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Work, Livelihoods, and Representational Authority in the Oil Landscape of Teksas Wonocolo: A Visual Anthropology Approach

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A B S T R A C T

This study examines how photographic representations of work at Teksas Wonocolo relate to livelihoods, industrial heritage and the authority to define a working landscape. Ten photographs are analysed through a five-stage procedure separating description, comparison, contextual evidence, thematic interpretation and reflexive challenge. Published research and institutional accounts contextualize the images; they are distinguished from the author's visual interpretations and from participant testimony, which is unavailable for this corpus. Capture dates, original sampling records and fieldwork documentation are incomplete, so the analysis does not claim participatory ethnography. Three patterns emerge: coordinated bodily work, connections between production and everyday mobility, and the presentation of workplaces for observation. Dramatic lighting can frame labor as endurance, landscape signage can foreground destination identity, and a machine-centered image can make labor appear absent. These are interpretive affordances rather than demonstrated audience effects. Contextual evidence locates such representations within differentiated access to resources and institutions, while the photographs cannot establish workers' earnings, the distribution of tourism benefits, or environmental damage. The contribution is a distinction between labour visibility and representational authority: appearing in an image does not establish control over its meaning or the future it promotes. Practical implications concern jointly authored interpretation, documented consent, transparent benefit arrangements and separate investigation of occupational and environmental conditions.

A. INTRODUCTION

Teksas Wonocolo, in Kedewan, Bojonegoro, is a working oil landscape with roots in Dutch colonial extraction in the late nineteenth century; a public historical account dates production to 1894 (Husni, 2025). Its later representation as petroleum heritage connects old wells and locally organized extraction with education and tourism (Cahyani, 2025; Haq, 2026). Here, "traditional miners" refers to people engaged in small-scale extraction and associated handling around these wells (Husni, 2025). It describes a mode of work, not a homogeneous community, a legal category or the absence of machinery. Wooden derricks, containers and repurposed engines coexist within this landscape (Setiawan et al., 2024). **Figure 1** introduces this spatial setting, while the ten photographs analysed below distinguish work, movement, machinery and encounters around it.

Regarding well operations, Pertamina EP holds ownership rights and legal authority over the mining area in Wonocolo. At the same time, residents acting as daily operators legally manage these Dutch-era wells using traditional methods passed down through generations. Crude oil produced by local miners is typically delivered or resold to Pertamina via cooperatives at an agreed-upon price (Maulana & Wicaksono, 2025; Raudha, 2024). These accounts situate local livelihoods within the framework of corporate and state governance rather than outside it. Under the national framework outlined by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (2016), collaborative management of old wells involves regional enterprises or cooperatives and relevant contractors, subject to district-level recommendations and provincial-level approval; a separate scheme also exists for community-managed wells. Neither the use of small-scale equipment nor tourist access determines the legal status of these activities (Saputro, 2019).

Historical research on Wonocolo and Hargomulyo describes cooperative contracting with Pertamina in 1988 as providing an authorised sales channel while restricting refining and market access. It also records disputes about

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miners' position as producers or paid labourers (Oktaviani & Kurniawan, 2025). Formal inclusion could therefore coexist with constrained economic autonomy. This historical arrangement must not be read as the contract governing each photographed well today. Tourism developed alongside extraction rather than simply replacing it. In 2016, the regency government and Pertamina promoted Wonocolo as petroleum heritage; subsequent research describes community-based tourism and coordination difficulties among residents, the company and government (Najakha & Maruf, 2018). A 2023 government report identifies Pokdarwis Teksas Tour Manajemen as a tour organiser while describing continuing extraction. The local government supports destination promotion and coordination, Pertamina participates in heritage development, and local tourism organisers mediate visitor access and interpretation (Nurwanti et al., 2018). These roles should not be conflated with authority over every well. This coexistence sharpens the question of who may present an active workplace as heritage and whose account receives public visibility (Widiyarta et al., 2021).

