

Wadon Wadas; Women's Resistance in Agrarian Conflict of Andesite Mining Construction Policy in Purworejo Regency

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Abstract

Women play a critical role in agrarian social relations. Women's interests must always be considered in land governance and utilization policies. The construction of andesite mining in Wadas Village as one of the land development policies is considered to have taken away women's interests and harmed women's living space. This study employed a qualitative research method. With an ecofeminism approach and an analytical description technique, This research aimed to elaborate on the role of women in the agrarian struggle against andesite mining and the construction of the Bener Dam in Wadas Village. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that *Wadon Wadas*, as one of the primary actors in agrarian social relations, has played a critical role in determining the continuity and preservation of agrarian resources in Wadas Village. *Wadon Wadas'* involvement in a variety of protests can be explained, such as participating in litigation efforts to overturn the Governor's policy in court, *mujahadah* (spiritual struggle), weaving *bese* (container made of woven bamboo), and sharing

food as a cultural and symbolic action, as well as their resistance during the repressive physical conflict by the police.

Keywords: *Wadon Wadas*, Agrarian Conflict, Andesite Mining Construction, Women and Land.

A. Introduction

Land is a critical agrarian resource for human life on Earth. As part of Human Rights, the relationship between land and humans occupies a fundamental relationship pattern. The existence of land, as a key factor in determining the production aspects of each phase of civilization, has not only economic value, but also a variety of other social values, including philosophy, politics, social, religion, and community culture. The existence of land must be interpreted in multiple dimensions as a human living space, cultural space, and social function. Therefore, the existence of land has a vital role in realizing the welfare and prosperity of people's lives.

In terms of its function, land serves as both social capital and social asset. In terms of a capital asset, land serves as an important economic object in commerce and a capital factor in all development processes. Meanwhile, in terms of social assets, land serves as a symbol of society's binding social unity to live (Sumardjono 2008:vii). Furthermore, Notonogoro stated that the relationship between land and life, both individual and collective society, has the characteristics of "*kedwitunggalan*" (two working as one) and that both are inextricably linked (Sumardjono 2008:42). According to Gunawan Wiradi, as cited by Maria Sumardjono, the construction of a worldview in the process of community life always stems from the dialectic of human consciousness with the land.

More specifically, in the context of state politics, the agrarian relationship, including land and other natural resources,

is inextricably linked to the state and citizens. The existence of land is a prerequisite for the establishment of a state. In fact, state control over land and other natural resources has always existed and functioned normally without being regulated in the constitution. Therefore, several countries explicitly set the regulation of state control relations over land and other natural resources in legal policies related to projection and the economic system used. The concept of regulating land and other natural resources in national law reflects the political struggle of the country's establishment. As is the practice in several Latin American countries, agrarian constitutions are created as a foundation for implementing agrarian reforms carried out in the development of state life (Arizona 2014:4).

As one of the most important resources for development, land availability has become increasingly limited as its availability has declined significantly due to land deals and acquisitions. In practice, the unequal transactional relationship often occurs, putting landowners in a subordinate position to those in need of land. The primary agrarian issue in Indonesia is the inequality in the structure of control over agrarian resources (Wiradi 2009:9). In fact, Agrarian inequality has emerged as a feature of agrarian social relations, namely social relations between various parties related to production activities involving the use and utilization of various agrarian resources (Shohibuddin 2020:15).

Furthermore, inequality in agrarian social relations occurs in at least four dimensions: control and ownership, use and utilization, division of labor and production relations, creation of surplus production, and distribution of accumulated agrarian resources. For this reason, the four dimensions are a manifestation of power contestation between various heterogeneous actors from various categories, such as community groups comprised of men and women, people of various ethnicities, government agencies, and the business sector (Shohibuddin 2020:15-16). As a result of this situation, land acquisition is often followed by

coercion, including anarchic seizure. Therefore, land acquisition and land utilization spark social conflicts, often followed by violence (Nabila, Sohibuddin, and Soetarto 2021:227).

