

## Women's Everyday Forms of Resistance to the Acceleration of the TORA and SF Policies

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Manuscript Chronology: received 31 January 2022, revised 16 March 2022, accepted 11 April 2022

### Abstract

This paper analyzes the women's everyday forms of resistance in formal and informal spaces, to the acceleration of the Land Objects for Agrarian Reform ('Tanah Objek Reforma Agraria'-TORA) and Social Forestry (SF) policies in Sigi Regency in Central Sulawesi. The women's resistance is a broader manifestation of *To-Kaili* philosophy regarding the role of women as the center and base in maintaining harmony between God, humans, and nature, including in the management of agrarian resources ('sumber-sumber agraria'-SSA). Women who are fighting for gender-based agrarian justice still encounter some obstacles, including limited awareness of gender-based agrarian justice and the resistance not yet being dominant.

Keywords: Social Forestry, agrarian reform, everyday forms of resistance, agrarian justice, gender justice

### Introduction

Agrarian justice can be achieved through the fair distribution of control of agrarian resources. However, to date, land tenure in Indonesia has been unequal. Data from Statistics Indonesia shows the inequality of land ownership in 2013 was 0.68. This figure signifies that 1% of Indonesians controlled 68% of the land. According to the Center for Research and Development of the Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency 2019, the Gini Index—a measure of Land Ownership Inequality—for the Main Islands of Indonesia was 0.68 for Java, 0.80 for Sumatra, 0.78 for Kalimantan, 0.73 for Sulawesi, 0.68 for Bali and Nusa Tenggara, and 0.66 for Maluku and Papua. A Gini index of more than 0.5 represents high inequality.

Inequality of land ownership in Indonesia currently manifests in two ways; between classes in the agriculture sector (distribution inequality) and in the allocation of agrarian resources between the sectors; corporations and people (allocation inequality) (Shohibuddin 2019). In addition, there is another form of agrarian inequality known as "gender-based agrarian resources inequality".

Gender-based agrarian resources inequality continues to occur across the globe. The World Bank reports that in Africa, Asia, North America, and South

America, men's ownership of land is much larger than women's. The Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) in 2014 stated that fewer than 1% of land certificates across the globe were owned by women, while in Indonesia, that figure was only 0.3%. Ramadanu and Harfianty (2018) state that, in Indonesia, almost all land rights certificates are owned by men. However, when women do have access to land, inherit land, or have strong land ownership rights, they are able to make positive contributions such as increasing their income and improving their children's health (Landesa 2016).

According to Agarwal (2002), there are several factors that prevent women from having greater access and control of lands including inheritance law, administrative bias, and the problem of household-based land transfer. Men are usually the recipients of land transfers because it is thought they provide the same benefits to all family members, although often the opposite happens. Agarwal advocates formal (individual) land ownership for women, such as in the Land Objects for Agrarian Reform (TORA) program in Indonesia. Meanwhile, there are other land access mechanisms, such as the Social Forestry program, in which the land is not owned by individuals, but they can obtain the right to use it. TORA and Social Forestry aim to encourage equitable distribution of agrarian

resources for communities living in or near forests. In practice, gender-based inequality of land access and control is very likely to occur in both programs. Ratnasari, Siscawati, and Soetjipto (2020) outline the many layers of exclusion faced by female heads of households in the implementation of TORA. Likewise, in the Social Forestry scheme, despite regulations that encourage women's participation, women's access to and control of resources are still limited. This is because gender equality and women's empowerment perspectives have not been adequately applied in the implementation of forest tenure reform (Siscawati 2020).

The above examples indicate that access and control of agrarian resources are still far from being fair to women. Consequently, gender must be understood as a political issue that needs to be negotiated and debated (Elmhirst & Resurreccion 2008), especially in the TORA and Social Forestry programs. That is, supporters must continue to fight for gender equality in access and control of agrarian resources. There is a lot of evidence that women are at the forefront of managing and preserving agrarian resources; for example, the cases of female farmers in Kendeng/Rembang (Candraningrum 2014; Candraningrum 2016; Apriando 2014), women in Kulon Progo (Nugroho 2014), women in Parangkusumo (Marhamah 2016), and women in Mollo (Asriani 2014; Mangililo 2014; Maimunah 2015). Throughout human history and culture, women have had emotional, psychological, and spiritual closeness to agrarian resources (Shiva 1988). Despite women's roles in managing and preserving agrarian resources, women have frequently lost their rights and opportunities regarding agrarian resources.

