

Rural Women's Agency

Editorial

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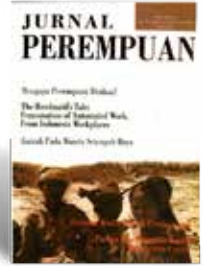
Rural Women's Agency on Forest and Land Governance in The Midst of Change: Case Study in Five Provinces
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina Boangmanalu

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Accreditation Number: 748/Akred/P2MI-LIPI/04/2016

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First published in November 2019

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Rural Women's Agency

Rural women and rural area constitute an ecosystem that is inseparable from the nature. The lives of rural community, including the women, have a close relation with its surrounding natural environment. First, the natural environment is the backbone of rural economy, particularly in agricultural sector. Second, the natural environment is the source of basic daily needs such as water and food. Aside from that, the natural environment has also been part of the local cultural such as handicrafts or as part of local beliefs and rituals. Subsequently, the disruption or change of the natural environment will definitely bring impact to the lives of rural community.

For women, the impact of the environmental changes are obvious due to their reproductive tasks in the households. For example, draught of the peat lands would decrease water and food supplies that must be managed by women in the rural peat area. Environmental destruction in rural peat area also urge men to migrate out to find a job, then women must act as the heads of the households as well as housewives.

One of the roots of inequality in the rural community stem from the weak access and control over land and forest governance. For women, the inequality is also intertwined with gender-based discrimination such as domestication of women. Women's domestication widens barriers of women's access to land, natural resources, information, law, and politics. UN Women's data (2018) finds that women ownership over agricultural land is less than 13%. In the meantime, despite the positive trend on agrarian reform policy in the recent years, gender-justice perspective has not been integrated into the agrarian policy in Indonesia. As the consequence, women still tend to be neglected within the policy which supposedly could give community's access to land and natural resources.

In general, rural women remain to be the responsible person in caregiving works, household care, family economic management, whilst being excluded from public realm. The similar pattern could be seen in rural areas. Rural areas are the main provider of source for natural resources, provider agricultural and plantation areas, labor force's provider, and with its forest area they also function as the lungs of the earth. However, similar to Simone de Beauvoir's criticism about women's position as "the second sex", rural community are also often identified as second-class community, whose meaning is closely linked to underdevelopment, vulnerable to poverty, and often being underestimated in policies on investment and development.

Diana Tietjen Meyers in *Gender in the Mirror: Cultural Imagery & Women Agency (2002)* analyzes how subordination over women influence the formation of women's gender identity, and restricting women from making emancipatory decisions. Rural women are also tended to be seen as persons without subjectivity, nor agency. But Meyer argues that even in its subordinate position, women still have agencies. Therefore, the view of rural women as subject with agency is presented in this JP 103 edition.

Jurnal Perempuan's research about rural women's experiences in five provinces, namely West Papua, East Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, Bengkulu and Aceh, shows diverse women's agency on land and forest governance in rural environment. Women agency appear in their power to persuade family and community, in their power to involve in public space, also in their power to change the perspective of official authority, also in their power to carry out collective action/ solidarity among groups in natural resources management. Rural women also possess contextual knowledge that is compatible to the rural livelihood, for instance the ability of Papuan women to choose a model of shifting agriculture as a sustainable model economy of agriculture.

The ignorance of science towards women's experience is one of the reasons for the rise of feminist's studies. Feminism found the concept of knowledge, that was born from the criticism toward the scientific approach, by looking at the complexities of interconnectivity among women, society and nature, such as in the concept of feminist political ecology. However, Carolyn E. Sachs in *Gendered Fields: Rural Women, Agriculture and Environment (1996)* found that feminist's studies tend to focus on urban feminist movement. Articulation about feminist movement in rural areas is still very limited, because science also tends to view rural community as an object, object of policy, object of poverty or object of development.

Therefore, in order to provide space about and for rural women, JP 103 presents various experiences of rural women and their agencies in dealing with the subordination of patriarchy and capitalism. JP 103 takes us to understand the agency of rural women as a process to train and to make use of the ability to construct themselves and make decisions on matters concerning the lives of rural women as well as the lives of rural communities in Indonesia. **(Atnike Nova Sigiro)**

Abstracts Sheet

Iwan Nurdin & Julian Aldrin Pasha
(Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

The Lack of Gender Mainstreaming on the Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 227-235, 2 table, 15 ref.

The situation of agrarian injustice in the rural area carries multiple layers of burden on women. Such situation could be addressed with the agrarian reform's agenda. This is the reason why the society welcome the announcement of agrarian reform agenda as Joko Widodo administration's priority program. After being in power for four years, finally the government had issued the Presidential Regulation No. 86 year of 2018 on Agrarian Reform. The enactment of this Agrarian Reform's policy cannot be separated from the role of social movement organizations in urging for agrarian reform agenda, including in urging for an agrarian reform policy with gender justice perspective. This paper seeks to see how women's movement and the agrarian reform movement have been trying to advocate gender perspective in the formulation and the implementation of the Presidential Regulation (Perpres).