Agrarian conflict has become a recurring latent practice. Moreover, agrarian conflicts have not been reduced during the Covid-19 pandemic. According to data released by the Indonesian Farmers Union (SPI), at least 104 cases of agrarian conflict occurred in various parts of Indonesia in 2021. The conflict has resulted in 8 deaths, 62 wounds and physical injuries, and 119 cases of criminalization (Serikat Petani Indonesia 2021:14). The rise of agrarian conflicts in various regions indicates a crisis in the implementation of the national agrarian law policy. The practiced agrarian politics is considered to be pro-capitalism-neoliberal, at the expense of the interests of farmers, fishermen, laborers, and indigenous peoples as agrarian social relations actors. Meanwhile, capitalist interests intervene in the formation of legal instruments by providing facilities for the control of agrarian resources on a large scale and on a continuous basis. The situation eventually gave rise to agrarian conflicts, resulting in excesses that have harmed the rights of farmers, fishermen, laborers, and indigenous peoples to their means of production (Imron 2015:230).

The portrait of agrarian resource management policy as the implementation of the concept of the State's Right to Control as stated in Article 33 paragraph 3 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has resulted in many inequalities in land tenure distribution and the emergence of agrarian conflicts. Vertical conflicts, known as structural conflicts, dominate various agrarian conflicts, including conflicts between the community and the state, or between the community and the power of capital affiliated with the government.

Wadas Village, Bener Subdistrict, Purworejo Regency, Central Java, was one site of structural agrarian conflict. The agrarian conflict in Wadas Village was caused by the Bener

Dam construction project planning in Purworejo Regency. It is a National Strategic Project (PSN) to build Indonesia's tallest dam, with a reservoir height of 150 meters and a bottom width of 290 meters, to supply water to the Yogyakarta International Airport (YIA) in Kulon Progo Regency, Yogyakarta. The construction of the project requires the supply of andesite rocks as construction material and the Government has decided to take the material from Wadas Village.

Furthermore, the Bener Dam is being built as an irrigation supply for 15,519 hectares of rice fields and a raw water provider of 1500 liters per second for Purworejo Regency Area, as well as a Hydropower Plant (PLTA) to supply 6 Mega Watts of electrical energy. In addition to these uses, Bener Dam is designated as a tourist destination and to protect the upstream Bogowonto Watershed (Adriansa, Adhim, and Silviana 2020:140).

The designation of Wadas Village as an andesite stone mining area as material for the Bener Dam construction is based on the Governor of Central Java's Decree No. 590/41 of 2018 on Approval of the Determination of the Location of Land Acquisition for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo and Wonosobo Regencies (SK IPL 590/41 2018). However, in practice, the residents rejected the andesite mining plan because it was considered to harm water sources, resulting in damage to agricultural land and, eventually, the loss of the majority of Wadas residents' livelihood as farmers. In fact, the Wadas andesite quarry may not only be harmful to the community's environment and socioeconomic well-being, but it may increase disaster vulnerability because Wadas is a high-risk area for landslides (Johansyah et al. 2021:33).

The most crucial aspect as a key mechanism of the land acquisition scheme regulated by Law No. 2 of 2012 on Land Acquisition for Development in the Public Interest is the agreement between the landowner and the agency in need of the land through public consultation or deliberation.

However, the project construction process took a long time due to resident opposition. Therefore, the project has been extended through Governor Decree No. 539/29 of 2020 on Extension of the Determination of Land Acquisition Location for the Construction of Bener Dam in Purworejo and Wonosobo Regencies, and then renewed by Governor Decree No. 590/20 of 2021 on Renewal of the Determination of Land Acquisition Location for the Construction of Bener Dam in Purworejo and Wonosobo Regencies.

Residents have opposed the Andesite Mining and Bener Dam Construction Project, causing social friction and agrarian conflict in every process. According to the findings of the Indonesian National Commission on Human Rights, the escalation of the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village on February 8, 2022, has resulted in repressive efforts by the state apparatus against Wadas residents, resulting in human rights violations in Wadas Village (Komnas HAM RI 2022).

As previously stated, agrarian conflict is a manifestation of social relations between land use and control actors. Wadas agrarian conflict has involved a variety of agrarian resource actors in an effort to reject the alienation of citizens from the means of production. The various actors occupy their respective agrarian social relations and express their stance toward the project. In fact, the social relations also represent a variety of backgrounds, including involving male and female gender relations. In this case, women's involvement is not limited to working behind the scenes and providing moral support. Wadas women, members of *Wadon Wadas*, fought for their land rights alongside the Wadas Village Care for Nature Community Movement (*Gempa Dewa*).