This phenomenon cannot be separated from the capitalistic and patriarchal system that dominates various aspects of life; from the bedroom to the global stage. Instead of gender issues being used as a tool in the struggle for women's rights, under the dominant capitalist patriarchal system, gender equality is being eroded in the critical and political sphere (Kabeer 2005; Molyneux & Razavi 2005; Leach 2007). Thus, gender issues might be instead be used as a tool to expand capitalism and strengthen patriarchy, and perpetuate the destructive system.

This situation distracts gender activists from their main goal of transforming unequal social relations (Libretti 1997). For this reason, it is important to understand gender equality as the antidote to systemic patriarchal capitalism. Gender debates must disrupt and seize control of the hegemonic space, so as to create gender justice in access and control of agrarian resources, especially in the

TORA and Social Forestry programs. Thus, it is not enough to just answer the Agrarian Question and understand the dynamics of agrarian change and farmers (and workers) (Bernstein 2019), but we must also answer the Woman Question for gender-based agrarian resources justice to occur (Delap 2011). However, the integrity of national policies and regulations regarding agrarian resources is in decline; for example, Presidential Decree No. 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 83 of 2016 on Social Forestry, and Minister of Environment and Forestry Regulation No. 9 of 2021 on Management of Social Forestry. Whereas the Agrarian Reform Law No. 5 of 1960 (UUPA 5/1960) refers to women as subjects who need protection, justice, rights, opportunities, and to benefit from agrarian resources. On the other hand, Presidential Decree No. 86 of 2018 does not even explicitly mention the word "women". Women have been made invisible since the regulations were formally legal. Meanwhile, although the regulations from the Minister of Environment and Forestry provide equal opportunities to men and women as recipients of Social Forestry, the decision-making spaces remain patriarchal. Consequently, we can see that the policies of TORA and Social Forestry at the legislative and implementation level contain bias.

The elimination of the word "women" in policy documents and policy implementation is a warning sign for women. Eliminating women—who are the targeted recipients of the policies regarding access and control of agrarian resources—in documents and on a practical level, is a criminal act that can trigger the phenomenon of femicide<sup>1</sup> (WHO 2012) because it deprives women of the right to life. The fatal effects are widespread and can be felt even at the technical level, such as in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies, because Indonesia is a country that is highly respectful of the bureaucracy and administration (Kasmiati 2021; Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

## Research Method

This study used a qualitative approach with a feminist perspective. Data was collected through participatory observations in Bunga Village, Palolo District, and Balumpewa Village, Dolo Barat District, Sigi Regency. Sigi Regency was chosen because it has a very large forest area and is a pilot site for TORA and Social Forestry programs. The researchers believe Sigi Regency can adequately show the role, position, and participation of women in promoting fair access and control of agrarian resources in the TORA and Social Forestry schemes at

the micro-business level (home-based business). Field research was carried out from October to November 2020. Primary data was collected through interviews, and field observations. The researchers also conducted a desk study to collect secondary materials and data.

### Agrarian Resources and Mechanisms of Control

Agrarian resources, according to article 1 paragraphs 1–5 UUPA 5/1960, are: all the earth, water, and airspace, including the natural resources contained therein. The Indonesian government created two schemes to manage control and access to agrarian resources: TORA and Social Forestry. TORA deals with land controlled by the State and/or land owned by the community for redistribution or legalization (Presidential Regulation 86 of 2018 on Agrarian Reform, article 1, number 4). The term TORA is often used to refer to the Joko Widodo administration's Agrarian Reform Program. Meanwhile, Social Forestry is a sustainable forest management system conducted in State Forest Zones or Private Forests/Customary Forests by local communities or customary law communities to improve welfare, environmental balance, and socio-cultural dynamics in the form of Village Forests, Community Forests, Community Forests, Customary Forests, and Forestry Partnerships (Government Regulation 23 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Forestry, article 1). The basic difference between TORA and social forestry is that TORA focuses on legislation and land redistribution that leads to ownership rights, while Social Forestry can only grant State forest management permits through five access mechanisms: Village Forests, Community Forests, Community Plantation Forests, Customary Forests, and Forestry Partnerships.

Women have not treated equally in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies. Their access and control of agrarian resources were once regulated through the Basic Agrarian Law/UUPA 5/1960. The objective of this law was to implement Indonesian Socialism; agrarian resources were to be controlled by the State to bring the largest possible prosperity to the people in terms of democracy, welfare, and freedom for the society and the legal State of Indonesia which is independent, sovereign, just, and prosperous (article 2 paragraph 1 – 3). In article 9 paragraph 2, it expressly states that "Every Indonesian citizen, both men and women, has an equal opportunity to acquire a land right and to obtain the benefits and yields thereof for himself/herself or for his/her family." The article explains that there is a need for protection for vulnerable groups related to "The sale/purchase, exchange, gifting, bequest

by a will, grant under custom and other acts which are intended to transfer a right of ownership and the control of such acts are to be regulated by way of a Government Regulation" (article 26 paragraph 1) and the occurrence of excessive control of other people's living and jobs in agrarian-related business (article 11 paragraph 1).

