

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

Editorial

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Articles

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti

Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia

Anne Lockley, Lies Marcoes, Kharisma Nugroho & Abby Gina

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

Akhmad Misbahul Hasan, Betta Anugrah & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

Aditya Perdana and Delia Wildianti

Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces

Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno, Samsidar & Bella Sandiata

Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association

Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo

Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

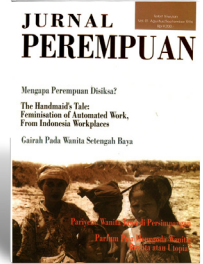
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Contents

Editorial

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics iii

Articles

- Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty 1-11
Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti
- Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia 13-24
Anne Lockley, Lies Marcoes, Kharisma Nugroho & Abby Gina
- Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia:
A Case Study in Two Districts and A City 25-38
Akhmad Misbakhul Hasan, Betta Anugrah & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi
- Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia 39-47
Aditya Perdana and Delia Wildianti
- Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces 49-62
Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno, Samsidar & Bella Sandiata
- Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association 63-71
Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo
- Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on
Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence 73-82
Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

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Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

The political reform in 1998 has brought a change to Indonesia's political situation, from an authoritarian system to democracy, from a centralized to a decentralized government, and from military supremacy to civilian supremacy. This change also had implications for the socio-political movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement.

The Indonesian women's movement was actively involved and became an important part of the fight for reformation. Furthermore, the women's movement introduced a new political culture based on the ethics of care in the midst of masculine political culture. This can be seen in the actions and strategies taken by the women's movement in the face of the May 1998 riots and social conflicts using the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup) in various regions.

During the era of reformation, the Indonesian women's movement also offered new discourses, which broke the separation between the private and the public. This discourse was embodied in policies that favor women, such as the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence in 2004. The Indonesian women's movement has also incorporated women's issues into the political agenda. This can be seen in the birth of a 30 percent quota policy for women's representation in the Election Law and Political Party Law since 2002. At policy level, a number of pro-women laws have been ratified even though the implementation in many instances is still somewhat lacking.

In short, after 20 years of reformation, the women's movement and feminist discourse continues to develop. The development of the women's movement is evident in the emergence of various organizations established to voice and defend women's interests in various issues, such as diversity of gender identity, disability, indigenous women, women migrant workers, domestic workers, and much more.

However, twenty years after the reformation, the fundamental issues that women have fought for long ago have not been fully resolved yet. Until now, women still face fundamental problems such as maternal mortality, child marriage, human trafficking, and the wage gap. The issue of violence and discrimination based on gender still continues, such as rape and sexual abuse, as well as persecution of LGBT.

The struggle of the women's movement is not over simply because there has been an emergence of various regulations and policies that accommodate gender inequality. The reformation also provided space for the emergence of religious-based conservatism and puritanism, which exercise control and restrictions on women. The state increasingly facilitates the tendency of violence and discrimination against women through regional regulations that discriminate against women and marginalized groups.

Faced with this situation, the women's movement continues to look for ways and discourse to push the political agenda of women in the public sphere, starting from the national level to the grassroots. Women's collective action is one method of the women's movement that aims to bring demands in the public sphere while still carrying on women's gender identity. The women's movement does not stop at women's issues, but also penetrates wider public problems, environmental sustainability and social justice. The articles in this edition of *Jurnal Perempuan* show the efforts of women's movements and feminist discourses to keep fighting in various domains and issues, starting from the basic movement at the grassroots level to advocacy movements at policy level, from a small scope at village level to national scale.

All collective actions involving collective actors and gender discourse emphasize that women's movements have an impact and push for important social change—not only for families, but also communities, governments and society at large. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Abstracts Sheet

Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti (Public Administration Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bengkulu, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 1-11, 1 table, 2 image, 15 ref.

This article analyzes the meaning of the anti-gold mining group oral story from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. This documentation is important to record the dynamics of the history of local women's movements in the post-reformation era Indonesia in 1998. This study uses a postcolonial feminist ethnographic approach. The female anti-gold mine forces identify as a subaltern movement, whose struggle goes beyond practicality rejecting the gold mining corporation operations. Their speeches about the movement show that the direction of their resistance leads to food independence and sovereignty from extractive business aggression. To maintain their space of life, the women's forces were only connected by words of experience and knowledge of *adat* and tradition. Postcolonial feminist ethnography explains the dis/interconnectivity between the interests of the state, political economic power, local-national-global. The construction of this anti-mining women's discourse shows the strength of women as agents in caring for natural resources.

Keywords: Central Sumba women's movement, food sovereignty, postcolonial feminist ethnography, subaltern, women's agency

Anne Lockley¹, Lies Marcoes¹, Kharisma Nugroho¹ & Abby Gina² (¹Migunani, Yogyakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 13-24, 7 table, 1 image, 6 ref.

Women's groups in Indonesia have used women's collective actions since the early 20th century. The collective action of women in this study is defined as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Eight case studies of women's collective actions discussed in this study reveal a variety of backgrounds, motives and agencies in those collective actions. This variety exists due to the different and specific conditions and needs of each of the women's groups. The object of the study in this research were eight collective actions, namely: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrants Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. The data of the research was collected through document reviews, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research finds that the involvement of women in collective actions stems from gender inequality that they experience in their daily lives. Through the collective actions, the women were empowered to strengthen their access to social services and legal protection. This research also finds there was a growing understanding about the concept of gender inequality among the women who were involved in the collective actions.

Keywords: women's collective action, empowerment, gender inequality, participation

Akhmad Misbakhul Hasan¹, Betta Anugrah¹ & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi² (¹Seknas FITRA, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 25-38, 2 table, 6 graph, 16 ref.