Keywords: agrarian reform, rural development, rural women, land redistribution.

Hatib Abdul Kadir & Gilang Mahadika
(Universitas Brawijaya, Malang, Indonesia)

Economic Practices of 'Mama-Mama Papua' using Shifting Cultivation System: Study Case in Sorong and Maybrat Regencies- Western Papua

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 237-247, 4 image, 15 ref.

This research examines women's role and their decision-making related to swidden farming. This research was conducted in two different regions, Sorong (lowland) and Maybrat (highland) in West Papua. Key informants in this research were indigenous Papuan women, their husbands, and relatives. The aim of the research is to demonstrate that in the realm of traditional agriculture, women play important roles, starting from production, plant nursery, to the crop distribution to market. Nonetheless, the role of women tends to disappear, when the system of agriculture changes to sedentary farming by using chemical substances and other modern and farming technologies

Keywords: shifting agriculture, taking decision, traditional market, agriculture commodities.

Abdullah Abdul Muthaleb
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Rural Women and Information on Natural Resources: Rural Women in Aceh's Struggle for Agency

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 249-257, 2 table, 10 ref.

Rural women have the potential to mobilize herself and her community towards a sovereign and just rural community. However, rural women frequently face form of discrimination that impede them to achieve their maximum potential. In the midst of forest and land degradation, those gender-based discrimination also prevent women from participating in land and forest governance that is vital for the rural community's livelihood. An example of form of gender-based discrimination experienced by women in several regions in Aceh is discrimination in accessing public information. This article describes and analyzes several Aceh women's experiences in using the rights-based approach on access to information. The women in this article have used the Law on Public Information as the basis for their advocacy towards the land and forest governance in their residential area. These experiences of the rural women have shown shows that women have not only interests upon the information on natural resources, but they also possess capability, perseverance, and will to obtain such information.

Keywords: rural women, natural resources, access to information, public information.

¹Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti & ²Pramasti Ayu Kusdinar
(¹Universitas Bengkulu & ²Akar Foundation, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Involvement of Women Village Leaders in Developing Dialogues on Forest Conflict Resolution

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 259-270, 2 image, 32 ref.

This article is a study of feminist ecological politics in rural women's leadership and their involvement in resolving conflicts over protected forests. On the one hand, structurally, there is a complex linkage between social, cultural, adat, and religious practices that prevent women from becoming leaders. On the other hand, after they won the leadership contestation in the village, their task was able to go beyond reconciliation and introduce an alternative discourse on sustainable forest conservation. This study examines three main areas namely: (1) ecological sustainability knowledge, understanding and practices; (2) the practice of equal access to natural resources, and responses to vulnerability to environmental change; and (3) equality practices in village development activism. The narrative of feminist ecological political studies from two villages in Kepahiang and Rejang Lebong Districts shows that women village heads are able to penetrate structural barriers, social exclusion, and dismantle economic class barriers.

Keywords: rural women's leadership, feminist political ecology, forest conflict

¹Catharina Indirastuti & ²Andi Misbahul Pratiwi
(¹Kemitraan-Partnership for Governance Reform, Jakarta, Indonesia & ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

When Wetlands Dry: Feminist Political Ecology Study on Peat Ecosystem Degradation in South and Central Kalimantan

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 271-284, 1 table, 9 ref.

Indonesia tropical peatlands area is 47 percent of out of the total global peatlands. But unfortunately, sustainable peatland governance has not been widely applied in the management of peatlands, instead of being home to biodiversity, peatlands in Indonesia have ended up dry, burning and turned into monoculture plantations. The problem of peat ecosystem degradation is the result of unsustainable - historical environmental governance politics. This study shows the political complexity of peatland governance and its impact on women with a feminist political ecology lens. This research was conducted in several villages in Central and South Kalimantan, the largest tropical peat areas in Indonesia. This study found that 1) Rural women were realized that there are problems with peatland governance, both practically and politically; 2) women and girls have multiple impacts from peat ecosystem degradation ie, women are deprived of living space, women find it difficult to get water and food sources, women take over the role of the head of the family because men migrate but are not always recognized as the head of the family, and women are impoverished because they lose their independence and must work as oil palm workers. This study uses a feminist political ecology study as an analytical tool to see the multi-layered oppression experienced by rural women due to peat ecosystem degradation.

Keywords: rural women, peatland village, peat ecosystem, feminist political ecology, resource governance

Dewi Komalasari
(Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Women as Agent of Social Inclusion: Experience of the Women of a Local Belief Community in Salamrejo Village

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 285-294, 1 image, 1 table, 23 ref.