Visual anthropology provides a framework for examining this visibility (Pink, 2007). Photographic meaning is situated: framing, camera position, captions and viewing contexts select relations from a larger social world (Sinanan & Pink, 2025). Rose's (2022) distinction among image production, composition, circulation and audiencing prevents a photograph's visible content from being equated with its maker's intention or viewers' responses. This study can examine composition and its own captions directly; it cannot reconstruct undocumented photographic encounters or actual audience reception (Alwi et al., 2022). A reading of "resilience", for example, remains an interpretation unless workers' accounts establish how they understand the depicted activity. Meaning is produced through a sequence of social decisions: someone gains access and makes an image; someone selects, captions and circulates it; institutions or community actors may authorise, challenge or reinterpret its use (Najakha & Maruf, 2018). An official promotional caption can give one reading wider circulation without securing agreement from the depicted person. The Wonocolo tourism accounts cited here provide evidence of institutional destination-making, but do not establish that these ten photographs circulated through those channels. The analysis therefore separates the composition available for examination from the undocumented production and reception histories of this corpus (Pink, 2026; Rose, 2022).

Embodied labour concerns the socially learned coordination of posture, tools and movement, rather than treating the body as a decorative sign of hardship. Mauss's (1973) concept of bodily techniques directs attention to grip, balance and positioning; it does not permit the analyst to infer apprenticeship, pain or fatigue from posture alone. Material mediation concerns how buckets, tanks, engines and routes organise possible actions. Occupational identity consequently differs from destination identity: the former concerns identification with work, whereas the latter is publicly articulated through place names and promotional narratives. Neither demonstrates a shared self-understanding among all residents (Espelt et al., 2025). Social memory likewise requires situated recollections rather than being automatically contained in old equipment (Lange & Teer-Tomaselli, 2024).

Five concepts are used with distinct scopes. Traditional oil mining denotes locally organised small-scale recovery and handling around old wells, including mechanical assistance; artisanal industry denotes the associated small production units and work networks, without presuming that every operation is informal or unmechanised. Industrial heritage concerns the selective valuation of material remains, techniques and working histories as resources for remembrance and public interpretation (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Community identity denotes situated claims of belonging rather than an attribute shared automatically by everyone near a well. Socio-cultural sustainability denotes the continuing capacity to sustain livelihoods, valued practices and meaningful participation under changing conditions. It is an evaluative question requiring evidence of continuity, access and voice, not a conclusion drawn from surviving equipment or picturesque scenery (Zvijer, 2023). Accordingly, "community" is treated as a field of potentially different positions: extraction workers, well operators, equipment investors, landholders, transporters, residents and tourism organisers may have overlapping but unequal interests. Women and younger residents cannot be represented adequately through an occupational category dominated by photographed work scenes (Fuentes et al., 2025). Company and government actors have further institutional responsibilities. These distinctions organise questions; they are not a claim that every category was interviewed. The identities, ethnic affiliations and social positions of the photographed people are undocumented, and none is assigned from appearance or assumed from the East Java setting (Damayanti et al., 2022).

Heritagisation is the selective presentation of places and practices as worth preserving and visiting. Commodification is a stronger claim involving their conversion into exchangeable experiences or products; a sign or visitor alone cannot establish payment, commercial control or benefit distribution (Kurniawan et al., 2023; Waterton & Watson, 2013). The tourist gaze is used here to examine how the composition positions people and workplaces as objects of attention, not to assume the actual motivations of every visitor. Contextual research on Wonocolo remains necessary for interpreting these relations (Saputro, 2019). Collaborative visual work can contest externally imposed meanings, but requires evidence that participants helped make, select, caption or interpret images (Davey, 2025).

Criticality must therefore be demonstrated at identifiable points. In Photo 1, the silhouetted worker, backlighting, and dense smoke can invite a heroic reading that replaces questions about exposure and remuneration with admiration. In Photo 2 and Figure 1, green hills and distant derricks can make extraction picturesque while workers' circumstances remain difficult to see. These are interpretive possibilities supported by composition, not proven audience effects. Visual critical ethnography also foregrounds participant knowledge and engagement (Peattie,

2025). Because such evidence is not documented for this corpus, the present article offers critical visual analysis informed by anthropology, rather than claiming a completed participatory ethnography.

Existing research provides a more precise point of departure than a general claim of methodological novelty. Damayanti et al. (2022) examine tourism management and coordination; Setiawan et al. (2024) plan interpretation using information about residents, managers and visitors; Kurniawan et al. (2025) examine regulation and struggles over artisanal oil production. The question pursued here is how the specific photographic corpus makes work visible while leaving the authority to describe it unresolved. The visual analysis examines framing, relative scale and the presence or absence of actors; it cannot independently determine who benefits from extraction or tourism. How are labour, movement and observation differently presented? How do published social accounts qualify these representations? Which meanings remain the author's interpretations rather than accounts expressed by photographed people?