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 concerning on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has an impact on the planning and implementation of public policy in Indonesia. Public policy becomes an important arena for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice. One of the government's commitments in this matter can be seen through Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB). This study analyses gender-responsive budgeting in social protection programs in Indonesia, with case studies in three locations, namely Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok Regency, and Padang City. Data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews and literature studies, including the Indonesian Budget and Regional Government Budget documents. This study conducted GRB analysis in three regions with three categories of budget expenditure analysis, namely specifically identified gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive specific budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disability. However, it can be seen that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still centralized in services that are identical to women's affairs, and not yet mainstreamed in all of the budget allocation.

Keywords: Gender-Responsive Budget, Social Protection Program, Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District, Padang City, Budget Analysis

Adivya Perdana and Delia Wildianti (PUSKAPOL LP2SP FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 39-47, 1 table, 21 ref.

This article raises the important question of the achievements of women political movements after 20 years of reformasi in Indonesia. This article intends to elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement, which has stagnated, and the offer of a strategy that needs to be discussed to attract young women to politics. There are three main issues that are important concerns in the women's political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Second, there is a space of political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women's organizations. Third, in electoral competitions, one of the important issues that still need to be explored further is the effort to win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved. Connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be immediately overcome.

Keywords: gender and politics, elections, women's political representation

Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno¹, Samsidar² & Bella Sandiata³
(¹KOMNAS Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Forum Pengada Layanan, Indonesia; ³Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 49-62, 2 table, 5 graph, 8 ref.

The increasing number of violence against women every year raises question about the effectiveness of intergrated service programs for the women victims of violence. The government established the Integrated Service Center for Empowerment of Women and Children (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak/ P2TP2A) in 2002, supported by National Commission on Violence against Women (KOMNAS Perempuan), in the effort to provide protection and empowerment of women victims of violence. However, the increasingly diverse forms of violence against women have resulted in complex needs of the victims. The question arises whether the function and performance role of P2TP2A has fully answered the needs of victims or not. This article focuses on assessments conducted by KOMNAS Perempuan and Forum Pengada Layanan (Service Provision Forum/FPL) in 16 provinces to re-examine the role of P2TP2A's functions and performance in meeting the needs of victims. Based on the findings of the assessment, there are still shortcomings in the system and performance of P2TP2A in taking care of victims' needs, such as lack of awareness as service providers, coordination problems among institutions and limited budget. This assessment uses in-depth interviews and document studies, by including the lessons from the P2TP2A Surakarta city, Bandung district and Central Java Province.

Keywords: P2TP2A, victims, integrated service, violence against women

Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Indonesia)

Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 63-71, 18 ref.

This research proves the importance of the role of women in the agricultural sector in Central Java through a case study of the Peasants Union Society movement Qaryah Thayyibah, in Salatiga, Central Java. This research uses qualitative methods, with data collection techniques through literature studies, observations, FGDs and in-depth interviews. The analysis technique uses categorization, interpretation and conclusions from the results of data collection. This research shows that women have a key role in the development of the agricultural sector. Therefore SPPQT's programs for empowering female farmers include: (1) women's political education, (2) involvement of women in the Production Assembly and Peasants' Association, (3) Women's involvement in the Village Development Council (Team 11). The findings also show obstacles to community resistance for the third point. This can be overcome again by SPPQT's vision, gender equality needs to be seen as a solution to improve the agricultural sector.

Keywords: the role of women, farmer groups, marginalization

Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 73-82, 10 ref.

This article discusses the novelty of the women's movement in encouraging women's political representation and advocating for the elimination of domestic violence. Data is obtained through interviews with actors involved in the women's movement, especially actors from civil society organizations. The results of the study show that the women's movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election becomes a sign of the inclusion of women in the political agenda. While the women's movement in the advocacy for Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence dismantles private and public dichotomies that are detrimental to women in the context of domestic violence. This study also shows that women's movements need strong concepts, adaptive strategies and synergies with various elements to be able to push the women's agenda and encourage change.

Keywords: women's movement, women's political representation, affirmative action, Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

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Abstract

This article analyzes the meaning of the anti-gold mining group oral story from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. This documentation is important to record the dynamics of the history of local women's movements in the post-reformation era Indonesia in 1998. This study uses a postcolonial feminist ethnographic approach. The female anti-gold mine forces identify as a subaltern movement, whose struggle goes beyond practicality rejecting the gold mining corporation operations. Their speeches about the movement show that the direction of their resistance leads to food independence and sovereignty from extractive business aggression. To maintain their space of life, the women's forces were only connected by words of experience and knowledge of *adat* and tradition. Postcolonial feminist ethnography explains the dis/interconnectivity between the interests of the state, political economic power, local-national-global. The construction of this anti-mining women's discourse shows the strength of women as agents in caring for natural resources.

Keywords: Central Sumba women's movement, food sovereignty, postcolonial feminist ethnography, subaltern, women's agency

Introduction

History is a record of the regime and often rules out the lives of women. A lot of the history of women's life struggles, especially at the local level, is missing from history in Indonesia (Irianto & Hendrastiti 2015). The stories of women in history are mainly told to confirm position and masculinity of men. The records of the Indonesian women's movement are also not widely known to an international audience, as only a few have been produced in foreign languages (Martyrn 2005; Blackburn 2010).

The identity of the women's environmental movement spearheaded the movement beyond mainstream issues. The good thing is that the women's environmental movement from various regions of Indonesia showed an interconnection with the issues of mainstream movements. The environmental movement is intertwined with issues of health, education, poverty, injustice to women's public access, child trafficking, child marriage, maternal and infant mortality, and other critical issues. This local movement, however, has nothing to do with the ideas of global feminism.

The local women's movement needs formulation. One of its identities is to be opposite of the country. Just like the position of social movements, anti-mining women

see the state closer to the corporation and the power that destroys natural resources. The country's oppression of local communities is diverse, but mostly comes in the form of the local government supporting corporations. The women's movement for environmental issues shows a phenomenon that is different from the identity of the urban women's movement in the 20th century, which Blackburn (2010) defined as the dominant one with a Javanese nuance. Formulation of environmental damage and looting of natural resources, however, is connected to the body. Destruction, exploitation, and disasters are a threat to women's bodies (Hendrastiti 2014; Irianto & Hendrastiti 2015).