This study aimed to elaborate on the role of women as key actors in agrarian social relations in determining the continuity and preservation of agrarian resources as well as the roles and efforts of women as members of the *Wadon Wadas* community in carrying out agrarian struggles to reject the Andesite mining

construction project. Therefore, to answer the research questions, this study employed qualitative research methods. Using the ecofeminism paradigm and analytical description analysis, this study aimed to portray women as subjects who play a role in opposing andesite mining and the Bener Dam construction in Wadas Village.

B. Discussion

1. Women and Agrarian Justice Guarantee

Land rights are critical to one's existence, freedom, and dignity as a human being, particularly for farmers. Land rights must be guaranteed and fulfilled in order for a set of political rights to grow and develop. Land rights are critical to the development of political democracy. Political democracy and its set of rights instruments will be hampered if access to agrarian resources is not guaranteed.

In the context of Indonesia, the guarantee of land rights is enshrined in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, stipulating that earth, water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the State and used for the people's welfare. To achieve people's prosperity, the economic rights of every citizen must be respected, protected, and fulfilled by the state. One of the economic rights in this respect is the right to adequate shelter and food, both of which are inextricably linked to the existence and utilization of agrarian resources. Therefore, the Indonesian Constitution stipulates in Article 28 H Paragraph (1) that every person is entitled to live prosperous physically and spiritually, to have a place to reside, and to acquire a good and healthy living environment as well as be entitled to obtain health care. To guarantee its realization, paragraph (4) specifically stated that every person shall be entitled to personal property and such property right shall not be taken over arbitrarily by whomsoever (28 H UUD Negara Republik Indonesia 1945).

In terms of agrarian policy in Indonesia, the government enacted Law No. 5 of 1960 on Basic Regulations on Agrarian Principles. The policy was conceived as a watershed moment in national agrarian development, particularly in the land sector, with the goal of dismantling the colonial-style agrarian control structure and the plethora of agrarian laws that wreak havoc on the Indonesian people. The Agrarian Principles Law, as a national land policy, is an effort to achieve the greatest possible prosperity for the people, as stated in Pancasila and the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UU PA 1960).

To achieve the State's goals, further regulation in the constitution has emphasized that efforts to realize state guarantees for the welfare and greatest prosperity of the people must be protected from discriminatory treatment. Therefore, the nature of the guarantee of citizens' constitutional rights as stated in the constitution must be capable of eliminating all forms of discrimination, including gender discrimination, such as discrimination against women.

Throughout its development, Indonesia has adopted several international universal human rights instruments that guarantee everyone's right to be free from any discrimination, particularly against women. Indonesia ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which became Law No. 7 of 1984 on Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (UU CEDAW 1984). Based on the convention, Indonesia has recognized the fundamental principle of substantive equality and has a significant normative framework for enforcing women's rights through established standards and mechanisms.

The implementation of CEDAW is an attempt to construct an intersectionality paradigm in which women are not only seen as a single identity, but the result of the construction of various

layers of identity with various experiences of women in dealing with various situations and discriminatory treatment that creates injustice. More specifically, rural women as the most vulnerable subjects are stipulated in Article 14 of CEDAW and are included in CEDAW general recommendation No. 34.

With the ratification of the CEDAW convention, Indonesia must enact various laws and regulations that provide guarantees of rights and access to justice for women, including rural women as actors in agrarian social relations. This is specifically stipulated in Article 14 paragraph (2) letter (a), stating that States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right to participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels.

Furthermore, CEDAW general recommendation No. 34 emphasizes that: Rural women often have only limited rights over land and natural resources. In many regions, they suffer from discrimination in relation to land rights, including with respect to communal lands, which are controlled largely by men. Rural women's rights to land, natural resources, including water, seeds and forests, and fisheries as fundamental human rights. Barriers that prevent them from enjoying these rights often include discriminatory laws, the lack of harmonization of laws and their ineffective implementation at the national and local levels, and discriminatory cultural attitudes and practices. Therefore, States that ratify the CEDAW convention must take all measures and policies, including special measures or affirmative policies, necessary to achieve the substantive equality and justice of rural women in relation to land and natural resources, and design and implement a comprehensive strategy to address discriminatory stereotypes, attitudes and practices that impede their rights to land and natural resources.