Figure 1. Landscape of the traditional oil mine in Wonocolo,Bojonegoro



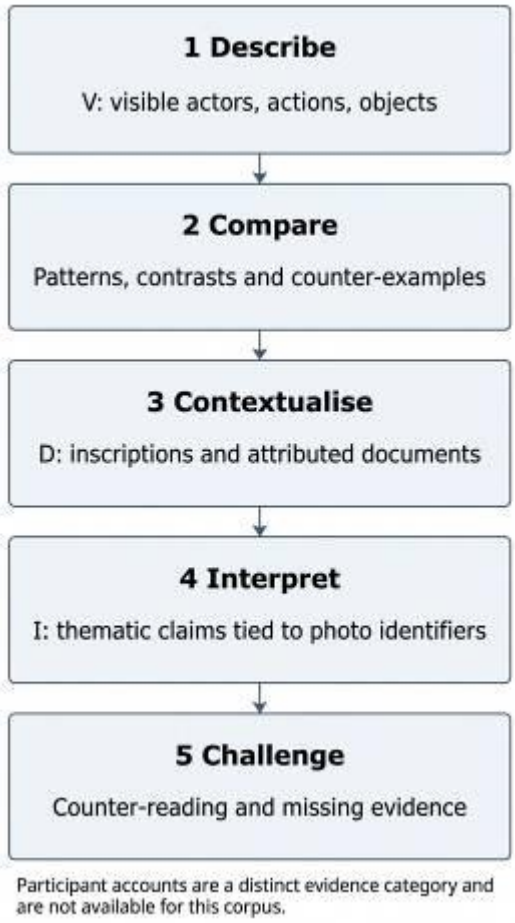
B. METHOD

The unit of analysis is a set of photographs comprising a limited corpus of ten images associated with the Wonocolo oil landscape. These ten images were examined alongside their accompanying numbered overlays. All ten photographs were taken using a FUJIFILM X-T3 camera (metering mode: Average) with a FUJINON XF18-55mmF2.8-4 R LM OIS lens (focal length: 28–35 mm) at the Texas Wonocolo traditional oil mining area (Wonocolo Village, Kedewan District, Bojonegoro Regency, East Java). The reference coordinates for the area/village are 7°03′01.1″ S, 111°40′14.9″ E (approximately −7.050306; 111.670809). Consequently, this corpus is treated as a collection of available images rather than a representative sample or a selection endorsed by residents.The study uses qualitative interpretation (Teherani et al., 2015), with a distinction between direct visual observations, documented contextual information and analytical inference. No interview transcripts, informant register, elicitation quotations or participant-produced image records accompany the corpus. Consequently, residents, miners and tourism managers are contextual actor categories, not a documented interview sample. No informant number is asserted, no quotations are reconstructed, and photo-elicitation and participatory photography are discussed as potential extensions rather than completed procedures. This limitation narrows claims about lived experience while retaining a defensible analysis of representation (Kasemsarn & Nickpour, 2025) .

Fieldwork dates, visit frequency, duration, observed activities and relationships between photographer and subjects are not documented sufficiently to reconstruct the photographic encounters (Pink, 2026). This prevents assessment of whether people posed, altered tasks, invited particular views or resisted photography. No claim of prolonged immersion is made. Three evidence categories are kept separate throughout: V identifies visible features; D identifies documentary or published contextual evidence with a citation; I identifies the author's inference. No corpus-linked participant testimony is available. Published interviews reported by other researchers remain secondary evidence here, even where a brief excerpt is quoted; their participants are not counted as informants in the present study.

Five stages organize the analysis: descriptive inventory, comparison between images, textual contextualization, thematic synthesis and reflexive challenge. These are the authors' operational framework, informed by contextual approaches to photography, including Caldarola (Caldarola, 1985), and by critical visual methodology (Rose, 2022). They are not presented as five stages reproduced verbatim from Caldarola. Their relevance lies in moving from particular features to bounded claims while retaining an audit trail. The first stage records actors, objects, spatial relations and visible actions without assigning intention. The second compares contrasts as well as repetition. The third uses actual inscriptions, manuscript captions and attributed external sources; buckets and clothing remain visual objects, not substitutes for participant testimony (Dirks et al., 2025).