The context of the women's movement in this article is the anti-gold mining movement from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Umbu Ratu Nggay District, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. The gold mining area, which is a conflict area, is located in the hills of Paleti Alira. A hill that is commonly referred to as a golden hill, a glowing hill by the local community; the hill shines during full moon (Hendrastiti 2018a). Since the beginning of its exploration in 2011, the position of the local community has been divided – some are pro, some are against the arrival of PT Fathi Resources. The peak of the clash with the company came when exploration activities entered the graveyard of a local noble family. At the time, the

equipment, drill bits and generators caused damage by the company, which was exploring the Padang Rua Awa area, Praikaroku Jangga Village (“Residents Attacking Gold Mining Workers in Central Sumba”/“Warga Serang Pekerja Tambang Emas di Sumba Tengah” 2011).

The resistance grew bolder, the position of the counter group grew stronger, and women’s groups began to take part in the movement, especially after the arrest of anti-mining leaders. The involvement of women’s groups in the anti-gold mining movement was indeed not very long and lasted about two years. But their resistance is still the spirit of developing critical awareness until today. Not only was there a strengthening of the spirit of protecting ancestral and environmental heritage, but the revival of formulating their identities as Sumba women and caretakers of a nature was a response to acts that endanger the environment (Hendrastiti 2018a).

Through the environmental movement, women succeeded in formulating the liberation of their body and spirit. The liberation was comprehensive and went beyond state and corporate power. The formulation of self-release from being dependent on “migrant” resources shows a formulation of women in regards to food sovereignty. Traditionally, food is constructed as an area where women dominate.

Literature and documents from the library show that the categorization of the women’s movement in Indonesia, which was discussed by Blackburn (2010), has three bases: (1) religious and non-religious principles; (2) classes—women from poor families, or upper middle class; and (3) geography—urban or rural. It is rather difficult to put the women’s movement for environmental issues into one of the three categories above. Blackburn has predicted the emergence of niche women’s community movements

that are outside the three categories, although only mentioning the movements of the three categories as: farm laborers, women from remote areas, Chinese women, women with disabilities, and elderly women; while the identity of the movement for environmental issues might be a cross-cutting issue. The most important takeaway from Blackburn’s writings is that identity is a central issue in the history of the women’s movement.

From other references, the women’s movement for environmental issues has not yet entered the argumentation of identity (Martyn 2005). Martyn summarizes the three identities of the women’s movement as follows: (1) agencies for women’s participation and representation of women in the political process; (2) collective identity, based on ideological identity; and (3) gender identity in the context of religion, political, professional, regional, and class affiliation.

Environmental issues belong to the important issues, after the issue of nationalism. Environmental issue movements first emerged after independence. Somewhat different from the issue of polygamy, child marriage, trafficking in women, women’s education, health, and the issue of political rights—which has become a long struggle for the women’s movement beginning in the pre-independence era—the context that encouraged the emergence of the women’s movement for environmental issues was a social situation due to global corporate aggression in the postcolonial era. Impoverishment of vulnerable areas of destruction and exploitative natural resource governance, such as watersheds, forests, coastal areas, mineral-rich areas, re-emerged in the building period. The arena of contestation is not a collective, but a local identity; because the threat of damage and brutality of the exploitation varies.

Table 1: Local Women’s Movement Against Mineral Extraction in Indonesia

Social Movement Women’s Movement	Location	Mineral Extraction that is refused
Sedulur Sikep Women of Kendeng led by Gunarti	Rembang District, Central Java	Cement/Karst
Women of Tumpang Pitu	Banyuwangi	Gold
Walhi Women’s Movement	Bengkulu, Jambi, West Sumatra, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, West Java	Coal
Women of Mollo led by Mama Aleta Baun	TTS, Gunung Mutis, Mollo – East Nusa Tenggara	Manganese marble stones
Amungwe & Komoro Community Led by Mama Yosepha	Papua	Gold
Dayak Siang Murung Community, Bakumpai. Led by Satarinah	Puruk Cahu, Central Kalimantan	Gold
Buyat Community, led by Surtini Paputungan and Zohra Lombonaung	Pantai Buyat North Sulawesi	Gold

Social Movement Women's Movement	Location	Mineral Extraction that is refused
Women of Penago Baru and Rawa Indah, led by Meli dan Merry	Bengkulu	Iron sand
Women of Pesisir Pantai Selatan Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta	Iron sand
Praikaroku Jangga Community and Women Community of Paponggu	Central Sumba	Gold
Women of Luwu Timur	Luwu Timur Sorowako, South Sulawesi	Nickel

Source: documentation from various websites, 2018

Table 1 above shows the upheaval against mining companies, and the phenomenon of women's involvement in the anti-mining movement. Documents about mine conflicts indicate that the communities around the mine area is a vulnerable group of people, including all data in table 1 above. The beginning of exploration activities raised internal conflicts in the community, pros and cons; and companies tended to get challenges from local residents. Unfortunately, collective actions on the anti-mining movement were shut down midway. Corporations conspired to make promises of prosperity to citizens; some citizens took them by their word and sided with the company. Meanwhile, in the counter groups, rejection comes from an awareness based on experience and knowledge about environmental sustainability—especially so in the post-reformation era, when there were more opportunities available to be more broadly involved in social movements. This opportunity was also responded to by the women's movement groups.

Extraction operations by multinational corporations not only threaten mineral wealth and environmental damage, extraction activities also create an upset to local food. The extinction of various local food sources becomes a severe threat. The experience at the gold mining exploration site in this study, namely in the Paponggu hamlet, Praikaroku Jangga Village, shows that water sources, rivers and agricultural areas along the watershed quickly get polluted. This pollution—when exploration has lasted only one year—has resulted in victims of water poisoning, animal deaths and various diseases in humans.

