshy et al., *Colonial Racial Capitalism*.

34 On speaking truth to power, see Zinn, "Speaking Truth"; Rutherford, "Kinky Empiricism." The gendered dynamics of food insecurity, hunger, and famine, and the particular burdens of care, shame, and responsibility placed on women as food providers and child-bearers, have been extensively explored in anthropology and consonant disciplines. See, for instance, Biehl, *Vita*; M. A. Carney, *Unending Hunger*; Kelleher, *Feminization of Famine*; van Houten, "Gendered Political Economies"; Kimura, *Hidden Hunger*; Kwiatkowski, *Struggling with Development*; Mendenhall, *Rethinking Diabetes*; Scheper-Hughes, *Death without Weeping*; Tappan, *Riddle of Malnutrition*; Vaughan, *Story of an African Famine*; Weismantel, *Food, Gender, and Poverty*.

35 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 62–63; see also Visweswaran, *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography*; Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

36 Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes," 62.

37 On scholarly debates surrounding Indigenous, Pacific, and transnational feminisms, see Arvin, "Indigenous Feminist Notes on Embodying Alliance," 335; Blackwell, Briggs, and Chiu, "Transnational Feminisms Roundtable"; Dhamoon, "Feminist Approach to Decolonizing Antiracism"; Giffort, "Show or Tell?"; Green, "Introduction—Indigenous Feminism"; Kahaleole Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands,'" 16; Karides, "Why Island Feminism?," 31; Lin, "An Introduction: "Indigenous Feminisms," 10; Moura-Koçoğlu, "Decolonizing Gender Roles," 242–44; Shanley, "Thoughts on Indian Feminism"; Spark, Cox, and Corbett, "'Keeping an Eye Out for Women,'" 86; Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 889–904. On the risks of characterizing entire populations of women or even an educated intellectual class of women as "feminist" or "antifeminist," see also Jolly, "Beyond the Horizon?," 150; Weiner, *Women of Value*.

38 This understanding among many Marind women resonates with a rebuttal by the Māori (Waitaha ki Waipounamu iwi) scholar in education studies Makere Stewart-Harawira of strands of Western feminism that sever womanhood from the environment and land itself as the basis for many Indigenous Peoples' claims to self-determination. Accusations that "the linking of land and women functions to re-inscribe Indigenous women as passive and subordinate," Stewart-Harawira notes, elide the intimate and often sacral relationship between women and land and the ascription of the feminine to the earth itself, thus evidencing "the ongoing inscribing of colonial interpretations onto Indigenous societies." Stewart-Harawira, "Practicing Indigenous Feminism," 128. On Indigenous and Black critiques of feminism

as a Western, middle-class import and of gender inequality as a product of Western imperial culture, see Allen, "Who Is Your Mother?"; Allen, *Sacred Hoop*; Banivanua Mar, "Focussing on the Margins of Rights," 59; hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*; hooks, *Talking Back*; Kahaleole Hall, "Strategies of Erasure," 277; Liboiron, *Pollution Is Colonialism*, 41n11; Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' Up*; Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism."

39 The largely implicit or unnamed nature of feminist thought and practice among my companions in rural Merauke stands in contrast to peri-urban and urban areas of West Papua and other regions of the Pacific, where women's organizations, alliances, research bodies, and other collective institutions and movements self-identify under the rubric of Indigenous feminism or Indigenous gender empowerment. See Spark, Cox, and Corbett, "'Keeping an Eye Out for Women'"; Ginoza, "Archipelagic Feminisms"; Underhill-Sem, "Contract Scholars"; Souder, "Feminism and Women's Studies."

40 On dual marginalization, see Huhndorf and Suzack, "Indigenous Feminism," 3; see also Kanem and Norris, "Indigenous Women"; Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex."

41 Feedback received from the manuscript's two reviewers, together with guidance offered by my editor, Ken Wissoker, was translated from English into *logat* Papua and discussed with my friends in the field during sessions held via Facebook video on September 7 and 12, 2023, and then again on February 1, 4, and 10, 2024. These formal discussions were supplemented by iterative and ad hoc conversations over WhatsApp that together fed directly into the revision of this text. Speaking back directly to reviewer requests and to elements of the peer review process, as I do in this section, fits a broader desire of this work to illustrate how the often-hesitant practices of knowledge-making are integral to the knowledge that is eventually produced.