Minority religious groups are vulnerable towards discrimination and social exclusion. Social exclusion is a multidimensional phenomenon that is closely related to the denial of the enjoyment of civil and political

rights as well as economic and socio-cultural rights. Social exclusion also excludes the excluded people from development process in the village. This article discusses the social exclusion experienced by community of local belief's groups, the Association of Ekasing Budi Murko (PEBM) in Salamrejo village, in Kulon Progo, Special Autonomy of Yogyakarta. The economic empowerment approach has been used to promote inclusion among communities in the village. The establishment of Cooperative Business Group (KUBE) and also other economic works have encouraged women's role as agent for social inclusion. Business activities established by PEBM have opened room for interaction between women from local belief's community with other women in the village.

Keywords: social exclusion, social inclusion, local belief, women's empowerment, women's agency

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi & Abby Gina Boangmanalu
(Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Rural Women's Agency on Forest and Land Governance in The Midst of Change: Case Study in Five Provinces

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 4, November 2019, pp. 295-306, 2 table, 12 ref.

Women in rural areas face serious problems as a result of ecological social changes in the village--which are almost mutually interconnected with the expansion of extractive industries and rural development paradigm. Forests and land become as the identity that cannot be left behind in seeing changes in rural areas. Sustainable forest and land governance are one of the ways to reduce the risk of environmental damage & degradation, land use change, deforestation, and loss of food resources and livelihoods of rural communities. One of the principles of sustainable forest and land governance is transparency and participation. In this study we found, explain, and analyse 1) how the social ecological changes in the villages through the experiences of women who is a trailblazer or local champion in 5 provinces (West Papua, East Kalimantan, Aceh, Central Sulawesi, Bengkulu); 2) the struggle of rural women in seizing the right to information and participation in the process of forest and land governance; 3) women's agency in creating positive socio-ecological changes in the village area. This research found that women's agencies are not single and are produced from various forms of power, namely the power/ability to influence and reduce barriers, to change at the household and community level, the power to organize and change existing hierarchies, the power to increase individual awareness and the desire to change, the strength of collective action and solidarity.

Keywords: rural women, forest and land governance, women's agency, environmental degradation, sustainable environment.

The Lack of Gender Mainstreaming on the Presidential Regulation No. 86/2018 on Agrarian Reform

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Manuscript chronology: received 14 Oktober 2019, revised 3 Desember 2019, officialy accepted 15 Desember 2019

Abstract

The situation of agrarian injustice in the rural area carries multiple layers of burden on women. Such situation could be addressed with the agrarian reform's agenda. This is the reason why the society welcome the announcement of agrarian reform agenda as Joko Widodo administration's priority program. After being in power for four years, finally the government had issued the Presidential Regulation No. 86 year of 2018 on Agrarian Reform. The enactment of this Agrarian Reform's policy cannot be separated from the role of social movement organizations in urging for agrarian reform agenda, including in urging for an agrarian reform policy with gender justice perspective. This paper seeks to see how women's movement and the agrarian reform movement have been trying to advocate gender perspective in the formulation and the implementation of the Presidential Regulation (Perpres).

Keywords: agrarian reform, rural development, rural women, land redistribution

Introduction

For the rural community, one of the blessings from the 1998 reform is the enactment of the general assembly decision, Tap MPR No. IX/2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resources Management (Pembaruan Agraria dan Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Alam/ PA-PSDA). In the past, during the new order period, agrarian reform along with other sensitive topics was considered to be taboo topic for discussion, hence the proponents of this agenda were often accused as communist supporters (Rahman 2012; Wiradi 2009). During the reform period, agrarian reform agenda emerged due to strong push from civil society organizations such as group of farmers, fishers, environmental activists, women, and indigenous community at the local and national level. According to Gunawan Wiradi (2009) these numerous and diverse organizations are the main factors that push agrarian reform agenda into national policy.

The enactment of Tap MPR No IX/2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resources Management did not

automatically expedite the agrarian reform agenda. During President Megawati's administration there had been no further efforts to implement the agrarian reform policies. The Yudhoyono's administration paid attention to agrarian reform in his first term in office by issuing policy on the revitalization of agriculture and horticulture, which was embodied in the National Agrarian Reform Program and Natural Resources Management policy. However, this agenda was not continued to his second term of presidency (Bachriadi 2008; Shohibuddin & Salim 2013).