Land rights are also included in the economic, social, and cultural rights that have been recognized as universal principles on a global scale. Indonesia ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights through Law No. 11 of 2005 (Ecosob). Article 11 of the Ecosob Law stipulates that the fulfillment of economic, social and cultural rights is the right to an adequate standard of living (UU Ekosob 2005). One of the rights in this respect is the right to be protected from forced evictions, implying that the right to own and use land is a fundamental principle that must be upheld.

In addition to being regulated through global law and various international covenant instruments, the guarantee of land rights, particularly the guarantee of agrarian justice for women, has been affirmed in various Indonesian national laws, including in the People's Consultative Assembly Decree (TAP MPR) No. IX of 2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resource Management Article 4 letter F stating that agrarian reform and natural resource management must be implemented in accordance with the principles of realizing justice including gender equality in the control, ownership, use, utilization, and maintenance of agrarian/natural resources (TAP MPR No. IX 2001:4 huruf F). The TAP MPR is an affirmation of the provisions of Agrarian Law Article 9 Paragraph (2) stating that every Indonesian citizen, both men and women, has an equal opportunity to acquire a land right and to obtain the benefits and yields thereof for himself/herself or for his/her family.

Agrarian justice guarantees for women are also outlined in Law No. 6/2014 on Villages and its derivative regulations. In terms of village development, the gender justice principle requires the Village Consultative Body and the Village Head to implement democratic life and gender justice at the village level, including ensuring women's involvement and participation in village development (UU Desa 2014). Furthermore, Article 121 Paragraph (2) of Government Regulation No. 43/2014 on the Implementation

Rules of Law No. 6/2014 emphasizes that the implementation of village development activities is determined by considering gender justice (Chapter 121 Paragraph 2 PP 43 2014).

Based on the various legal instruments and regulations mentioned above, the guarantee of agrarian justice for women is a fundamental right that has been incorporated into the Indonesian legal system. For this reason, the process of land tenure utilization and governance, particularly in relation to the development process, must always consider human rights and provide agrarian justice guarantees for women in order to create an equitable development process as the national goals and ideals.

2. Women in the Agrarian Conflict of Andesite Mining Construction in Wadas

Even though the guarantee of land rights has become one of the most important instruments in human rights and has been incorporated into various regulations, agrarian conflicts remain a problem that affects almost every aspect of land governance and utilization in various regions. Based on data reported by the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA), there are 207 agrarian conflicts occurred in Indonesia throughout 2021. Of the total number, Agrarian conflicts in the plantation sector accounted for most of the conflicts, with 74 cases, 80% of which were dominated by oil palm plantations. There were 52 cases involving development infrastructure procurement, 30 cases involving mining, and 20 cases involving agrarian conflicts caused by property issues. Unequal actor relations are frequently encountered in many agrarian conflicts (Mahdi 2022).

In simple terms, agrarian conflict can be defined as the interaction of two or more groups struggling for their respective interests over the same object of land, including land and other objects related to land. There are several types of agrarian

conflicts, including first, agrarian conflicts that have occurred in the past but have not been resolved, so they may reoccur in other areas; second, the practice and implementation of an established agrarian policy; third, the function and commodification of land and other agrarian resources as a result of maladministration; and fourth, repressive militaristic efforts and actions by law enforcement officials in dealing with agrarian conflicts (Pradhani 2019:70).

Several studies have been conducted to identify the root causes of agrarian conflict. Liandra stated that agrarian conflicts are caused by different perceptions and value constructions about how to best use land. Alting emphasized this study in the agrarian conflict in North Maluku. Agrarian conflicts in North Maluku were caused by a lack of respect for the value of indigenous people's land rights, resulting in inadequate compensation for customary rights and the emergence of structural and horizontal conflicts. Furthermore, Liandra stated that seven factors cause agrarian conflicts: 1) unclear boundaries; 2) forest encroachment; 3) breach of contract; 4) land grabbing; 5) economic inequality; 6) disagreement over the amount of compensation; and 7) land dispute (Liandra and Amin 2014:13).