42 Moore, *Comparing Impossibilities*, 25–26. The anecdotes that open each chapter were chosen in consultation with the individuals featured within them, thereby marking a departure from Moore's understanding of diagnostic events as selected primarily by the ethnographer in light of their understanding of their relevance to their object of inquiry and research trajectory.

43 I borrow the term "hidden transcripts" from the American political scientist James Scott to describe discourses that "[take] place offstage, beyond direct observation by powerholders." This encompasses "speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect" what appears in the realm of public social performance, and that speak to the particular constraints of domination and power experienced by those who alternately enact, endure, and resist them. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 4–5.

44 My use of the expression "slow reading" draws on Deborah Bird Rose's call for "slow writing" as a way of being "called forth by events within the living world" and of responding to "our impossible position as participants in

and witnesses to catastrophes beyond our comprehension." Slow writing, Rose continues, is anchored in "slow encounters," which are anchored in events we participate in and share, imaginatively or otherwise, and that "promote understandings of embodied, relational, and contingent ethics" in an age of multiple, overlapping crises. Rose, "Slowly," 2, 9.

45 As Coburn et al. write, such a contrapuntal reading also demands that we critically consider who gets to make accusations of romanticization in the first place and who is spared such condemnation. This point is conveyed in a statement that merits quoting in full:

> Our affirmations are no more romantic than a naïve celebration of the often-dubious "achievements" made possible by Western social science, ranging from the atomic bomb to species-threatening climate change. Moreover, the charge of romanticization is not an equal one, since romanticizing the dominant social science paradigm does not have the same political effect as idealizing Indigenous knowledges that historically and up to the present day have been excluded and stigmatized. In fact, given widespread belief in the impoverished nature of Indigenous knowledge claims, any claims that Indigenous research is a useful, even powerful way of doing social science may appear "romantic," while romanticism about mainstream research paradigms appears as commonsense rather than idealism.

Coburn et al., "Unspeakable Things," 331. On the strategic valences of Indigenous discourses of resistance and vulnerability, as they are enacted and reflected on by Marind male land rights activists, see Chao, "Tree of Many Lives."

46 Hailing from South Sumatra, Albertus Vembrianto (who goes by the pen name Vembri Waluyas) grounds his creative practice in an ethos of sustainable storying and photographing that seeks, in his words, to uncover "the complexity and diversity of the problems, to ignite the facts that humans live together, relying on the sincerity of nature, as well as to remind the importance of collective responsibility over what has been damaged." Waluyas's photographs have featured in investigative reports on West Papua published by the British Broadcasting Corporation, Al Jazeera, the *Jakarta Post*, and the Gecko Project, and in exhibitions including World Press Photo, Jakarta International Photo Festival, and Biennale Jogja. In 2022, he received an Indigenous Photographers Award from the Pulitzer Center in recognition of his contributions to journalist activism. To find out more about Waluyas's work, see https://www.albertus-vembrianto.com/.

47 Leon-Quijano, "Why Do 'Good' Pictures Matter in Anthropology?," 591, 573.

48 Decisions around which stories to tell and not to tell included not only those experienced and recounted by my companions but also those that I underwent during my fieldwork. One story in particular stands out here.

It is the story of a miscarriage I have alluded to in fleeting ways in previous works. It is a story that brought Marind women and me into a very particular and intimate kind of relationship, born through an experience that has become all too prevalent in the Upper Bian as a result of growing malnutrition and its particular impacts on women's reproductive health, and that is gendered in ways few other experiences can ever be. It is a story that my companions believed should be told but that I, unlike so many of them, have yet to find the courage to properly tell—here or elsewhere. It is a story that I invoke—again, in brief, in the spirit of literal and figurative passing—to convey to the reader how respect for necessary silences worked in both directions throughout the intersubjective process of composing this book.