The key ideas of UUPA 5/1960 were the forerunners to regulations that encourage the abolition of class, and create a gender-egalitarian society. In UUPA 5/1960, it is clear that access and control of agrarian resources must not only be analyzed using a class approach (setting the maximum limit on agrarian-related business) but must also be accompanied by a gender justice approach (... men and women, has an equal opportunity to acquire a land right...). That is, access and control of agrarian resources will not be achieved if there is still inequality in the implementation of access and control of agrarian resources, and vice versa. A class approach and gender justice are needed simultaneously to realize access and control of agrarian resources.

Based on the main principles of the UUPA 1960, inserting class and gender justice perspectives into the TORA and Social Forestry programs at the policy and implementation levels is a political opportunity for women to fight for their rights to agrarian resources. However, women must be alert to the possibility of re-exclusion, including in the implementation of the TORA and the Social Forestry programs. As stated by one of the participants of TORA and Social Forestry in Sigi Regency:

"... If there is no gender perspective at the macro-level (the roadmap of agrarian reform in Sigi Regency), then it fails to see the vulnerability of women. TORA and Social Forestry (in Sigi Regency) prioritize the perspective of the vulnerable and the perspective of women. Those perspectives can be applied when women participate in the meetings. If they do not participate, we will never know what their problems are. We do not know whether or not they have access to land. That is why women's participation is important. So, we invite not only the distinguished people but also the women of the village, so that their voices can be voiced. (DR, a female member of GTRA Sigi 2020, interviewed on 15 November).

The above statement illustrates several things: 1) The interests of women have not been considered in official government documents when initiating TORA and Social Forestry programs; 2) Women's participation (with a feminist perspective) in official organizations is very important because it is obvious that women's interests have not been accommodated for in formal documents; and 3) The presence of women with a feminist perspective—at the micro and meso levels—

will open wider and more inclusive participatory spaces for women. Thus, the presence of female subjects with feminist awareness becomes a defense against the possibility of structural deprivation of agrarian resources (Kuswardono 2021).

### **The Personification of Women in the Living Space of the Kaili Community in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village**

Women and men have different knowledge and responsibilities regarding agrarian resources, which leads to a fundamental difference in their roles in managing them (UNECLAC 2021). Men are typically associated with culture, while women are considered to have a higher affinity with nature (Shiva 1988). For communities that have a culture with a strong reciprocal relationship to nature, women are highly respected.

According to the life philosophy of the Kaili people (To-Kaili), the meaning of women is reflected in myths, perspectives and beliefs, customs, and daily activities. To-Kaili believes that To-Manuru, the woman who turned into Yellow Bambu (Bolvatu Bulava), was the first woman in the plains; the place where To-Kaili now reside (Nisbah 2019). To-Kaili places women at the center and basis of controlling social life and strengthening collective values in their groups; bringing balance to the relationship between humans, nature, and "Pekahowiaa" (God) (Amir 2013; Nisbah 2019).

The personification of women can be seen in "Tina Ngata" (Tina = mother or female subject; Ngata = village) and "Bulonggo". These terms have the same meaning; a woman who guards inheritance, ensures family harmony, mediates conflict, gives advice to fellow ethnic members, and is a quality controller of their generation (Nisbah 2019). Furthermore, a woman's role can be seen in "balia" (traditional rituals). "Tina Nubalia" (the female traditional leader of balia) and "Tina Nuombe" (the female organizer and administrator of traditional ritual banquets) play an important role in balia (Palu 2015). Most of these roles are still practiced by To-Kaili, especially in villages where customs and people's relationship with nature are still strong.

### **Kaili Women's Everyday Forms of Resistance in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village**

Everyday forms of resistance is a form of resistance that is integrated into the social life of a community. Resistance is the natural response of groups that do not have power but deserve justice. Therefore, everyday forms of resistance should not be considered an unusual

act (Scott 1989; Vinthagen & Johansson 2013). Everyday forms of resistance is a disguised form of resistance to appropriation. However, these actions indirectly show that the oppressed are fighting to overcome the injustices they face but, at the same time, are burdened by the fear of reprisal for their actions. Everyday resistance is carried out through small actions that are subtle and symbolic.

The various forms of everyday resistance carried out by Kaili women in formal spaces are a disruption to achieve agrarian justice. They participate in the TORA and Social Forestry acceleration agenda from the micro level (village level) to the meso level (district level). Female actors' participation in the formal space is a broader manifestation of To-Kaili's philosophy of the role of women as the center and base of maintaining harmony between God, humans, and nature, including in the management of agrarian resources. Women's fight against injustice in access and control of agrarian resources at the household, community, and district administrative levels in Sigi Regency shows that women possess the agency to accelerate a class and gender justice approach within TORA and Social Forestry.