The vulnerability of local food sources caused by the use of various toxic substances for mineral extraction processes, changes the food management system. The change in the system inevitably triggers a shift in food culture. Initially, villages did have various food sources to meet their daily needs for families and communities, but the gold mining exploration changed the whole

social order. For one year, agricultural crops are always prioritized for family meals and sold in part for rituals and school. In Central Sumba villages, for instance, the need for traditional rituals is clearly more important than the children's school needs. Apart from that, the impact of mineral extraction operations is very broad. Here lies the point of conflict of interest between aggressive mining activities and the vulnerability of local food sources. The vulnerability of local food is at the core of the decline of food sovereignty. Food sovereignty according to Law No. 18 of 2012 states that the state facilitates food sovereignty through policies that determine food independence and guarantee the right to food for the people, giving the community the right to determine a food system that matches its local potential.

That is why there is the question, "Why is the vulnerability of local food sources and the shift of food culture an important issue in the study of the anti-mining women's movement?" Along with damage to agricultural land due to the mine, there is a shift in raw food materials. The decline of local food provides another opportunity for food to fill the market 'vacuum' and local demand. Families from communities that used to be self-reliant became dependent on 'migrant' food supplies. Food sovereignty is immediately threatened by the invasion of non-local food.

Women are important agents in responding to the above questions. In the social construct, women are positioned to carry the responsibility to meet family food needs. Fulfillment is not only providing food or not, fulfillment also includes food culture. Depreciation of food and water due to pollution of toxic substances, changes the way of life of the whole family and community. A change in the framework of adjustment lies in the hands of women. Traditionally, food sovereignty is dominated by women.

The involvement of women in various anti-mining movements is unique. Different from other social movements, the women's movement has an inspiration

for social change in a certain direction. Through many different strategies, the women's movement has a gender justice reconstruction agenda. Women's resistance from Praikaroku Jangga Village also had that perspective. This article aims to answer the question: what message of change can we 'read' from the women's movement against the gold mine in Central Sumba? Readings on the movement can at once explain the presence of postcolonial feminist phenomena, and hidden substances contained in the direction of movement.

Post-colonial Feminist Movements

The big goal of social movements is to create change in state institutions and policies. Social movements are closely related to political representation systems, and contribute to the ability of political parties to make changes when it comes to public decisions. Social movements are an elaboration between political opportunities, movement structures, and culture (Jenkins & Klardernans 1995; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1997).

For the Southeast Asian context, there is a social movement study conducted by Boudreau (2006). According to Boudreau, there is a triangle of social protest schemes, namely political opportunities, structural mobilization, and culture. The social protest triangle is controlled by time, scope, claims and tactics. Boudreau stressed the importance of a political opportunity to be able to protest; opportunities are increasingly widespread when the state is repressive. Political opportunities will determine the structure of mobilization of protest delivery; how big it is and the shape of social networks that are involved in the movement. The question is whether the anti-mining women's movement that occurred after the reformation emerged in the situation of a repressive country? Or is this movement a phenomenon of claim and tactic?

The Boudreau reference above is a big narrative. Meanwhile, some anti-mining local movements are a small narrative of women from marginal groups and interests. It seems that by revealing the local women's movement, the scope of this small narrative looks like jumping past a medium narrative to a big narrative. Perhaps social media helps its effectiveness to create opportunities for leaps. However, it is clear that the anti-mining movement is different from the Suara Ibu Peduli (SIP) movement in the New Order regime, which did follow an ideology against repressive regimes (Irianto & Hendrastiti 2015). At that time, social media did not exist yet, so the strength and authenticity of its movements

fulfilled the element of collective action against the power structure.

The formation of the identity and collective awareness of SIP seemed to be very strong. The collective identity of the anti-mining women's movement is not as widespread, but the instruments of political opportunity, mobilization of structures and cultural elements are the same. In addition, the timeliness, scope, claims and tactics of each movement are very visible. The emergence of local anti-mining women's movements in the postcolonial era was a warning that the country's policies and the direction of mastering mineral resources by corporations became the idea of neo-imperialism. In varied languages, the local women's movement read this situation, and based on that governance inequality, protests emerged.

Postcolonial feminists are very careful in seeing the essence of the women's movement of marginal groups as social movements. In the postcolonial discourse, those who reject gold mining in Praikaroku Jangga Village, are referred to as subaltern groups (Spivak 2008). In the field, local and hidden identity groups are similar to the subaltern women's community. The suitability of the subaltern identity comes mainly in its position as a community that is geographically hidden, pseudo-class, "mute" or has no access to a platform to voice its concerns, oppressed from socio-political economic power, forgotten from the public space, and inaccessible groups with a large discourse on the women's movement for any critical issue.

Postcolonial studies have not been too popular in Indonesia. If we trace Harding's (1998) writing, the origin of postcolonial discourse began when there was a revival of "local knowledge tradition" in the Caribbean and Indian Islands over European science and technology. Then came the contemporary science that left non-European cultures. Postcolonial studies then developed and brought very useful knowledge from the history of the third world. The tradition of worshiping science originating from "European Culture" shifted, and was enriched by recognition of the Eastern sciences. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2008), like Harding, collected postcolonial works that had multicultural identity and global history.

Postcolonial feminist critical viewpoints of the women's movement also clearly form: (1) women's identities that are not monolithic in power relations (on the basis of class, skin color, culture); (2) the position of women in the context of the nation state; (3) representation of women themselves; (4) history, in the sense of, during which momentum a movement arises;

(5) whether the movement is something "other" than a wave of national protest; (6) what public space is available to voice protests. From the formulation it is important to see if the anti-mining women's group speaks in its own name (Hendrastiti 2014).