The very slow pace of agrarian reform has caused inequality to the agrarian structure, the rampant agrarian conflict and sustained and prolonged poverty of farmers and rural communities. One of the facts of inequality within the agrarian structure is evident in the data issued by Ministry of Environment and Forestry on March 2017 that stated the inequality of land allocation as presented in the table below:

Table 1. Allocation of Forestry Utilization 2017

Contribution of Forest Area	Private (Companies)	Community	Public Interest	Total
	(Ha)	(Ha)	(Ha)	(Ha)
IPPA/Jasling/KK	51.363	-	-	51.363
Forest Area Utilization	33.316.788	822.370	-	34.139.158
Forest Area Use	404.956	488	40.995	446.439
Forest Area Release	6.689.996	926.072	205	7.616.273
TOTAL	40.463.103	1.748.931	41.200	42.253.234
Percentage (%)	95,76	4,14	0,10	100

Source: Presentation of Ministry of Environment and Forestry March 2017

According to the National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional Republik Indonesia-BPN-RI) the unequal allocation of land also occurs at non-forestry area, and as of August 2013 there are 26,366,788 of certified lands in Indonesia amount to 72,954,190 hectares. Ironically, 46 percent (33,5 million hectares) of these certified lands consist of 10,360 Business Concession Right (for Agriculture and Horticulture) Certificates (Litbang BPN 2013).

Aside from unequal allocation of land, there is also unequal distribution of land ownership among farmers. According to the Agriculture Census in 2013, at least 74,82% (26.14 million) Farmers Household own less than a hectare of land. Quarter of them do not even possess their own land. This unequal distribution of land has happened for the past few decades as elaborated in Table 2 below:

Tabel 2. Land Tenure by Household based on Agriculture Census 1973-2003

Census Year	1973	1983	1993	2003
Total number of household	21,6	23,8	30,2	37,7
Absolute Landless (millions of farmers' household)	7,1 (33%)	5,0 (21%)	9,1 (30%)	13,4 (36%)
Land user household (millions of farmers)	14,5 (67%)	18,8 (79%)	21,1 (70%)	24,3 (64%)
Total land tenure by farmers (millions hectares)	14,2	16,8	0,81	0,89
Land tenure in average (ha)	0,99	0,89	0,81	0,89
Gini ratio of land tenure	0,70	0,64	0,67	0,72

Source: Bachriadi and Wiradi 2011: 16.

According to Agrarian Reform Consortium (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria-KPA), the unequal agrarian structure is the trigger to the agrarian conflict in Indonesia. In 2018, KPA estimated that there were at least 410 agrarian conflicts occurred with the width of area of conflict of about 807.177,613 hectares and resulted in 87,568 families as victims. This report also describes how during the four years of Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla's administration (2015-2018), there were at least 1,769 agrarian conflicts have occurred (KPA 2018).

Most of the agrarian conflicts happened in rural area. Shohibuddin (2016) described that rural areas face two crises. First is the "agrarian crisis", which is marked by limited and unequal access to land and other agrarian resources. Second is the "ecological crisis", which is marked by deprivation of environmental supports and even destruction of natural resources due to surmountable pressure from increased population, uncontrollable change of landuse and especially excessive exploitation of natural resources. Furthermore, Shohibudin explains

that these two crises have caused “rural crisis” to the rural areas, that deteriorates socio-economic and ecological capacities to provide food, water, livelihood and social protection for rural communities.

The ecological and social crisis in rural area have brought layered of burden and impacts to women. The researchers from Sajogyo Institute (2019) reported excruciating situation experienced by women in a book titled “*Perempuan di Tanah Kemelut Situasi Perempuan dalam Situs-situs Krisis Sosial Ekologis*” (Women in Land of Crisis, Women’s Situation in Social and Ecological Crisis Sites). This book elaborates women’s situation resulted from socio-ecological crisis that happened in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Maluku as the result of mining concession, palmoil plantation, conservation and construction of transmigration area. This book confirms the ongoing situation, how women becomes the most severe victims of the socio-ecological crises in rural area.

On 24 September 2018, President Joko Widodo signed the Presidential Regulation No.86/2018 on Agrarian Reform. Previously, in the Quick Win script of the Transitional Team, this Presidential Regulation were mentioned as one of the promises of Joko Widodo’s first 100-day program should he win. However, this new regulation could only be enacted after four years in power (Tim Transisi Pangan dan Agraria 2014). It is important to observe the contestation of ideas among various political interests within the internal and also the outside the government, and among various organizations and interest groups, both those who are in favor or against this agrarian reform policy. According to Pulzl (2006) contestation upon the formulation and the implementation of processes public policy is common to happen. The same situation also happens to other policy agenda relates to agrarian reform.

In every policy drafting and deliberation process, contestation of ideas among interest groups may happen due to political opportunity structure that exists within state institution, particularly in executive and legislative bodies. Under democracy system, contestation among actors and proponent or opposing ideas to a policy are common to happen. Aside from the market and the state, social movement or civil society movement are also actors who have interest in the deliberation and implementation of policies. Social movement organization are the common actor that often push for the enactment of policies that they consider to be public interest, and they are described as extra-institutional power that are located outside the power (Pettinichio 2012)

The ability of social movement organization in supporting or opposing a policy is stem from their special ability to mobilize resources. Support mobilization is carried out through various means such as lobbying, instilling influences, pressuring actions, and strengthening public discourses in mass media.