Women's use of creative intelligence to resolve the issue of access and control of agrarian resources in the wider political realm—such as the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry policies—is an explicit action of tacit knowledge<sup>2</sup> (Dampney, Busch, & Richards 2002). For generations, To-Kaili women have possessed the knowledge to maintain harmony between God, humans, and nature. Thus, women's participation is not just an option or a complementary element, but is fundamental, and a requisite for achieving justice.

The actions of women in Bunga Village and Balumpewa Village in their fight for agrarian and gender injustice with "small-scale" everyday resistance is, indirectly, a form of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming has yet to be implemented in Social Forestry despite the existing rules and guidelines for formulating gender-responsive program evaluation, disaggregated data, working group structures, and training (Desmiwati 2016). It is not surprising that Kaili women have developed tactics to participate in efforts to accelerate gender perspectives in TORA and Social Forestry.

### **Women's Resistance in Bunga Village**

Bunga Village in Palolo District is an old village in the Palolo Valley. The village was originally located on a mountain but, because of conservation policies, the villagers had to move and rebuild it on lower land. It is

not only the change in location that has transformed the character of Bunga Village, but also a wave of transmigration and the trend of cocoa commodities have accelerated an increase in population. Bunga Village is a haven for local and foreign transmigrants; however, the original population of Bunga Village (To-Kaili-Ta) still outnumber the transmigrants (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

As a village that has been transformed multiple times, Bunga Village is not like the traditional villages in Kaili or Kulawi, which still practice traditional rituals. However, the principles of To-Kaili life are still commonly practiced at the household level, especially when it comes to ownership of agrarian resources, which, for many communities in the area, is based on customary rules. Land ownership for the Bunga Village community means ownership of land obtained through inheritance from their parents, whether they have proof of legal ownership according to the State or just an oral agreement.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, the government considers ownership of agrarian resources to mean ownership of formal documents (Sales and Purchase Agreement, Letter C, certificate, or Decree of Forest Management Permit from various Social Forestry schemes). The logic of ownership of agrarian resources is interpreted differently by the Bunga Village community and arguably for many communities in the area based on customary rules. Land ownership for the Bunga Village community means ownership of land obtained from the inheritance of their parents, whether they have proof of legal ownership according to the state or just an oral agreement.<sup>3</sup>

Agrarian resources that are inherited include plantations, land for other uses, and forest areas. In Bunga Village, land inheritances are distributed when a child gets married, not after the parents have died (Tim Hema Hodo 2013). Daughters and sons get an equal share.<sup>4</sup> In special cases, daughters receive more than sons. Thus, in a household, it is possible for both wife and husband to own their own land (after the certificate is made). On the other hand, if the parents only lend the land to their children, the children only have management rights and do not have the right to transfer (sell or rent) the land to other people (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021). This case shows that, at a certain level, the people of Bunga Village have a distinctively gender-equitable consensus regarding agrarian resource ownership. However, this view contradicts the State's formal logic. The State's process of legalizing agrarian resource ownership is patriarchal because land ownership is granted to the head of the family, the majority of whom are male. Gender justice

as it relates to access and control of agrarian resources needs to be expanded, such as in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry.

When managing inherited land, women tend to control all stages of land cultivation; from pre-planting, planting, and harvesting, to post-harvesting, including decisions on seeds, fertilizers, and the commodities (plants) to be planted. Women take care of inherited land independently or by hiring labors. Meanwhile, men tend to cultivate inherited land themselves. Generally, men do not interfere in the management of their wife's inherited land. In recent years, parents have been reluctant to pass on land ownership to their children, which has created a new phenomenon of landless households (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021).

If only one member of the household owns inherited land, land cultivation is usually carried out together through an equal division of labor based on the type of commodity (plants). The husband prepares the land for planting, sprays fertilizer, and cuts the grass. Meanwhile, the wife prepares lunch for the family. The wife gets involved during harvest and post-harvest activities. The wife is also responsible for selling the harvest to the wholesaler. In this phase, the wife often uses her power to get additional money from the harvest profit for household needs. After the harvest is weighed by the wholesaler, the wife does not tell their husband the true quantity of the harvest. If the harvest weighs 25 kilograms, they report to their husbands that it weighs 20 kilograms. They use the profit from that extra 5 kilograms as extra money for living expenses. This is a common strategy to manage financial problems.