The phenomenon of the local women's movement that emerged over the past two decades was interpreted as a social fact and political movement even though it could not be equated with the women's political movement in 1998. It is true that their activities can be categorized as a social movement, although not having a large narrative like the women's movement whose milestone was the 1928 Congress. The grand narrative of the 1928 Congress, aimed at independence and freeing women from poverty and underdevelopment. But Kendeng women, Mollo women, Praikaroku Jangga women and others, who are fighting for their living space against the environmental pollutant extraction industry, are also part of movements. If so, the question is: how should we formulate an activity as a movement, in which part, and what is their political agenda?

Post-colonial feminist ethnographic approaches helped compile analysis of the small narrative study of the women's movement (Hendrastiti 2014; Hendrastiti 2018a; Hendrastiti 2018b). Ethnography in the village of Praikaroku Jangga produces a small narrative of the anti-mining women's movement. Fieldtalk on certain issues is done several times reciprocally. Critical awareness of the subject becomes the main factor in the narrative, those who speak out know exactly that what is being recorded (in fieldnotes) will be the publication of their movements. Therefore, the strung narrative is a history of local women in anti-mining protests (HerStory). Fortunately, those narratives have directed the researcher to the core of postcolonial feminist analysis, namely the meaning of the struggle, the issue being fought for, and how the forces in the villages assemble the culture of struggle.

Postcolonial Feminist Ethnography Method

This study uses postcolonial feminist ethnographic methods. A method that is able to give researchers the opportunity to get a comprehensive description of the deterioration of life of conflict-affected communities, especially women's groups. It is an instrument for researchers to uncover knowledge from the life experience of their sources – different experiences as a consequence of the imbalance of power relations in everyday sociocultural life, including when they get involved in conflicts with corporations. This method

simultaneously provides an enrichment of transcendent meaning and knowledge of the hidden agenda of the "mandate" of a post-conflict life change (Hendrastiti 2018b).

From a feminist perspective, colonialism, deterioration in the context of mining conflicts, is basically gender inequality. Furthermore, the narrative voiced by the women of Praikaroku Jangga is one of a struggle, an identity and demands for recognition. Their narratives are forgotten stories, stored stories, hidden from the public, and deep memories of the situation "not deemed important". At this point, "ordinary" ethnography, generally, does not meet the expectations and interests of local women's groups who struggle for their living space. This progressive method encouraged the invisibility of the subaltern group, so that important issues from anti-mining women were revealed.

The study process lasted for three years, from 2016 – 2018, with six periods of fieldwork. Data collection techniques during the fieldwork were fieldtalks, fieldnotes, observations, workshops, focus group discussions (FGD). Fieldtalks were conducted for several speakers who were involved in clashes in the field, village leaders, traditional leaders, and the mothers involved in the women's movement. Observation was carried out through daily life, and some traditional ceremonies. A workshop on the identification of critical problems for Central Sumba women was carried out in the third year of field studies. Meanwhile, focus group discussions were conducted three times, namely twice in the village and once in Waibakul (the capital of Central Sumba Regency). The last FGD involved several mothers from villages around the city of Waibakul. Fieldnotes, like ethnographic traditions, were carried out throughout the fieldwork process.

Study analysis follows a postcolonial feminist framework, especially from the concept of identity. The concept of identity is seen from the deconstruction of the identity of representation, towards the transcendent meaning of postcolonial identity, the identity of the movement as a subject, not an object. In addition to identity, silence of interest becomes an analytical instrument. Meanwhile, movement strategy skills, the existence of local leadership, and the recognition of changes in women's social status in the body of the anti-mining movement, from the periphery to the middle of the movement are other aspects of the analysis. Through fieldtalk methods and observations from a feminist perspective, the researcher obtained an interesting analysis, namely the knowledge of farmers' mothers from

the village. Women's knowledge is able to explain the context of spirituality from the environment, land and water.

The Narrative of Subaltern Women: Fighting for Living Space and Access to Speak Up

The women's movement is an opaque mirror of democracy because the issues brought about by the women's movement are issues of humanitarian oppression. While democracy provides equal access to women at any level, and considers affirmations to those who are invisible, women are committed citizens. In fact, the essence of democracy is to undergo change, and there is a strong demand for welfare discourse. So, all political forces offer welfare issues in their political contestations (Hiariej & Stokke 2017). Included in the debate is a phenomenon that challenges the policies of the government welfare regime, questioning the format of the welfare regime offered.

In postcolonial feminist studies, the women's movement against the extraction business needs to describe the experience of empirical repression, so that the resistance and struggle is clear. It is true that the women's movement has a great narrative with the ideology of making major changes towards prosperity, and is aimed at all women in an inclusive and border-crossing manner. The existence of a large narrative is different from the phenomenon of women's movements at the local level in general, with women's identities hidden, inaudible, not considered important, and their interests outside the agenda of state policy settings. That is the narrative of subaltern women.

If so, then the anti-mining women's movement needs to be formulated. Is the main aim of their movement to fight for the interests of the community of lower class women? If they are identical to the common people, subaltern, where are their relations and encounters with the civil society movement? It is important to look at civil society movements, because they are intermediaries and bridges to the core of the state or public policy.

However, of course in the current disruption, the possibility of the formulation of the social movement experienced a metamorphosis, including the women's movement. Has the women's political movement turned into a monolithic political movement such as the anti-mining movement? The development of information and technology have certainly played an important role in the movement.

Identity Formulation

As mentioned above, the back of the Paleti Alira hill has become a battlefield between villagers and corporations. Praikaroku Jangga Village is a village located far from public services. The distance to the village can actually be reached in a relatively short time, but it is time consuming. This fact shows that access to transportation services for villagers, in almost all rural villages on Sumba, is indeed low. Low access to transportation is the cause of many critical issues for women.