In practice, women are frequently involved as actors in agrarian conflicts. Arguments for women's participation in agrarian conflict can be found in various women's movements, including Mollo women who attempted to oppose the mining plan. Women's movements in Pandumaan and Sipituhuta fought against corporate plantations. The women's movement opposed the construction of a cement factory in Kendeng, Pati, Central Java (Pradhani 2019:71).

Women have been directly involved in the pattern of agrarian social relations in the conflict over andesite mining and dam construction in Wadas Village, Bener Sub-district, Purworejo Regency. The women in Wadas Village rose to prominence as a

resistance movement against unequal agrarian social relations. The inequality arises because women are frequently positioned as mere objects in the development process carried out in Bener Village, even though the land used for construction is part of their land rights. Women have never been involved in or given meaningful access to, the construction process, which has stripped women of their rights and interests in managing and utilizing land as the most important instrument mechanism in their economic and political production efforts. The project is considered to have deviated from Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development.

The agrarian conflict in Wadas paints a bleak picture of the enforcement of human rights to land and reflects the legal issues of land acquisition policy for the public interest in society. The agrarian conflict in Wadas can be traced back to the plan to designate Wadas Village as the site of an andesite quarry used in the construction of the Bener dam based on the Central Java Governor Decree No. 590/41 of 2018 on Approval of Determination of Land Acquisition Location for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency, Central Java Province (Location Permit Decree No. 590/41 of 2018). In practice, however, the project was met with several community rejections and took longer to complete due to the unfinished andesite mine land acquisition. For this reason, the Governor of Central Java extended the Location Permit Decree No. 590/41 of 2018 by issuing Central Java Governor Decree No. 539/29 of 2020 on the Extension of the Determination of Land Acquisition Location for the Construction of Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency, Central Java Province (Location Permit Decree No. 539/29 of 2020). Due to the incomplete land acquisition process, the Location Permit Decree was renewed through Central Java Governor Decree No. 590/20 of 2021 on Renewal of the Determination of the Location of Land Acquisition for the Construction of the Bener

Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency, Central Java Province (Location Permit Decree 590/20 of 2021) (Kartika, Maulana, and Rahayu 2021:19).

The lengthy land acquisition process for an andesite mining area was due to a lack of adequate space for the community to deliberate consensually, and it appeared to be an attempt to ignore Wadas residents' participation in quarry mining. During the process of issuing the Location Permit Decree No. 590/41/2018, the residents had expressly stated their opposition to Wadas Village being designated as a quarry mining location for materials used in the construction of the Bener Dam. However, the government did not hold another public consultation process following the rejection. In this case, Wadas residents perceived that public consultation documentation contained in the Environmental Impact Analysis Document (AMDAL) has been manipulated, stating that 86.05% of Wadas residents have agreed and are willing for their land to be used as an andesite mining location, while the remaining 0% are not willing, 4.65% did not respond, and 9.30% have not responded, despite the fact that Wadas residents have voiced their strong opposition at the beginning of the public consultation process (Kartika et al. 2021:21-22).

Furthermore, Wadas peoples believed that the andesite mining and Bener Dam were constructed with legal flaws. Mining activities, particularly andesite mining, shall refer to and use the paradigm of Law No. 4 of 2009 on Mineral and Coal Mining and Law No. 3 of 2020 on Amendments to Law No. 4 of 2009 on Mineral and Coal Mining. However, the andesite mining in Wadas Village used the land acquisition paradigm scheme outlined in Law No. 2/2012. Due to the incorrect use of Law No. 2/2012 as a legal basis, the land acquisition process for the andesite mine is also legally flawed because the land acquisition mechanism as regulated by the aquo Law does not include its designation for mining activities. The mechanism of andesite

mine development is also considered to have deviated from the Regional Regulation (Perda) of Purworejo Regency No. 27 of 2011 on the Regional Spatial Plan of Purworejo Regency 2011-2031. The regulation does not include an andesite mine development program, and Article 42 letter C states that Bener Sub-district is one of the landslide-prone areas (Kartika et al. 2021:21-22).

Based on the chronology of legal facts, it can be concluded that the Wadas agrarian conflict was caused by the process of issuing the Location Permit Decree, which did not re-mechanize land acquisition as stipulated in the Law and did not involve the Wadas community as a whole, including women's group as an important actor in agrarian social relations. As a result, Wadas women have no opportunity to express their views and interests in the development of mining projects and the construction of the Bener dam. Whereas women are among those who are directly affected by the project's construction in the chain of impacts of mining businesses.