49 My use of the term *persistence* is inspired by the American transnational feminist scholar Kenna Neitch's critique of the language of "resistance" that frames Indigenous actions primarily as reactions against Euro-American colonialism. Closely tied to the notions of "resurgence" and "survivance" articulated by the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar and artist Leanne Betasamosake Simpson and the Chippewa/Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor, respectively, the idiom of persistence pushes against the naturalized positioning of Indigenous agency as "contingent on its opposition to a dominant power." Instead, it draws attention to modes of Indigenous continuance and creativity that long predate and also transcend or exceed the effects of colonial incursion. Neitch, "Indigenous Persistence," 428–29; L. B. Simpson, "Indigenous Resurgence"; Whyte, "Food Sovereignty"; Vizenor, *Manifest Manners*. Here and elsewhere, I capitalize "Indigenous People" to distinguish *people* (with a lower case *p*) denoting individual human beings from *People* (with capital *P*) denoting social, cultural, and political groupings of people. The latter use is most commonly found in the form "Indigenous Peoples" referring to a socio-cultural-political identification and proper noun. See Winter, "Sand as Subject of Multispecies Justice."

50 Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 37–40; see also hooks, *Teaching to Transgress*, 61; McGranahan, "Theory as Ethics," 289.

51 Durutalo, "Anthropology and Authoritarianism," 207–8; T. K. Teaiwa, "Analogies," 75; see also K. M. Teaiwa, *Consuming Ocean Island*, xv.

52 Gegeo, "Indigenous Knowledge"; see also Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, "Whose Knowledge?," 403; Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," 911.

53 Vunibola and Scobie, "Islands of Indigenous Innovation," 6. As a culturally Melanesian world region under Indonesian occupation since the early 1960s, West Papua occupies an ambiguous position within the geopolitical sphere "Asia-Pacific." My decision to situate this work within a Pacific context is driven by a desire to engage with West Papua's violent and volatile history of settler colonization while also respecting my companions' self-

identification as Melanesian people—rather than Indonesian or Southeast Asian people—and their social, cultural, ecological, and spiritual ties to Marind and other Papuan ethnic groups across the border in Papua New Guinea. In doing so, I refrain from reproducing in representational terms the positioning of West Papua and West Papuans solely or primarily in relation to colonial forces, and instead make space for culturally shaped modes of Indigenous persistence, continuance, and survivance that are equally central to Marind ways of being and knowing.

54 Vesperi and Waterston, "Introduction: The Writer in the Anthropologist," 10.

55 T. K. Teaiwa, "Ancestors We Get to Choose," 46, 52–53; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 12.

56 Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 3, 8.

57 A. Simpson and Smith, "Introduction," 7; see also Diaz and Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies," 318; Nickel, "Introduction," 9.

Chapter 1. Satiation and Hunger in the Forest

1 Original: *Kalo dong mau paham kelaparan di kampung, dong mesti paham kekenyangan di hutan*.

2 Chao, *In the Shadow of the Palms*, 16, 21.

3 In anthropological literature, dema has been alternately translated as "mana," "spirit," "totem-ancestor," and "spiritual being." Van Baal, *Dema*, 178.

4 Marind social organization is structured around nine major clans (boan) that sit in turn within a four-phratry system. Each Marind village must include members of all nine boan in order to ensure that feasts, rituals, and mythical reenactments of cosmological rejuvenation are representative of the totemic affiliations and origins of the four phratries. Knauft, *South Coast New Guinea Cultures*, 137–209. For a detailed taxonomy of Marind clans and their respective totemic affiliations, see van Baal, *Dema*, Annex IV A–D.

5 I follow the American anthropologist Barrett Brenton in using the term "ethnonutrition" to refer to the ways in which social groups "recognize, categorize, and explain the impact of their diet and foodways in maintaining or restoring order in natural, social, or spiritual realms." Brenton, "Piki, Polenta, and Pellagra," 37; see also Messer, "Anthropological Perspectives on Diet," 205–10.

6 Articulated by Schaeffer in the context of Native American epistemologies, the concept of "sacredscience" pushes against the alienation of science from the sacred within Western knowledge paradigms. Instead, it draws attention to how Indigenous knowledge systems integrate biological knowledge and spiritual cosmologies in ways that account for "the lively presence and knowledge of wind patterns, animal habits and behaviors, the edible parts of