This strategy is employed because their husbands do not give them extra money to cover their daily needs if they spend it all before the end of the month. Consequently, the only option to get enough money to meet household needs is through this strategy. Wives usually work with collectors so that this strategy does not "leak" to their husbands (Oktaviana & Naharoh 2021). This occurrence shows that even in the most difficult situation, women can use unique and creative ways to find solutions. Women are aware that certain spheres of oppression cannot be fought directly but can be disrupted using strategic means. This subversion is a form of the silent resistance described by Pramono (2018), and part of the everyday forms of resistance practiced by some women in broader and more formal spaces, such as the TORA and Social Forestry acceleration committees at the village level.

### **A Portrait of Female Actors in Bunga Village.**

The TORA and Social Forestry acceleration committee in Bunga Village is not an inclusive space for women. However, there are female subjects who attempt to break the mould so women's needs can be presented in public discussions. The strategy used is the same as that of the everyday resistance used in households—silent resistance; that is, women confer with their fellow village officials, who are almost entirely men, before the formal forum is carried out to ensure the forum's decisions are fair to women. This strategy is not always successful because decision making is often carried out in an undemocratic, or even authoritarian, manner. Thus, when injustices occur, women must protest openly and directly (manifest resistance).

On several occasions, the role of women in the acceleration agenda of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village has been very significant. Agrarian inequality and the agricultural land crisis are the main reasons for the resistance to TORA<sup>5</sup> and Social Forestry in Bunga Village. For example, when the Indicative Map of Social Forest Area in Sigi Regency was issued by the Center for Forest Area Consolidation Region XVI Palu, part of Bunga Village was recommended for Social Forestry, instead of TORA. Unfortunately, the recommended forest area was very small and did not meet the community's expectations, and the need for agricultural land in Bunga Village was very high (Oktaviana 2021). Responding to this situation, female actors involved in TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village invited the community to prioritize residents who did not own land to be recipients of TORA and Social Forestry. The proposed categories of priority residents were female heads of family, landless widows, new households without inherited land, and landless households. The suggestion to prioritize particular residents incorporates a class approach and a gender justice approach in access and control of agrarian resources, especially in the implementation of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village.

One of the female actors involved in TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village is Mama Y. Mama Y does not have Bunga Village ancestral lineage. She has Manado heritage (through her great-grandmother) and is a resident of Jono-Oge Village. Her entire extended family lives in Jono-Oge Village. Mama Y does not own any inherited land in Bunga Village. Her husband is a palm nectar farmer and maker of traditional alcoholic beverages. He does not own any arable land in the proposed TORA and Social Forestry areas. Mama Y and her husband are not beneficiaries of TORA and Social Forestry programs.

Mama Y participates in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry because of her desire to see improvements for the people of Bunga Village. Since she moved to Bunga Village, she has seen many residents become unemployed because they do not own land, especially young people and new households. Mama Y's significant role in accelerating TORA and Social Forestry programs is considered a reformist action carried out by a reformist actor (Fox 1993). "Reform" in this case refers to an attempt to change the structure of access and control of agrarian resources in Bunga Village, especially for people who do not own any arable land.

As a reformist, Mama Y is not only active in TORA and Social Forestry, but is a prominent female actor in many village organizations, such as farmers groups, the Joint Business Group (KUBE), children's educational institutions, and religious organizations. In the farmers group, she serves as a secretary. She is the chairman of KUBE and a creator of local spiced soy sauce products there. In religious organizations, Mama Y participates in activities with female villagers and young women. Mama Y's daily activities serve as a good example to other women in her village. Mama Y also inspires others in informal spaces, such as by visiting her neighbor's house and by participating in community celebrations. All these activities are carried out in order to motivate the women of Bunga Village into public participation. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm of other women to participate in organizations or activities does not match Mama Y's.

Mama Y's commitment to promoting social transformation in her region have led to her being appointed as a village representative to participate in training organized by the district government or civil society organisations. In general, Bunga Village residents are not very interested in participating in such activities. Most women in Bunga Village believe that participating in social activities and training has limited impact. This perspective contradicts the view of Mama Y, who feels that her knowledge has increased since attending the trainings. She believes the knowledge she gains from the training is important for herself and her community. Training and seminars provide her with the knowledge that becomes the capital and foundation of the struggle for justice regarding agrarian resources.

"At the meeting, at first, I was not interested in it because what was discussed was land issues. So, I thought, why are women involved when it comes to land issues (not men)? Then on the second day, in the afternoon, after a while, I thought it was necessary for women to participate in the discussion on land issues. After that (the training sessions), when there are discussions (about land) I am

always appointed as a representative of the village." (Mama Y, female actor in Bunga Village 2020, interviewed on 22 November).