The andesite mining project and dam construction have the potential to displace Wadas women and threaten access to their economic production factors, resulting in a loss of livelihood, particularly given that the majority of Wadas women rely on agricultural land as part of their livelihood as farmers. The mining permit includes 130,30 hectares of productive land managed by Wadas women for planting palm sugar, cocoa, coffee, cloves, durian, and various other crops for family food needs. Furthermore, some Wadas women work as *bese*k craftswomen using bamboo as a raw material that grows abundantly on their land.

The andesite mine development process has the potential to harm the environment in Wadas Village. As previously stated, the designation of Wadas Village as the andesite mining site violated the spatial design of Purworejo Regency, governed by Regional Regulation No. 27/2011. Based on the regulation, Bener Sub-district is prone to landslides. Wadas Village may become a landslide-prone area as a result of the andesite mining

construction. Other than landslides, it is also feared that the andesite mining may cause drought in 28 springs in Wadas Village because the mining has damaged the forest serving as a rain catchment. The destruction of nature and the environment in Wadas Village will eventually have an impact on the lives and health of women, particularly the violation of the right to safe drinking water. The availability of safe drinking water is critical in household life and has an impact on women's health, particularly reproductive health (Perserikatan Solidaritas Perempuan 2021:17).

The Wadas agrarian conflict has become a threat to the right to security and a source of terror in the lives of the people of Wadas Village, in addition to the threat of natural and environmental damage. The conflicting position of Wadas residents, those who agree and those who disagree, have created social disorder in the community. Furthermore, the Wadas agrarian conflict has resulted in repressive actions involving violence, such as the physical conflict on April 23, 2021. The physical conflict arose as a result of intimidation and acts of violence between the police and Wadas residents during the police's efforts to remove a road blockade made by Wadas residents using tree trunks while sitting in prayer. The physical conflict intensified and reached a climax on February 8, 2022. The agrarian conflict in Wadas was caused by the measurement of residents' land who agreed to become quarry mining objects. However, in this context, the Central Java Police have used excessive force, resulting in physical clashes between residents and authorities, and 67 Wadas residents have been arrested and detained at the Purworejo Police Station, including Sriyanah, a female activist driving *Wadon Wadas* (Maharani 2022).

Various events in the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village have resulted in physical and traumatic injuries to the residents, particularly women and children as the most vulnerable parties. The andesite mining project and the Bener dam construction

have not only caused environmental and natural damage in Wadas Village, but also created a variety of negative excesses for the pattern of community social life and the guarantee of basic human rights.

3. *Wadon Wadas* as a Women's Resistance Movement in Agrarian Conflicts

The relationship between the environment as an agricultural resource and women has spawned massive political discourses and movements all over the globe (Astuti 2012). The significance of involving women in environmental issues has given rise to ecofeminism as a new paradigm and environmental political activism movement (Anjum 2020). As a pioneering figure in the ecofeminism movement, Karren J. Werren views that repression issues stem from fundamental principles, values, attitudes, androcentrism, oppressive patriarchal, hierarchical, dualistic, and the logic of masculinity domination. Werren concluded that patriarchal, hierarchical, and dualistic logic has created repression and destroyed women's existence with nature as an agrarian resource (Tong 2017:359-60).

As a paradigm and movement, ecofeminism is considered capable of serving as a bridge between masculinity and feminist discourse, particularly on the issue of natural resources. Ecofeminism has offered a non-discriminatory perspective on sexuality that has a positive impact on human life as a whole and is more just and democratic (Permatasari and Siswadi 2022:61). The ecofeminism movement has always sought to solve problems of human life and nature based on women's experiences, as well as to make women's experiences a lesson in nature and environmental management and preservation. As a result, women have the same opportunity as men to manage, conserve, and maintain natural resources as human living space. Furthermore, the portrait of agrarian relations with women as actors involved in the control and utilization

of agrarian resources can be traced through various literature studies, including Scoutt's that uses the perspective of women's movements, struggles and the paradigm of "everyday form of resistance" as a response to "everyday repression". Scoutt bases his view on the relationship between morality, that the moral economy that puts "safety and avoiding harm" as the priority of economic activity has been a key factor in unraveling the peasant movement. According to Scoutt, the "everyday form of resistance" is a hidden form of resistance for farmers as a result of landlords' "everyday form of repression" as the subject of their resistance (Tim Peneliti STPN 2012:83).