One of the supporting factor of social movement in carrying out policy advocacy is its network within the power institution that can be influencedm and their capacity to develop network within the power institution. Banaszak mentions such process as dynamic interplay between insider and outsider. (Afif & Rahman 2019).

Using this specific approach, this article will review how the role of social movement organization, particularly agrarian reform organization and women’s organization, striving for gender justice mainstreaming from the drafting process until the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 86 year 2018 on Agrarian Reform. This article’s primary source of datas are obtained from direct interview with selected resource persons from social movement organization *Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria (KPA)*, and *Solidaritas Perempuan (SP)*. This article is also supplemented with data obtained from literature study.

Promoting Gender Justice in Agrarian Reform

The emergence of rural community social movement especially farmers’, fishers’ and indigenous groups’ movement in Indonesia to demand agrarian reform are inter-related with the rampant prevalence of land grabbing cases during New Order period that were endured by rural farmers around the late 1980’s. The initiation of rural community organization was supported by urban educated activists (mostly were students and legal aid organization activists) who directly assisted the advocacy for the cases (Nurdin & Wardi 2019). The advocacies towards those cases that were faced by the rural community later then expanding into a broader struggle theme, that is the Agrarian Reform (Nurdin & Wardi 2019).

In numerous agrarian and natural resources’ conflicts, women have directly involved in defending the land and natural resources of their community. In North Sumatera for instance, indigenous women from Sipituhuta tribe would always be at the front line of every protest to oppose the presence of PT. TPL, an industrial forest company that holds forest concession right that is located on the frankincense forest owned by Sipituhuta indigenous community. This concession threaten the

community's livelihood and endanger to women. (Siagian & Harahap: 2016).

Women's roles in defending their lands are carried out by distinctive methods. Aleta Baun (Mama Aleta) for instance, has asked women in Mollo to weave on top of manganese rock for a year to prevent the Mollo indigenous area, in Middle East South – Nusa Tenggara Timur, to be turned into mining area (Maemunah 2015). Other distinctive feature of women's resistance were taken by Kendeng Women who reject the presence of cement factory Kendeng, in Rembang, Central Java. Kendeng Women held camps, organized long march, and cemented their foot in front of the state palace.

Despite their huge roles in the struggle to defend their land, women's role within the agrarian reform organization remains to be disregarded. The neglection towards women for instance happened during decision making meeting within their organization (Siagian & Harahap: 2016). A study by Ekowati et al (2009) shows how women are being disregarded after the disputed land had been won. The study found that the land distribution process by a farmer organization in Banjarnayar Village, District of Ciamis, West Java awarded the land only for the active executive members of the organization, who are all men. This process has disregarded women's support through women's reproductive works as part of the whole struggle to defend the community's land.

Ben White's study (1984) also shows the double burden of rural women in Java especially women farmers who would have to endure reproductive work and productive work in agriculture activities. White concluded that women farmers spend more time to do their activities compare to the men. That situation has not much changed after several decades, as studied by Asma Luthfi (2001) who conducted research on sharecroppers farmers household who work in the plantation land in Central Java, which found that women farmers spent more hours to do their activities compare to the men. Despite of their huge role, women farmers have no opportunity and no authority over the agriculture resources and public facilities in the plantation area.

The studies mentioned above show that rural women double burden both in domestic area or in the struggle for land rights, require agrarian reform agenda that mainstreams gender justice, especially for women.

The double burden experienced by rural women is the main thrust for women's movement and other social's movement to push for gender justice in the policies and the implementation of agrarian reform. Solidaritas

Perempuan (2018) stated that the government must formulate land policies with gender justice as its principle, that protect women's right over land, that guarantee women's rights to fully participate in the land management program, also guarantee women's rights to fully participate in the land management that they have been managing. Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) is a women's organization that was established on 10 December 1990. Since it was first established, SP activists have been involved in many advocacies and solidarity campaign in numerous agrarian conflicts that occurred in West Java, Lampung and North Sumatera. Therefore, SP has placed agrarian and natural resources issues at the core of their organizational function from the beginning. SP's vision is to embody democratic social structure, based on justice principles, ecological awareness, respect to pluralism, and anti violence that is based on equal relationship between men and women, where both can share access and control over natural resources, social, culture, economy and politics in equality. SP actively involves in the struggle for agrarian reform agenda as main agenda of women's struggle.

In an interview, one of SP's activists said that involvement of this organization in agrarian reform policy stem from their awareness on the multiple layers of injustice and inequality that are experienced by rural women. These multiple layers of injustice happen due to the combination between unequal agrarian structure, political economy system and the state law, and the unjust social system against women. Therefore, an agrarian reform policy that have gender mainstreaming perspective is highly important for SP. This view is elaborated further by one of SP's activists:

From the aspect of agrarian reform policy, it is of highly importance to ensure that the adopted policies would integrate the principle of gender justice, placing women as stakeholder, including women as the head of family. From institutional aspect, women representation within the institutions or any established team. (Aliza – SP activist, 2019, Interview 9 October).