The lack of women in key activities, especially in TORA and Social Forestry, means Mama Y has few female warrior friends. Mama Y is arguably the only woman surviving in a male-dominated work space. Mama Y sees this situation as an opportunity to elicit information from men, such as information about social assistance or funding for the village, which is only discussed between male village officials. Thus, getting along with men is Mama Y's strategy to get information that she can share with her female friends.

Despite being a known reformer, Mama Y is still excluded from some village activities. For instance, she was not appointed by the village government to manage the funds/logistics for the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) team, even though she is the secretary of the PRA team and the secretary of the Village Deliberation Agency. These positions give Mama Y legitimacy to participate; unfortunately, on several occasions, she was not invited. To combat this issue, Mama Y gathers as much information as possible from her trusted fellow village officials and invites them to discuss the information and the discrepancies outside of the formal forums. To avoid conflict, she does not make this an open discussion.

Mama Y organizes meetings at her home to discuss accelerating the TORA and Social Forestry programs. She invites villagers to discuss access and control of agrarian resources in Bunga Village. The discussions at Mama Y's house are more comfortable than those at the village office; even the men tend to feel shy about speaking out in formal discussions. As for the women, they usually do not attend meetings about TORA and Social Forestry if their husbands are attending. Female villagers will attend a meeting when their husbands are unable to attend but, recently, Mama Y has been inviting female villagers, regardless of whether they own land, to attend the discussions to benefit women's interests. Mama Y is also involved in the mapping of lands proposed by the villagers for inclusion in TORA and Social Forestry.

Mama Y wields a lot of power in the village. One example of her efforts to mitigate conflict involves a new resident (from South Sulawesi) who lived in the forest with his family members (who had previously been registered as residents of Bunga Village). This new resident had been working on land in the forest, while many other Bunga Village residents were still having trouble getting arable land. Mama Y immediately urged the resident to report to the village head. This situation

had the potential to trigger a conflict between residents. Thus, it must be handled properly.

Mama Y's resilience in managing herself and her time, and her ability to gain access to male-dominated formal and informal spaces and fight for agrarian justice and gender justice is a form of everyday resistance. She uses her access to formal spaces to gain knowledge and information, which she then shares in informal spaces with those who cannot access formal spaces. This action is part of her strategy against unfair access to knowledge. Mama Y belongs to a minority group in her community; she is a woman and not a native of Bunga Village. However, as Agarwal (2002) says, women's participation is influenced by individual attributes. Mama Y's ability to organize and negotiate in formal and informal spaces, plus her broad knowledge, has put her in a position that allows her to participate in public decision making at the village level.

Furthermore, Mama Y has proven herself to be a To-Kaili woman because her actions to take control of agrarian resources, which are dominated by class- and gender-biased practices, are not limited by her ethnicity but are based on the To-Kaili's philosophy. Thus, the whole space becomes a sphere of struggle and resistance for agrarian and gender justice.

The above account shows that the position of women in Bunga Village is unique; instead of prioritizing the quantitative data (the number of female participants), the focus is on the quality of women's participation in Bunga Village. In fact, only 2–3 women participate in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry in Bunga Village, compared with 10–15 men. However, the role of women is very significant as they are key initiators and actors in the spaces of discussion and practice. Hence, women (female household heads and landless widows) and poor households have been prioritized in TORA and Social Forestry. Women in Bunga Village play an important role when it comes to access and control of agrarian resources—not only to solve daily problems but also to contribute to the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry using unique methods. Thus, we can see that female actors are initiators and dynamic forces in the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry programs in Bunga Village.

### Women's Resistance in Balumpewa Village

Balumpewa Village is the old village of the Topo-Inde people (a Kaili sub-ethnic group). It is a homogeneous community inhabiting the forests, mountains, and

hills that are now included in the Protected Forest and Conservation Forest of Wera Natural Tourism Site. The Topo-Inde people have lived in the area since the 1900s, before Indonesia's independence. The main occupation of the residents is farming. For the residents, forests, gardens, and fields are a source of livelihood.

The Topo-Inde people's philosophy is "tampa mangelo katuva" ("a place to find life"). Losing land means losing a source of life; like living "at the tip of one's fingernail". This analogy illustrates how the Topo-Inde people will become vulnerable if they lose their land. Another meaning of "living at the tip of one's fingernail" is that landless people will become cultivators who live under the command of others. This way of life is contrary to the Topo-Inde principle of life, which promotes land cultivation to support their households through an egalitarian system (Kasmianti 2021), and where men and women work together to cultivate the land. There is a concept known as "siampale mengolah tanah." That is, the Topo-Inde people cultivate the land and crops through "gotong-royong" ("voluntary mutual assistance"). In "siampale" activities, people voluntarily work together; they are given lunch, but they do not get paid. This example shows that Topo-Inde people avoid labor relations and tend to value cooperation (Kasmianti 2021). Men and women of Topo-Inde have equal opportunities to own and cultivate the land. The distribution of land in Balumpewa Village is similar to that of Bunga Village, which is based on an inheritance system.