Figure 2. 5 Layers of meaning in visual anthropology by Caldarola (1985)



The fourth stage groups observations into three themes: embodied work and technological mediation; everyday spatial connections; and public visibility and representational authority. The fifth tests each interpretation against a counter-reading and specifies what evidence could distinguish them. Coding proceeds from descriptive terms to comparisons, not directly from a visual feature to an asserted social condition. The audit trail retains the photo identifier, visible feature, contextual source, proposed interpretation and limit (Tables 2 and 3). Reflexive notes concern the analyst's interpretive choices and are not represented as contemporaneous field notes. No inter-coder reliability, member checking or saturation is claimed. For example, Photo 10 receives the V codes "tilted bucket", "visible stream" and "stance above container". These support the I category "bodily coordination"; they do not support "inherited knowledge" without testimony. Comparing that image with the engine in Photo 7 and the unpeopled pumpjack in Photo 9 develops a theme of differently mediated work, while

Photo 9 acts as a counter-example to any claim that bodies always dominate the series. In Photo 6, "crouching figure", "standing figures" and "handheld device" support a question about observation, not definitive labels of worker, tourist or researcher. In Photo 2, the place-name inscription can be related to D evidence of destination promotion; a commercial transaction remains unestablished.

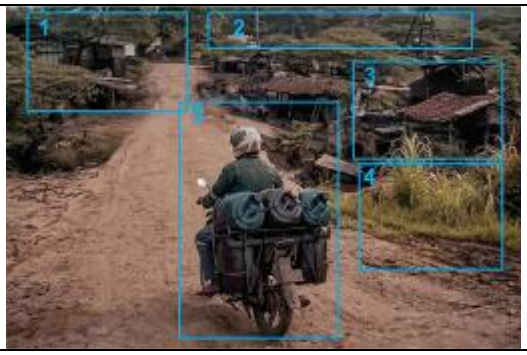
Ethics and limits of publication

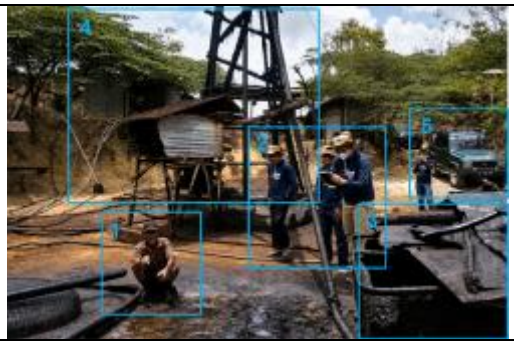
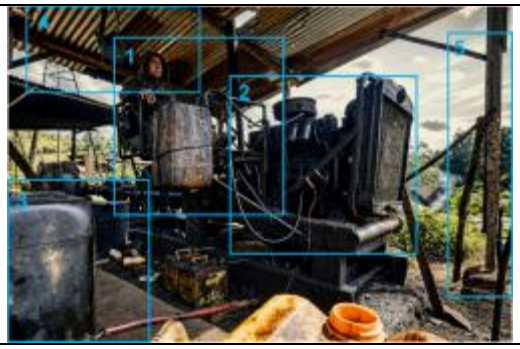
Consent to photography, participation in research and publication of identifiable images are separate matters. Available records do not establish these permissions, ownership rights or institutional ethical review. These statuses must therefore remain unconfirmed. The analysis avoids identifying individuals or assigning unlawful behaviour, poverty or health conditions from appearance. Publication of identifiable reproductions requires verified permission or another documented ethical and legal basis; academic use must not be assumed to authorise commercial promotion. Any masking must address faces, vehicles and other identifiers without falsifying the action analysed (Fuentes et al., 2025). Collaborative follow-up should explain uses accessibly, permit disagreement with captions, record agreed attribution and provide participants with useful outputs. These are proposed safeguards, not procedures claimed to have already occurred (Davey, 2025).

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The corpus varies in scale, action and relations of visibility. Table 1 locates the visible evidence and retains the original images alongside their overlays. Table 2 specifies how the five analytical stages constrain interpretation. Table 3 synthesises cross-image themes and distinguishes their evidentiary bases. The discussion connects these comparisons to documented social context without treating either a photograph or an institutional account as an unmediated community perspective.