Fieldwork experience: first, identification of women's memory / experience is involved in the movement. At this stage, there have been several discussions and in-depth interviews, relating to history and the momentum of the start of resistance, and the power relations that underlie the emergence of the movements. Women formulate themselves in the context of the anti-mining resistance movement.

The second stage was conducting workshops for women. The workshop participants were extended to other marginal villages in Central Sumba, especially from Balai Perempuan, which was founded by the organization of the Central Sumba Branch of the Indonesian Women's Coalition. The meeting showed women's empowerment and solidarity, especially in voicing their interests. Women formulate their own problems, and a series of problems over their marginal position. For ethnographic studies, the workshop forum found a very strong narrative of local movements. The representation of women as subjects is an important part of feminist analysis.

The third stage is an audience with local parliament. The long road to the Regency Parliament Building was not an easy one. The audience forum that was first held by Central Sumba women for 10 years since the existence of the regional parliament was a "discovery" of public space for women. In the language of Homi Bhabha as quoted by Mangililo (2015), it is referred to as the third room, where the oppressed community finds available space to voice its protest.

Personal identity tracking was done in focus group discussions by creating an image. The search process through this image was very interesting. At the beginning, the sources had doubts and felt they were not being able to describe themselves. Over time, however, the women became confident to create images that represent their thoughts. The point was not to produce a good image, but the words behind it. In fieldwork, this process becomes a way of liberating identity.

Important findings from identity: after “reading” the meaning of the image, the women cheered loudly, a picture of celebrating the liberation of mind and speech. The researchers felt the atmosphere of deep emotion and excitement and also participated in celebrating the success of the mothers in the speech room. Besides that, what was even more encouraging was the mix between noble and ordinary women in the forum. Even though it was not a cultural leap towards an egalitarian direction, the equal atmosphere turned out to provide the same joy for all women.

The visual range of self-identity turned out to be very broad and varied. There were visuals about fences, condominiums, various crafts, trees, water, traditional houses, electric lighting, roads, gardens, fish. Listening to mothers explains the meaning of visual images about identity, researchers felt like being herded into an area where women are very close to one another, knowing in detail, and storing “power” grids. The way they deal with the limitations of assets and access, both to the sources of material and natural resources, has taught us about the existence of hidden knowledge. The subaltern phenomenon in the postcolonial feminist context was laid out as long as the fieldwork took place.

Visual self-identity became the symbol of an important narrative; for example, there was an image of a fence. Women used the fence as a metaphor for food sovereignty. They believe that inside the fence there is certainty of the availability of food everyday. Besides vegetables, there was also livestock behind the fence. The essence of guarantee is the fulfillment of food needs for traditional houses and extended families, not for commercial purposes, but for self-sufficiency when it comes to food.

Next, the image of a *konde* (traditional hairstyle) appeared. The *konde* hints at a symbol of women's strength and pluralism. Although primordial identity is mentioned clearly, for example “... as a Sumba woman ... etc.”, there is another identity that is very strong in the explanation of the women, namely hair. Hair, be it in *konde* style, loose, long hair or cut short, shows the identity of female heterogeneity. Behind strong traditional symbolism, there is a stronger female identity – the body and its representation, namely hair.

Images of trees—visual trees present represent the daily experience of women “related” to trees and forests. The closeness of women to nature has defined itself as a nurse of trees and forests. Forests must remain, trees are the identity of the forest. Forests are the lungs of

the world. The cosmology determines trees as forest dwellers, and therefore forests have the identity of the world's lungs that have bound women to maintain the continuity of that identity. Women's identity as part of the forest is an authentic and most basic self-image. Trust and loyalty to the symbol of women as caretakers of nature is understood not only as a task given by society and the authorities or as a social construction, but there is a deep commitment and strength of women as agents.

Water identity—the discussion of the water narrative turned out to be quite long and strong. Reading this narrative made us enter into a feminist analysis, beginning with the construction of a mother's duty to provide clean water for the family. Women must find clean water sources. One of the traditional factors that is the principle for women in the village is water. In Kampung Manatala, the highest area of the village of Praikaroku Jangga, what mothers need the most is water. Day and night, women struggle with water. In the narrative, the mothers have a vision that Indonesian women are able to join hands, thinking of the priority needs of life as women, namely water. This is because the experience of men related to water is different from that of women.

Traditional houses—narratives of Sumba traditional houses from a women's perspective: the houses of Sumba people must be high, because the house represents the high culture of Sumba. Traditional houses are places where the father and mother live together and finance the family's needs. The context of traditional houses is extensive, including assets and family food such as rice fields, rice from paddy fields, management of human resources/outpouring of energy and time of family members. There needs to be regulation and cooperation between husband and wife, as well as children, and *ata* (laborers that have traditionally belonged to certain aristocratic families. In everyday conversations, they are often referred to as servants). Under the house, according to one image, there are mothers weaving—throughout the fieldwork, the women were weaving on the porch of a house, not under the house. Weaving is a struggle for Sumba women.

At home, the average group of moms in the village of Sumba make woven crafts, shellfish accessories, and other materials from around the house and garden when not farming. For them, the meaning of local crafts is a narrative that explains the principle of self-sufficiency in food and clothing. Although implicitly, this phenomenon also shows that self-reliance is a response to the low access to various markets where they can buy various items necessary for daily life. The enthusiasm and pride of

fulfilling one's own needs is amazing, so the people who come to them actually want to have their work.

Among the identity images, the mothers also created electric lighting. This raises questions about the reason for the image of electric lighting as identity. Light has many functions and benefits – not only sunlight, but the currently critical electric lighting. Through the explanation, researchers learned that identity is something that is concerned with the most critical problems in women's lives, in addition to the strength they already have. According to the mothers, people in Central Sumba never cared about lighting. In the villages, there are many school-aged children, but some of them do not want to go to school because they cannot learn. Some children learn with kerosene lamps that hurt their eyes, especially the young children. Electricity is one of the priorities needed by villagers. Many fathers don't take it seriously, they often go back and forth at night. The mothers suffer greatly from needing lighting.