Based on the paradigm of ecofeminism and Scoutt's perspective on women's movements and resistance, Wadas women's perspectives in responding to agrarian conflicts over andesite mining projects and the Bener dam construction have the potential to cause environmental damage can be classified as everyday form of repression, while also giving rise to everyday forms of resistance. Potential threats to natural and environmental damage and agrarian conflicts in Wadas Village have driven women to become key actors with a critical role in the narrative of the agrarian struggle in Wadas Village. Therefore, the discussion in this section focuses on the role of Wadas women's movement in resisting and demonstrating its existence in agrarian social relations, particularly in relation to andesite mining and the Bener dam construction.

It can be seen that the agrarian resistance movements and struggles are carried out not only by men, but also by women. Women as members of the Wadon Wadas organization played important roles in the resistance movement and agrarian struggle in Wadas Village. The organization name is derived from Javanese language, the word "wadon" means women, thus *Wadon Wadas* means Wadas women. The organization was established in early 2021 by Wadas women playing a role in strengthening the Wadas Village community's resistance and struggle against

the andesite mining and the Bener dam construction. *Wadon Wadas* supplements the struggle of Wadas Village community, which established the Wadas Village Nature Care Community Movement (*Gempa Dewa*) as the main organization and Kawula Muda Desa Wadas (*Kamu Dewa*) as an organization initiated by Wadas Village youth (Septalisa 2022).

Wadon Wadas, as the name suggests, is an organization comprised of Wadas Village women opposing the andesite mining development and the Bener dam construction in their village. Women, mostly housewives in the domestic sector, engage with men in decision-making and social, economic, and political struggles related to environmental and agrarian governance as the livelihood of many people (Widyastoto 2021).

Gempa Dewa and *Kamu Dewa* accommodated the *Wadon Wadas* movement in response to a lack of female participation in the struggle and resistance movement against andesite mining development and Bener dam construction. Women in Wadas Village were initially only involved in logistics. Wadas' women only handled household jobs and mostly remained behind the scenes of the movement. However, due to the escalation of the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village, the women realized that as housewives working in the fields and rice fields, they are negatively affected by andesite mining and Bener dam construction in their village.

The resistance spirit of *Wadon Wadas'* women has merged into a movement and struggle for agrarian justice to oppose andesite mining and the Bener dam construction. The women were aware that andesite mining and the Bener dam construction not only deprive them of their land rights, but may also harm nature and the environment, threatening their livelihoods and living space as women.

Wadon Wadas' various involvements as a women's struggle can be seen in their efforts, in collaboration with *Gempa Dewa*,

to file a lawsuit against the Governor of Central Java over the issuance of a mining location determination permit (SK IPL) at the Semarang State Administrative Court (PTUN Semarang), registered with Case Number No. 68/G/2021/PTUN.SMG. In addition to litigation effort, *Wadon Wadas* held a *bese*-making demonstration (making a container made of woven bamboo) in the courtyard of the Semarang State Administrative Court. The demonstration represented the Wadas women's opposition to Wadas Village's designation as an andesite mining site. The weaving of bamboo *bese* reflects the symbol of the unification of Wadas women with Wadas land. The unification is symbolized by the bamboo as the basic material for crafting *bese* thriving on their land. Furthermore, *bese* crafting has been a Wadas women's tradition for generations, and it has become the self-identity and cultural identity of women in Wadas Village (LBH Yogyakarta 2021).

In addition to *bese* weaving demonstration, *Wadon Wadas* also distributed 234 *pitis* (small *bese*) of food prepared by women in Wadas Village. The demonstration reflected Wadas residents' gratitude to the God for the gift of fertile Wadas land as a living space and source of income for Wadas villagers. Therefore, their struggle and opposition to andesite mining and the Bener dam construction are their means of being grateful while also protecting God's gift of fertile Wadas land. A total of 234 *pitis* was also chosen as a symbol of preserving their memory of the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village in the form of police physical violence and repressive actions on April 23, 2021 (LBH Yogyakarta 2021).