The idea was upheld by SP in formulating and urging for the enactment of Agrarian Reform policy. In the beginning of Joko Widodo's administration there was political opportunity to push and urge for agrarian reform policy. This opportunity emerged because Joko Widodo's administration has made the agrarian reform as one of his nine political promises under "Nawa Cita", which he presented to the public and officially registered as the vision-mission book of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates to the Indonesian Election Commission (KPU).

Upon being declared as Elected President, several social movement organizations such as Komite Pembaruan Agraria (KPA) and SP formulated the advocacy for agrarian reform policy through the National Conference on Agrarian Reform (KNRA) on 22-24 September 2014. KNRA was held in with objective to provide interpretation from the social movement organizations on the ideal formulation towards the implementation of agrarian reform as promised by the government. The output of this conference is the "White Book of Agrarian Reform Implementation", which contains legislation agenda, institutionalization and funding of the implementation of the agrarian reform. This White Book is then officially presented to the Tim Transisi (Transitional Team), a team established by Elected President in formulating steps for the implementation of the political promises made during presidential campaign.

However, this pressure from social movement organizations through KRNA did not seem to bring much results. This situation is evident during the initial period of Jokowi's administration that did not place agrarian reform as his government's priority program. In the 2015-2019 National Mid Term Development Plan (RPJMN), which is formulated by Bappenas, government defined the main work of agrarian reform would be on land certification and land distribution. This RPJMN placed Ministry of Agraria and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) as a ministry with the main task to do land certification, while land distribution is just a small portion of this ministry's tasks.

The social movement on agrarian reform then continued to urge the government through the Presidential Executive Office (KSP). Responding to this pressure, in May 2016 KSP drafted a draft of Presidential Regulation on National Strategy on the Implementation of Agrarian Reform. The drafting process of this draft has been heavily criticized by SP who emphasized that agrarian reform alone is insufficient. An agrarian reform without active involvement of women in the process will not be able to create a gender justice agrarian structure (Solidaritas Perempuan, 2016).

Interaction between social movement with KSP later were able to place agrarian reform as government's priority program in 2017. Social movement organization then demanded the government to immediately enact the Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform, which will serve as the legal basis for government's priority program. SP was active in pushing and criticizing the substance of this presidential regulation on agrarian reform. This can

be referred to SP's proposed draft version for this draft of Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform.

In the proposed draft, SP views on the draft of Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform are as follow: *first*, the draft has not yet guaranteed equal rights for possession and ownership or utilization of land between women and men. Such guarantee for equality has been regulated under the Law on Agraria as well as TAP MPR No. IX/2001 on Agrarian Reform and Natural Resources Management.

Second, aside from inequality of the agrarian structure between marginalized community and corporation, there is also inequality in land ownership between men and women. SP stated that based on BPN's data in 2016 that of 44 million perciles of land only 15.88 percent are owned by women. For example, SP's field data found that in Sei Ahas Village—Central Kalimantan, there has never been any land certificates issued for women. Meanwhile in Barati Village, Sub-District of Southeast Pamona, District of Poso, Central Sulawesi, the ratio of land ownership between men and women is 90:10.

Third, this unequal agrarian structure against women has effect to women's limited access and control over decision-making process that would eventually affect their lives. This limited access also increased their vulnerability to discrimination, violence, multiple layers of burden and oppression, both at the family and public level.

Fourth, the high prevalence of agrarian conflict and land grabbing also put women in direct confrontation with the problems of land grabbing and agrarian conflict, that often involve security forces. Whereas, the lost of land as the community's source of livelihood also affecting more burden for women in providing daily needs for their family and community. Women have to work precariously and take all forms of jobs from laundry work, labor farmer, casual labor, small trading, in order to make ends meet while at the same time doing domestic chores at home.

Referring to the statements released by Puspa Dewi, the Chairwoman of SP Executive Body period of 2015-2019, the implementation of agrarian reform should create agrarian justice by resolving agrarian conflict, abolish inequality, and increasing people's welfare, for both men and women. However, agrarian justice for women will not be materialized without a strategic measure by the state in across sectors and comprehensively, including strategies and affirmative actions to erase all social, cultural challenges faced by women due to unequal

power relation and women's gender role under the social structure. The state must employ strategic measures through action plan and policies that integrate the gender just principles, approaches, and mechanism in order to materialize gender equality and justice as well as to overcome gender inequality and gap in land tenure, management and utilization, (Solidaritas Perempuan, 2017).