Traditional land management practices means Topo-Inde women are accustomed to managing land in forest areas and other land use areas; thus, having women engage in public programs such as TORA and Social Forestry is not unique. Topo-Inde women are motivated, and invite and encourage other women to participate in TORA and Social Forestry. Topo-Inde ancestral lands have been claimed as State land and given the status of Conservation Forest and Protected Forest. Realizing that their ancestral lands are being "State-ized",<sup>6</sup> women have taken the initiative to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry to reclaim access rights and control of the land.

Recently, the results of the verification by the Settlement of Land Tenure in State Forests team of Balumpewa Village were released. The results recommended that Topo-Inde land located in forest areas should be part of TORA and Social Forestry, which covers an area of 1,653.04 hectares. Based on this recommendation, the people of Topo-Inde are willing to push for the Customary Forest scheme if their ancestral lands cannot be included in TORA. Unfortunately, the

process of determining Customary Forest status is hampered by administrative requirements that are not inclusive. For instance, the Topo-Inde people must detail their existing customary system in a formal document. However, the Topo-Inde people maintain their customary system through oral traditions. This oral tradition is part of the effort to maintain the customary system. Because of these administrative complications, Topo-Inde women instead continue to manage agrarian resources through occupying Topo-Inde inherited lands in forest areas. This action is a form of everyday resistance to continue to support the household. For Topo-Inde women, to resist is to continue planting, cultivating, and preserving their ancestral lands.

### A Portrait of Female Actors in Balumpewa Village

The woman who started the resistance in Balumpewa Village is a young woman named "O". Her awareness of the issues grew through various discussions with her husband, "Bung T", who was an activist at his campus. Bung T had already participated in various student movements and farmer assistance programs before marrying O and becoming a resident of Balumpewa Village. Bung T is well educated, respected, communicative, and sociable. He has always helped O to improve her knowledge about the unequal control of agrarian resources in her village. O is the daughter of the village head and the head of the church youth group named Gerakan Pembawa Suluh (GPS). These two positions are important because Balumpewa Village is an old village whose entire population adheres to the Christian Salvation Army. It is O's social capital in organizing women's groups in her area that gives her the strength to participate in the efforts to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry in her village.

O's first act was to build resistance within her family so that all her family members understood the domination of agrarian resources that was occurring in their village. The conversation began when "Mama O" (O's biological mother) returned home and told O that she had seen forest rangers setting stakes on her arable land. O responded by explaining that the arable land had been "claimed" as State land and, in the future, they might no longer be able to cultivate it.

O's explanation to her mother was as follows:

"The stakes that you saw in your arable land belong to Nature Conservation Agency (BKSDA). It means that it is no longer our land, it is no longer our garden, it belongs to BKSDA. We can still continue to plant now. But in a few years, if there is no change in policy, we cannot own it as arable land" (O 2022, interviewed on 21 November).



O stated that this incident did not only happen to her family, but also to other women. This information encouraged Mama O and other women to fight to accelerate TORA and Social Forestry in their village. Mama O fought back by pulling out the stakes on her arable land. This conflict occurred because the forest area in Balumpewa Village was defined without considering the living space of the Topo-Inde people who already lived there. In addition, the forest area in Balumpewa Village is disputed. According to the Decree of the Minister of Agriculture Number: 843/Kpts/Um/11/1980 dated 25 November 1980 on the establishment of Wera Natural Tourism Site, the forest area in Balumpewa Village is 250 hectares. Meanwhile, the Decree of the Minister of Forestry Number: SK.6586/Menhut-VII/KUH/2014 dated 28 October 2014 stipulates the area of Wera Natural Tourism Site is 349.39 hectares. These two decrees show a difference in Wera's area of almost 100 hectares. In addition, the Decree of the Minister of Forestry No. 869/Menhut-11/2014 designates about 2,050.53 hectares (91.06%) of the Balumpewa Village area as protected forest and conservation forest (Kasmiati 2021). These policies have taken over the living space in Balumpewa Village. Thus, motivating female actors to take the initiative to encourage the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry in Balumpewa Village.