Road facilities also become visual female identities. Village maps show that to reach village settlements, it is necessary to use the inter-district road facilities, West Sumba to Central Sumba. In the middle of Central Sumba, there is a cross into the village of Praikaroku. The village entrance - which crosses the Paleti Alira ridge - has long been damaged, the asphalt road is rough. The limitations of these public road facilities have an impact on various other issues, for example teachers rarely come to elementary school. There is no ASN teacher (State Civil Apparatus), there are only a few honorary teachers who come from near the village, and even they only approximately teach until 10 o'clock. School students come as they please. Other impacts are related to women's reproductive health and the marketing of agricultural products.

Analysis of Postcolonial Feminists

Women's identity is home, water, fences, gardens, trees, fish, roads, electricity. The main orientation is home; home is where all family members return to. Traditional houses are the strength of the family, the home provides safety, security, comfort, relationships of love, welfare, protection. In the house there is no more hunger, no more fear, the home represents warmth and honor. All inheritance and family wealth are stored in traditional houses, as well as crops and agriculture. Traditional houses are also a protection for servants and family animals. That's where women's identity is anchored, the symbol of home as a women's domain is one of the constructions of colonialism. The discourse of relations

between women and men follows dichotomous lines of thought that are embedded in the multiplicity of various social, cultural (custom), economic and political (state) structures, and religious practices.

In addition, the discourse of relations between women and men in the context of marriage and household is in a stage of false consciousness. Until now, women's awareness of marital relations and women's independence as subjects and natural resource agencies were not static, fluctuating and situational according to class, geography, caste, and education/knowledge. On the one hand they believe in a harmonious relationship between husband and wife and that they must work together: if men say A, then women also say A. If men say A, and women say B, it's not beneficial for the harmony in the household. This is the main discourse. Meanwhile, the discourse about women's independence in thinking and using their voice also exists and has strengthened. The thought shows that women are at an intersection: it is very difficult to turn away from the power of adat, but the reality they face is a clash of cultures, namely a critical awareness of the disadvantage on the part of women that feels very real. These are signs of a postcolonial feminist phenomenon.

In the sociocultural context of Central Sumba, there is a formula for differences in the interests and thoughts of women and men. Even though water, food availability, electricity for lighting, road transportation and children's schools are the needs of everyone, but it is the mothers from various villages that are the most appropriate in formulating them. Mothers realize that the social order traditionally places these responsibilities on women. According to adat rules, in meetings, women must be in the back, in the kitchen. Finally, women are not able to speak in any form. Magical awareness conveys the impression that women are obliged to fulfill it. Their critical awareness "protests" the inequality of duties vis-a-vis with men.

As a woman's identity, a garden for example, is offering fertility, food production, and a guarantee of sustainability. Gardens are also symbols of struggle, defense, hard work, innovation and responsibility. The garden is a promise of life.

Mothers think that every day when they wake up and go to the kitchen there are chickens, there are pigs, there are vegetables. Conversely, early risers among the men can drink coffee. Women can be scolded by men if for example there are no side dishes. But actually they feel that women should not be scolded. The mothers feel that their experiences as women are great. Women are

smart, women have extraordinary abilities. Women can do several activities at the same time. For example, when a woman cooks, she can also carry her child on her back. Her cooking duty continues despite the task of caring for the children. Women are truly extraordinary and this must be recognized by women themselves.

When it comes to the narration of self-consciousness, women are often not a priority. Mothers call on women and women’s organizations to help their cause, because they want to become advanced women, and not just do what men say.

The mothers feel that women must be able to fight in any form. Although they are mainly in the house, they also have to be capable, women have responsibilities. Women must be determined, speak out and be able to do things for the common interest in the life of the wider community – not just in family matters. Women have a fairly high mind power, and are able to do many things. For that reason, women not always submit themselves to men. When men advance even further, women also become stronger and are able to do something better for the community.

The postcolonial feminist narrative above is the basis of the analysis of the postcolonial movement. The process of uniting interests is a movement to mature aggregation. The statement about “... the one who defeat you is a woman ...” is a narrative that helped women to rise up and fight, looking for new spaces to get recognition of rights.

The narratives show that there is a new awareness of the importance of women seizing the space for public decision making. The movement towards the era of women’s leadership from the villages is happening. From the village to public decision making, with nuances of justice and prosperity. The narratives complement each other and comprehensively explain the slices of feminism about social phenomena from marginal societies.

Image 1 above helps us understand the anti-mining women’s movement that leads to a local food sovereignty movement. In addition to being involved in the eviction of gold mining corporations, there is actually another core agenda of the mothers, which is striving to achieve food sovereignty. They are struggling to get a space to talk about the importance of sovereign villages in food. Recognizing the daily efforts of women to ensure the availability of locally prepared food is the most important part of their struggle.

Viewing Women’s Ethnicity and Identity Debate

Postcolonial feminist phenomena were also found in one of the stages of data collection during fieldwork, namely an audience with the Central Sumba Regency DPRD. The debate between women’s groups and people’s representatives at audience meetings was very interesting. After going through a long process of study, discussion and reinforcement—self-distrust to the power of speech, difficulty going out of the house and then proposing to join in—in the end, everything went well.

At the hearing, the mothers wanted to talk about natural resources because they helped being the caretakers of nature. Furthermore, the mothers seemed to focus on water governance, their involvement in water management, so that water remains clean, good, and safe for families, for children, agriculture and animals. Everything had to do with the lives of women and the environment.