The same policy advocacy model in pushing for the enactment of Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform is also adopted by KPA. The organization that was established in 1994 with members from farmers union, fishers, women, indigenous groups and NGOs has set the implementation of the agrarian reform as the main mission of this organization. According to Dewi Kartika, the Secretary General of KPA, aside from pushing for the enactment of the Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform, the agrarian reform organization like KPA also has its internal work to strengthen its activists and members comprehension on gender justice. She admits that KPA is often criticized as a movement that has little sensitivity towards gender justice issues. This has prompted KPA to do reform in its activists' curriculum of education. The following is KPA Secretary General's explanation:

In the last ten years, KPA has started to trace back its organizational history from its initial existence in its work in strengthening women's role and capacity in agrarian reform movement. This also includes developing gender justice discourses in agrarian justice. There were times when we have developed agrarian literacy on women's rights in agrarian reform, but then somehow it dimmed in the subsequent periods. (Dewi Kartika – KPA Secretary General 2019, Interview October 17)

In our 6th (2013) and 7th (2016) National Convention, KPA's National Convention Resolution has mandated the exercise of gender justice values as an integral part of agrarian reform struggle. Between 2015 and 2016, KPA for the first time organized our agrarian reform education for KPA's women cadres' candidates from various regions. This continued until 2017 and now with the name of Agrarian Reform Cadre Education (PKRA) for the national and regional executives as well as the young cadres from farmers union. In the PKRA curriculum, gender justice and women's tenurial right over land are included as mandatory educational material for all participants (Dewi Kartika— KPA Secretary General 2019, Interview October 17)

KPA's publication also reports how the village level organizational meeting are dominated by men. This weak participation of rural peasant women happened due to their lack of confidence to step up among women from the farmers union in the grassroot. This is an internal challenge faced by organization like KPA in improving

the capacity of their women cadres. Meanwhile, practices and examples of gender injustice still happens at the village level organization such as: smaller portion of inheritance for women, women work at the rice fields but men are reluctant to go to work in the kitchen, women are afraid of going to meeting without permission from their husbands, women have to do field-work but are also expected to do domestic chores, as well as hegemonized traditional customs ruled by men (Suara Pembaruan Agraria 2015). These problems have encouraged KPA to do not only agrarian reform policy advocacy, but also improving their internal capacity concerning awareness about gender justice.

Similar to SP in the process of policy advocacy to supports agrarian reform, KPA was the main organizer of KNRA that has created the White Book of Agrarian Reform, formulation of national strategy on agrarian reform, and being involved in the drafting of the draft Presidential Regulation of Agrarian Reform. However, KPA did not specifically use gender justice language in their agrarian reform demands unlike what SP did.

KPA earned the momentum to ask for the enactment of Presidential Regulation during the Global Land Forum (GLF), a triennial global land forum organized by the International Land Coalition (ILC). The ILC was attended by delegates from 80 states to discuss global, regional and local land issues among the social movement, academics, research institutes, and agricultural and rural development multilateral agencies. ILC is an international land coalition whose members include social movement organizations, academics, and multilateral development institutions such as Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank. In 2018 GLF was organized in Bandung, Indonesia. In the soft opening of GLF at the Presidential Palace on 22 September 2018, the Executive Chairperson of GLF who is also KPA Secretary General, Dewi Kartika asked the President to fulfill his promise about presidential regulation on agrarian reform that has not been enacted after four years of his administration. The President then responded to this urge and 27 on September 2018 the Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform was enacted.

The Absence of Gender Justice in Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform in 2018

Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform year of 2018 received various reactions from social movement groups. According to SP, the Presidential Regulation does not include principle of gender justice and the deliberation process of this regulation lacks of consultation with

relevant stakeholders. Furthermore, the implementation of this Presidential Regulation involves international financial institution, the World Bank, that has given USD 200 millions or Rp. 2.9 Trilliun loan for Comprehensive Systematic Land Registration (Pendaftaran Tanah Sistematis Lengkap/ PTSL). Yet, according to SP, the World Bank is the instigator behind the forced land eviction and agrarian conflicts that happened in Indonesia. The World Bank is also considered as the global economic actor that ripped off natural resources and impoverish society and particularly to women. In the midst of women's hope upon the realization of gender justice agrarian reform, the government instead shattered this by involving the World Bank in the deliberation of agrarian reform. SP also regrets that the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection was not included as part of the Task Force on Agrarian Reform (Siaran Pers Solidaritas Perempuan, 2018).

After the Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform is enacted, KPA also views that this regulation is still far sufficient because the regulation has not put women, indigenous group and civil society in the right positions so that they could restore their sovereignty. KPA then pushed for more alternative measures from implementation side as elaborated by Dewi Kartika in her interview:

We are very much aware of the several shortcomings in the AR Presidential Regulation, nevertheless we really appreciate the enactment of this presidential regulation after 68 years of absence of the legal basis to implement agrarian reform in more operationable way upon the enactment of the Agrarian Law year of 1960. There are articles that strengthen the position of the people who have been fighting for agrarian reform. (Dewi Kartika—KPA Secretary General 2019, Interview October 17).