It is unsurprising that O and her mother were the first to take action, even though they had to travel to Palu City to demand the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry. As people in positions of relative power in the village, they are able to encourage other women to join the struggle for equal access to agrarian resources. After successfully recruiting her mother to the cause, O then encouraged her cousins, closest neighbors, and other women to discuss agrarian resources. As a result, Topo-Inde women have initiated forms of resistance including pulling out the stakes that marked the forest boundaries, and more direct actions such as participating in demonstrations and attending meetings to discuss land issues. In some Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted by the researchers, the women of Balumpewa Village actively participated in discussions about the control of agrarian resources. Even though the number of women who participate is still far less than the number of men, it is inspiring to see that women have dared to voice their aspirations and take direct action.

Balumpewa women show us that village women are autonomous agents who can develop their own awareness and break the assumption that women are passive and men are active. In fact, women transcend

this binary perspective. The actions of O, her mother, and other women of Balumpewa Village are non-violent civil resistance. This model of resistance refers to a set of techniques used by ordinary people to challenge injustice and oppression with direct action tactics—tactics that operate outside of existing institutions and do not involve the threat of or actual violence (Principe 2017).

Actions that encourage the acceleration of TORA and Social Forestry are pioneered by women and supported by many parties such as the village government, young people, the church, and customary leaders; however, this does not mean it does not generate opposition. There are some people who reject this movement and accuse O's family of being "heretical" and contrary to the Indonesian philosophy of life. The attacks began when they raised the flag of a farmers group in the village, and they were accused of being heretical.<sup>7</sup>

"Since I started sharing information with young people in the village, there have been a lot of young people who are interested in participating in the discussion. Since then, we are called "heretical belief followers". They assumed that we monetized the demonstration, in fact, we funded our action on our own (O 2022, interviewed on 21 November).

Based on O's experience in Balumpewa Village, it can be seen that the participation of women in access and management of agrarian resources is very important. From the resistance of the village community, it is evident that a village's collective initiative grows and develops because of the agency of women. The root of women's strength is a speech or story that grows awareness into collective action. Women engage in a non-violent fight for the community's right to access agrarian resources.

Community members are now working together to carry out various forms of resistance; taking action, mapping land ownership, attending meetings, and devoting their time and what they have to achieve their goals. And it all started with the persistence of one woman named O who constantly shared stories with her community about the importance of accelerating TORA and Social Forestry in Balumpewa Village.

## Conclusion

The women of Sigi have resisted at various levels and have played a variety of roles in their fight to obtain their rights through TORA and Social Forestry. Sigi women's participation did not happen overnight. Their awareness and resistance was formed through a long process.

The story of women's resistance, as outlined in this article, occurs every day (informally) through the To-Kaili philosophy. However, in the context of accelerating the TORA and Social Forestry programs, women have to use more energy and achieve more progress because women's participation and interests have not been recognized in formal spaces. Hence, to overcome inequality in access and control of agrarian resources, and fight for equality of gender and in all levels of society, then the spaces that control these things must be reviewed through a critical perspective (class and gender). Mainstreaming women's interests in various levels of policy on access and control of agrarian resources, such as in the TORA and Social Forestry programs, should be the concern of all parties (men, women, and all social classes) at all levels (micro, meso, and macro) in informal and formal processes. Women's resistance needs to work in accordance with the principles of the revolutionary agenda for gender-based agrarian justice or what Scott (1985) calls "real resistance".

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## Endnotes:

1. Femicide is violence against women that comprises a wide range of acts—from verbal harassment and other forms of emotional abuse, to daily physical or sexual abuse, which at the far end of the spectrum is the murder of a woman.
2. Tacit knowledge is the knowledge we possess that is garnered from personal experience and context. Tacit knowledge includes skills, experience, insight, intuition, and judgment. Tacit knowledge is typically shared through discussion, stories, analogies, and person-to-person interaction and is, therefore,

- difficult to capture or represent in explicit form because individuals continually add personal knowledge, which changes behavior and perceptions.
3. Since the intensification of the land certification program, people have started to worry about the legal status of their inherited agrarian resources, which are considered by the State as “vacant land without owner” if there is no formal proof of land ownership. Simultaneously, the community has begun to obtain land certification for agrarian resources that are already theirs by custom.
  4. The term “equal” means that women and men who inherit land are not subjected to discrimination. Each will get a share of gardens, livestock, or houses in different locations.
  5. The total proposed area of TORA of Bunga Village is 417.11 hectares, consisting of 139.56 hectares of Limited Production Forest, 77.19 hectares of other land use, and 200.37 hectares of Lore Lindu National Park.
  6. “Stateization” is the process by which land (customary territory) is determined by the Government to be State property (forest area) based on Government authority.
  7. The accusation of being “heretical” implies that someone is considered to have left-wing political views, or still be affiliated with parties that are not accepted in Indonesia such as the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Furthermore, the color of the farmers group flag is red, which is closely associated with the PKI.