At the audience meeting between the women and the DPRD (the local Parliament), the DPRD tried to listen to the voices of the mothers. They took the time amidst the tight schedule of the DPRD and also invited the district Regional Organization (OPD). The Board was reminded that in 2012 there was a gold mine conflict in the Paleti Alira Hills. Information about the involvement of women

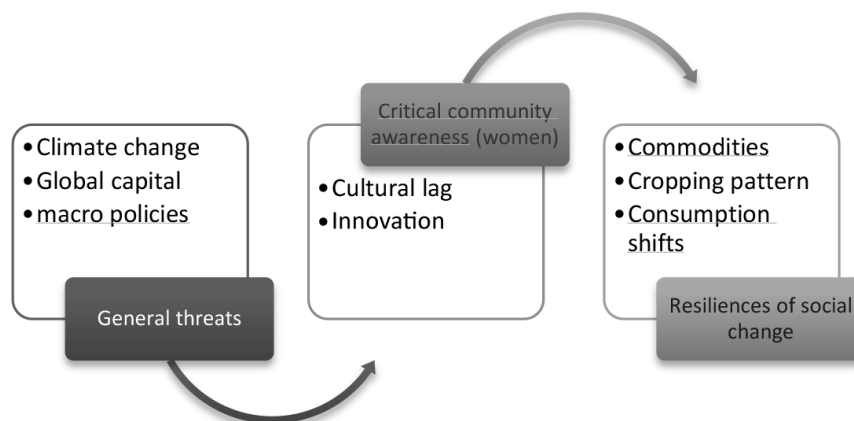


Image 1: Food Sovereignty and Locality
Source: compiled by the writer based on the fieldwork

in the refusal of mining operations was the basis for the DPRD to invite related OPDs, namely the Environment Agency, the Office of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection.

Discussions with representatives of the people were enthusiastic because women urged and ensured their aspirations were heard as the people’s representatives were presumed to not be hard-working and lacking an interest about women’s needs. The critical issue voiced in the DPRD building was the same as the identity that has been described earlier, namely the health of women and children, management of water resources, roads, electricity lighting, protection of company activities that threaten the lives of Sumba people.

The parliament responded that women must learn again, so that they can become important partners for the government and parliament. The participants answered the challenge, they explained that women were able to speak out, work together, organize themselves in organizations, learn to enter coalitions and fight. Access to room in order to voice opinions was indeed still difficult to achieve. Even through organizations, it is not always easy to get access to a platform to express one’s opinions.

The narrative debate in the parliamentary session room shows the narrative of women building strength, mobilizing many parties, and using their voice to speak to a broader forum. This is one of the valuable study findings, namely the subaltern group tries to penetrate the space where they can voice their concerns and open a third space. These spaces not only mean an opportunity, but also the result of the struggle for identity through the space of recognition that was not there before, the struggle for women’s identity as agencies. Image 2 below helps us understand the flow of recognition of women “becoming” agencies.

Conclusion

Analysis and documentation of natural resource governance is different through the feminism approach. Through the praxis of gender analysis and clarifying the existence of women as well as their experience and knowledge, the actual situation and its risks appear. Women are at every stage, but sometimes they are mentioned, sometimes they are not: women in natural resource governance, such as ignorance groups. Although in fact, at each stage there is a process of strengthening awareness against what the social movement discourse calls political consciousness. Freire and Mendes said the entry of the community to fight oppression is the quality of consciousness.

Feminism provides a comprehensive solution, at least extending social studies about the sketches of people’s lives and women’s position. Postcolonial feminism enriches the female agency perspective: (1) awareness of collectivity in voicing interests—formulating the concept of women’s movements. (2) The local women’s movement contests masculinity, which does not think about the priority needs of homes, family members, children. The dichotomy of the “affairs” of women and men has hampered the achievement of welfare. The mythical dichotomy actually distances itself from the vision of “harmony” in family and community. The doctrine of women as family poles, community poles and state poles, is just a slogan. Poles without strength are only lies. (3) Mothers are contesting fathers and governments who never want to admit that women are great. They hope that in every meeting women can strengthen themselves and not feel helpless. Independent women’s organizations must remain, stay alive to support struggling mothers. They offer to voice that women must jointly break down

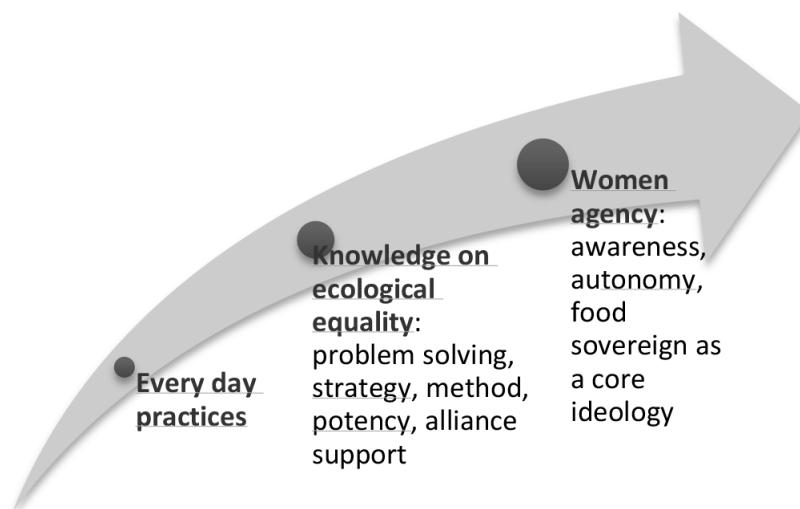


Image 2: Women’s identity as a Socio-political Agency
Source: analyzed by the author based on fieldwork results

barriers and declare to the outside audience that women are great figures.

Advocacy does not place women as complementary and “sweetening” elements. Instead, they become a key element in the policy changes that are to be achieved. Women’s knowledge must be the basic standard in designing critical education. At this stage, this is the importance of critical education of citizens. Activism such as negotiations, networking, congress is a space to build political awareness. It is important to consider that women’s critical education is not only prepared for electoral politics. Education for women must strengthen awareness.

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