Table 1. Photographic corpus and descriptive observations

Photo		
1		
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A silhouetted person stands beside equipment while backlighting illuminates dense airborne plumes. The source of the plume and duration of the encounter are not established by this frame.	
2		
	Original view on the left; source details on the right. A wooden derrick is visible in the foreground, set against green hills and a sign reading "TEKSAS WONOCOLO." This inscription helps identify the site as Teksas Wonocolo, a tourist destination developed as a geopark.	
3		
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A rider carries containers along an unpaved route between buildings and derricks. Their contents and destination cannot be identified from appearance alone.	
4		

	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A person with a bucket stands beside hoses and reflective surface pools. Boots and body position are visible; liquid composition and exposure duration are not.
5	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A person bends near buckets and drums below a tall wooden derrick. Relative scale and tool placement distinguish this scene from the closer worker portrait in Photo 4.
6	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A crouching person appears near tanks and hoses while other people stand nearby, one attending to a handheld device; vehicles are behind them. Occupational and visitor roles remain provisional.
7	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A person is positioned beside a large engine under a corrugated roof, surrounded by hoses and containers. The apparatus complicates any equation of "traditional" with exclusively manual work.
8	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A rainwear-clad person gestures beside an open masonry

	container while another person sits under shelter. The image shows co-presence and gesture; a spoken explanation or occupational role is not documented.
9	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A pumpjack dominates a broad sky, with no person visible in the frame. This is a visual contrast with the labor-centered photographs, not evidence of a dated technological transition.
10	 
	Original view at left; source annotation at right. A person tilts a bucket and pours liquid into a large container while standing on an elevated working surface. The frame shows coordinated action but does not establish fluid chemistry or a complete work cycle.

Table 2. Operational stages and evidentiary controls

Stage	Analytical application	Evidentiary control
1. Description	Record posture, equipment, setting and inscriptions.	Separate visible form from inferred occupation, intention or material composition.
2. Comparison	Contrast Photos 4, 5 and 10 with 7 and 9; compare 2 with 6.	Photographic order is not a historical or production sequence.
3. Context	Read the sign in Photo 2 alongside attributed tourism and governance sources.	Official promotion is a situated institutional account; it does not establish residents' agreement.
4. Synthesis	Develop themes of embodied work, spatial interweaving and public visibility.	Attach claims to photo IDs and allow contradictory examples.
5.Reflexive challenge	Test heroic, picturesque and progress-oriented readings.	State alternatives and missing evidence; do not invent field notes or audience responses.

1. Embodied Work and Technological Mediation

Photos 4, 5 and 10 offer different relations between body and apparatus. Photo 4 places the person and bucket close to the viewer, making boots, clothing and the surrounding hoses legible. Photo 5 subordinates the bending figure to the height of a wooden derrick. Photo 10 centres a moment of pouring: the bucket angle, arm position and stance connect the body to the receiving container. Mauss's (1973) bodily techniques provide a way to interpret this coordination as a question of learned practice, rather than reducing it to strength or suffering. The photographs support analysis of task-specific positioning. They do not reveal how workers learn, whether movements are habitual, or how heat, fatigue and

age affect them; answering those questions requires observation over time and workers' accounts.

Photo 7 interrupts the manual-labour narrative. Its engine, hoses and operator position show that the corpus includes mechanical mediation within a setting described as traditional. Photo 9 offers a second contrast: machinery is monumental and people disappear from the frame. Neither image establishes technological superiority or a chronological move from tradition to modernity. Their juxtaposition instead shows how composition distributes agency: Photo 10 makes bodily action conspicuous, Photo 7 joins a person to machinery, and Photo 9 makes extraction appear self-acting. This is a finding about representation, not about the actual staffing or productivity of these installations (Rose, 2022).

A social account of labour also requires distinctions among performing a task, owning equipment, controlling well access and setting payment terms. Tuzyahroya and Sariffuddin (2020) describe group-based mining work and dependence on investors, cooperatives and Pertamina in their study of Wonocolo. This gives a documented reason to resist reading the person beside an engine as its owner or the person carrying a bucket as economically autonomous. Their findings describe a particular study context, not the employment contracts of the people in these images. The corpus contains no allocation of revenue, work rota, contractual record or account of risk negotiation. It therefore supports analysis of how labour is represented within such relations, not a reconstruction of the relations for each individual.

2. Everyday Space and Differentiated Identities

Photo 3 shifts attention away from extraction at the well to movement through a built landscape. The road passes buildings and derricks; containers accompany the rider. This arrangement supports an interpretation of spatial connection among circulation, structures and production sites. It does not establish that the containers hold oil, that every building is residential, or that households depend exclusively on extraction. Compared with the general landscape in Figure 1, the moving figure brings everyday passage into the analytical foreground. Calling both images "community identity" would obscure this difference between an overview and an embodied route.