During land measurement activities for residents who agreed to have their land designated as a mining site by the Purworejo Regency Land Office (BPN Kabupaten Purworejo) and the Serayu Opak River Basin Agency (February 8, 2022), *Wadon Wadas* groups and Wadas residents opposing andesite mining carried out a *mujahadah* (joint prayer) at the Nurul

Huda Mosque in Krajan, Wadas Village. *Mujahadah* is a form of resistance of *Wadon Wadas*, *Gempa Dewa*, and residents in dealing with the agrarian conflict. Due to an unfavorable social situation, the measurement activity turned into a physical conflict and repressive actions by the police with residents near the Mosque. Several residents were injured, and some were arrested, including several *Wadon Wadas* activists (Komnas HAM RI 2022).

Furthermore, *Wadon Wadas* took part in different actions to express aspirations at varying moments. During the commemoration of International Women's Day, *Wadon Wadas* also held a demonstration in front of the Yogyakarta Serayu Opak River Basin (BBWS) office on March 8, 2022 (Putra 2022). The *Wadon Wadas* movement's protest, followed by *mujahadah*, demanded efforts to handle, assist, and recover women and children who have been traumatized by the agrarian conflict. They were victims of police repression during land measurement activities to determine the mining site in Bener Village.

Wadon Wadas' various involvements as a women's movement to oppose the andesite mining and the Bener dam construction in Wadas Village demonstrate the strong relationship between women, nature, and the environment as agrarian resources. In the perspective of ecofeminism, women's position is described as having a close relationship with nature, and women are perceived as nature itself (Khotimah 2006:333-71). The close relationship is described by the similarities between the two, women by virtue of their gender roles are household caregivers. Meanwhile, nature, with all of its resources, is the maintainer, acting as a life support and environmental ecosystem. In general, according to feminist political ecology, women play a critical political role in natural resource and environmental governance (Elmhirst 2011:129-32).

Wadon Wadas as the women's organization to oppose the andesite mining and the Bener dam construction has supplemented the involvement of social relations actors in the

struggle for agrarian justice, which has typically been dominated by men. Furthermore, the involvement of women in the agrarian struggle has an impact on refreshing social movement strategies that prioritize empathy in an effort to find a middle ground in resolving agrarian conflicts (Setiawan 2020). Women's presence in agrarian social relations is considered capable of supplementing a more comprehensive approach to agrarian struggle. As of now, men have acted and interacted based on an ethic of justice that put an emphasis on abstract rights and justice prioritizing the equal treatment of each subject. On the other hand, women emphasize an ethic of care prioritizing specific competence and experience, so that they are more capable of giving rise to a non-violent premise oriented towards responsibility and context (Atmadja 2013:187).

C. Conclusion

It is critical to recognize that the relationship between land and humans is inherent and interdependent. Thus, the right to own, manage, and use land is a basic right that the state must be guaranteed by the State to every citizen. Various legal instruments have regulated the role of the state in respecting, protecting, and guaranteeing land rights for the realization of welfare and social justice for all citizens, particularly in relation to aspects of agrarian resource distribution and governance.

Women as agrarian social relations actors play a critical role in the structure of land governance and utilization because they are the most vulnerable subjects, with the highest risk of being victims of agrarian distribution inequality and natural damage as a result of inappropriate land use policies. *Wadon Wadas*, a women's movement, emerged as an essential part of Wadas Village's struggle and resistance to andesite mining and the Bener dam construction. *Wadon Wadas* demonstrates that women can be seen not only in the domestic sector, but also in

broader aspects, such as the public sphere of resistance to the dominance of agrarian political policies. The feminist movement strongly supported by *Wadon Wadas* is considered capable of supplementing the social movement approach in dealing with capital's penetration of power and hegemony in the agrarian sector and natural resource management in Wadas Village. Thus, a broader accommodation for women's roles in the social movement for agrarian justice is required.

Furthermore, the government is required to include women's participation from planning to the implementation of land development policies in every policy-making on agrarian sectors. Women's involvement in development planning can ensure that any development projections are not gender-biased and women are not marginalized in the land development process and are not the most vulnerable victims.

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