Shortcomings do exist in this Presidential Regulation especially in term of promoting gender justice. Nevertheless (for this matter), KPA would refer to the Article 9 Sub Section 2 of the Agrarian Law (UUPA), which serves as legal basis of Presidential Regulation of Agrarian Reform. Aside from its limited inclusion of gender justice policy that is explicitly and implicitly implied in this Presidential Regulation. (We) have started to develop models of agrarian reform based on peoples' initiatives. In practice, KPA would try to apply gender justice policy and approach in land redistribution through the development of agrarian reform advanced village or in short is Damara (*desa maju reforma agraria*). (Dewi Kartika—KPA Secretary General 2019, Interview October 17).

One of the expectations to this Presidential Regulation is the acceleration of land redistribution, especially community tenured land and resolution of agrarian

conflict. However, the establishment of recipients of the land distribution as stipulated in the Article 12 is to be given to: individuals; community group with collective tenure rights; or legal entity. Meanwhile, the category of individual have to meet the following criteria: Indonesian citizen; should be at least 18 years of age or is married; and lives within the land distributed area or be willing to live in the area where distributed land is located.

The establishment of land recipients expands as the individual category includes also those who are employed as: smallholder farmers who own 0.25 hectares of land; sharecroppers who work on their own or other's land; land laborer who works on their own land or other's land and earning wage; contract teachers who are not yet appointed as civil servant; casual labor; private employee with wage below non-taxable income; civil servants maximum of III/A level that does not own land; and military/police officer with maximum rank of Second Lieutenant/Second Inspectorate level or equivalent.

This expansion of land distribution recipient category has invoked concern that the land distribution scheme will attract the non-farmers to get own land, while farmers' access remain limited. Furthermore, the lack of the term 'woman' in the list of land recipient has added concern that women will continuously be ignored as eligible recipients of access to lands. The lack of regulation in the land distribution process to determine subject priority could risk to left out the community who are really in need of these lands, for instance women.

Various critiques from the social movement organizations to this Presidential Regulation on Agrarian Reform can be mapped as follow. First, the main work of agrarian reform under this presidential regulation are land certification and/or redistribution. Second, the institutionalization of agrarian reform is lead by the Coordinating Minister of Economic Affairs. On the other hand, the social movement community considers the importance of having the president to lead the agrarian reform institution directly. Third, land that will be used for agrarian reform does not include land with active Cultivation Right Title (Hak Guna Usaha/ HGU) as potential object for agrarian reform. Fourth, the extension of the criteria of land recipient of the agrarian reform, but excluding rural women farmers in the priority recipient list. Fifth, limited involvement and participation of social movement organizations in the planning, implementation, until monitoring and evaluation processes.

Conclusion

Social movements in Indonesia, both the agrarian and also women movement, have been advocating for agrarian reform, especially through policy advocacy to enact Presidential Regulation No. 86 year 2018 on Agrarian Reform. In this article, the women movement described from the experience of Solidaritas Perempuan, has already emphasized the importance of including gender justice in the agrarian reform policies since the initial drafting processes. However, the formulation in the Presidential Regulation of Agrarian Reform year 2018 has not yet included gender dimension.

Land certification does not automatically in line with the vision of agrarian reform. Certification opens a loophole of land transfer to stronger economic group through selling and buying transaction. Land certification that often ignores women would continuously place women subordinate in land tenure.

Regulation on the subjects of agrarian reform is defined extensively but still fail to include women into the priority scale. This has diminished the agrarian reform vision as a transformation tool for rural community, and equality between men and women in rural society. Short-term mitigation to ensure gender justice in the implementation of this Presidential Regulation is at utmost importance. This mitigation plan can be executed through advocacy towards the implementation of the presidential regulation implementation on land tenurial management and production management at the village level with gender justice perspective.

The efforts of the social movement to mitigate shortcomings of the Agrarian Reform Presidential Regulation must be addressed at two levels, that is the advocacy effort to improve the regulation, and to accelerate the realization of land distribution particularly in locations that are organized by social movement organizations. In addition to that, social movement organization on agrarian reform and women movement should also improve the comprehension of their activists and their grassroots constituents on gender justice principle as well as to include the principle of gender justice into the governance, tenure and production in agrarian sector, as well as its distribution. This thing is required so that the social movement organisations can develop their own planning, implementation of land distribution, and empowerment that apply gender justice principle. This is an important process to implement in villages that strive for land redistribution to be the model and learning tools for land redistribution land in other locations.

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Interview

Aliza, Solidaritas Perempuan Activist, October 9, 2019.

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Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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