Three identity registers must therefore remain distinct. Occupational identity is suggested by task-oriented arrangements in Photos 4, 7 and 10, but self-identification is not recorded. Destination identity is directly signalled by the place name in Photo 2 and contextualised by tourism promotion. A broader residential or regional identity cannot be established from buildings or vegetation. Similarly, old-looking equipment does not supply social memory without recollections attached to it. Lange and Teer-Tomaselli (2024) and Espelt et al. (2025) make community-oriented visual interpretation a useful comparator: their relevance highlights what testimony could add, rather than licensing the substitution of an analyst's account for residents' memories.

One published account provides a limited counterpoint to the analyst's language of heritage. A Wonocolo miner is quoted as saying "oil is our life" in Kurniawan et al. (2025). This is testimony reported by those authors, not an interview conducted for this photographic study, and it cannot represent all residents. It gives grounds to treat oil as a lived attachment rather than only a visual attraction. It does not establish what the people in Photos 3 or 10 remember, or whether they support tourism. Their own histories and responses to these images remain absent.

3. The tourist gaze and the limits of commodification claims

Photo 2 presents the place name above derricks against wooded hills. The sign makes the landscape publicly nameable and potentially recognisable to visitors. Photo 6 changes the relation from viewing a destination to viewing a social encounter: a crouching person occupies the working surface while standing people and a handheld device occupy a different position. The earlier labels "workers" and "tourists" should remain provisional because neither clothing nor posture proves employment or visitor status. Nevertheless, the arrangement invites a question about unequal capacities to observe, document and be documented. Photo 8 complicates a passive-worker reading through a visible gesture that could indicate explanation or direction, although its content and addressee cannot be recovered.

These observations support an analysis of possible viewing relations, not a conclusion that tourism necessarily exploits workers. Heritage framing can provide recognition and educational opportunities as well as reduce working lives to attractions (Waterton & Watson, 2013). Published Wonocolo research documents tourism development and coordination problems (Damayanti et al., 2022), and the 2023 government account documents organised tours. Those contextual sources establish a tourism setting; they do not establish financial transactions, ownership of images or benefit distribution in Photo 6. The stronger claim of commodification would require records of paid access, marketed performances, image licensing or other exchange relations. The present finding is the visual availability of work for observation, with its economic consequences unresolved.

The question "who benefits?" has different evidentiary answers at different levels. Destination promotion gives organising institutions a public role in defining the site; it does not show the distribution of household income. Tuzyahroya and Sariffuddin's (2020) livelihood analysis also cautions against equating an oil-rich setting with uniform welfare. Neither that study nor the present photographs establishes the tourism earnings of the depicted workers. Demonstrating redistribution

would require ticket and tour accounts, payments to guides or well operators, access agreements and responses from groups receiving different benefits. The present analysis identifies the institutional framing of the site and the missing distributive evidence, rather than declaring tourism either beneficial or exploitative.

4. Locating Romanticization And Testing Ecological Interpretations

Romanticization is most clearly identifiable as a conjunction of an image and a reading. In Photo 1, the dark human silhouette against warm backlighting and extensive smoke gives an individual figure dramatic prominence. Describing this person simply as resilient or heroic converts an ambiguous working situation into an exemplary character. The correction is not to deny dignity or visual beauty, but to state that the image cannot tell us whether the person welcomed the conditions, controlled the work or was adequately compensated. An alternative reading foregrounds the plume and reduced visibility. Neither interpretation demonstrates the photographer's intention or the audience's actual response (Leon-Quijano, 2022).

Photo 2 and Figure 1 invite a different aesthetic reading. Green slopes, scattered structures and spatial distance can make extraction appear integrated harmoniously with nature. Photo 9's expansive blue sky and central pumpjack can likewise support a celebratory image of industrial progress. In each case, romanticisation occurs when picturesque arrangement is treated as evidence of environmental harmony, or monumental equipment as evidence of social advancement. Photo 10 provides a counter-reading by bringing the body and handling process close to the viewer, although even this scene can become a spectacle of endurance if captions detach action from work conditions. This comparative approach identifies where an interpretation overreaches rather than labelling all attractive photography romanticising.

Smoke in Photo 1, reflective dark surfaces in Photos 4 and 5, and liquid in Photo 10 are visual observations. Their chemical composition, toxicity, persistence and health effects are not measured. Accordingly, "contaminated ground", "ecological damage" and "unsterile production" are not treated as findings. Visible material conditions can motivate environmental assessment, but vegetation cannot prove safety and dark surfaces cannot quantify pollution. The appropriate distinction is between a photographed indicator that prompts a question and independent environmental evidence that could answer it.

5. Power, Gender and The Contribution ff Selective Visibility

Power must be examined in relation to both material access and interpretive authority. The historical and livelihood sources indicate that production is situated within institutions and differentiated economic positions. The photographic analysis adds a separate observation: being central to a composition does not identify who commissioned, owns or may object to that representation. Camera position and captions can make someone a producer, a spectator or part of a destination's scenery. The present author also exercises this authority through labels and comparisons. Explicit source attribution and counter-readings make that intervention reviewable; they cannot substitute for participants' ability to revise or refuse the interpretation (Peattie, 2025).

The corpus foregrounds masculine-coded representations of physical work. The images, however, cannot establish gender identity, an exclusively male workforce or a gendered division of tasks. Nor does the limited visibility of care, household work, administration or other activities establish their absence from the local economy. A gender-sensitive reading therefore examines selective attention to certain forms of labor and asks what activities and people remain outside the frames. Age, ethnicity, health and physical capacity cannot be converted into a labor hierarchy from appearance alone. Distinct accounts from women, younger residents, workers with different tasks and people outside mining are needed before a collective standpoint can be described.

Taken together, these comparisons identify selective labour visibility: the corpus can foreground physical effort while leaving the worker's terms of participation unidentified. Dramatic or picturesque readings may reproduce narratives of endurance and attractive heritage; juxtaposing machine-centered and body-centered scenes complicates a simple opposition between traditional and modern work. Reading destination imagery alongside documented social relations challenges the assumption that recognition automatically means economic or interpretive control. These are the author's critical readings. No community consensus, audience effect or participant-led contestation is claimed. The contribution is to distinguish public visibility from representational authority and to specify where their relation needs ethnographic evidence.

Table 3. Thematic synthesis and the status of interpretive claims

Theme	Images	Evidence and interpretation	Source boundary
Embodied work and mediation	4, 5, 7, 9, 10	V: stance, pouring, engines and an unpeopled pumpjack. I: bodily visibility changes with framing.	D: livelihood research differentiates workers from economic decision-makers. No participant account of learning or ownership.
Everyday spatial relations	3; Figure 1	V: route, buildings, containers and derricks. I: production and movement are spatially connected.	The contents, destination and economic role of the rider's load are unverified.
Destination and viewing relations	2, 6, 8	V: place name, gestures and contrasting positions. D: organised promotion and tourism.	I: work becomes available for observation. Roles, payments and resident agreement are not demonstrated.
Aesthetic readings and material conditions	1, 2, 9, 10	I: dramatic light or picturesque framing can invite heroic or harmonious readings.	V: plume, surfaces and liquid. Composition does not establish pollution, consent or audience effects.
Visibility and interpretive authority	Across the corpus	I: visual prominence is not evidence of control over captions, circulation or future use.	Secondary testimony is explicitly attributed. Corpus-linked participant interpretations and authorisation records remain absent.

D. CONCLUSION

This analysis identifies three patterns: work coordinated through bodies and equipment, everyday movement across the oil landscape, and workplaces

presented as objects of attention. Their anthropological significance lies in the separation between appearing in a representation and exercising authority over it. Picturesque framing can reproduce an attractive heritage narrative, while comparisons across embodied work and unpeopled machinery complicate a simple story of technological progress. Documentary context challenges the assumption that visible activity establishes ownership, autonomy or shared benefits. These interpretations belong to the author; the corpus does not document how the photographed people accept, reject or modify them. The findings therefore concern a representational problem within a socially differentiated setting, not a demonstrated collective identity or a validation of the five-stage method.

The practical implication is to connect representation to accountable participation. Tourism organisers and local government should involve differently positioned residents in choosing captions and routes, clarify who can authorise photography and document how access or image use benefits participants. Workers' ability to correct or decline portrayals should accompany their visibility in promotional material. Occupational conditions and environmental impacts require their own evidence rather than aesthetic proxies. Future research should connect verified image provenance to participant histories, elicitation transcripts and records of work and benefit arrangements. Until those materials are available, this article contributes a bounded analysis of labour visibility and interpretive authority; it cannot claim to settle who should define Wonocolo's future or whether tourism improves miners' livelihoods.

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