



Solidaritas Perempuan
Women's Solidarity for Human Rights

WOMEN AGAINST IMPOVERISHMENT

**34 Years Solidaritas Perempuan fighting
together with grassroots women**

WOMEN AGAINST IMPOVERISHMENT

*One year fighting together with
grassroots women*

**Solidaritas Perempuan 2024
Advocacy Annual Report**

Writer Team:

Andriyeni, Amelia, Herta Sihotang, Novia Sari,
Rima Melani Bilaut, Rizki Mareta, Yuni Warlif

Editor:

Armayanti Sanusi

Design and Layout

Enday Hidayat

Publish by:

Solidaritas Perempuan
Jl. Jatisari No.12A, RT.005/RW.007, Jati Padang,
Kec. Ps. Minggu, Kota Jakarta Selatan, 12540
Telp: (021) 22788677

E-mail: soliper@centrin.net.id

Website: www.solidaritasperempuan.org

LIST OF CONTENT

INTRODUCTION	1
WORD FROM THE WRITER TEAM	2
PROLOGUE: WOMEN AGAINST PATRIARCHY AND IMPOVERISHMENT	3
WEAKENING DEMOCRACY AND THE LACK OF PROTECTION FOR WOMEN	6
THE TREND OF AUTOCRATIC LEGALISM: THE USE OF LAW TO LEGITIMIZE UNDEMOCRATIC ACTIONS	9
WOMEN IMPOVERISHMENT BEHIND UNCONSTITUTIONAL POLICIES AND PROJECTS	11
Strategic Project Crimes: Evictions and Dispossession at Scale	12
Nurturing the Fire of Resistance: Rejecting the Expansion of Makassar New PSN Port	12
Food Estate: Alibi of Food Security VS Women's Resistance and Preserving Local Wisdom	15
Women in the Clutches of Extractive Industries	18
Wadas Women's Struggle to Protect Nature	24
Meninting Giant Dam and the Silence of Women's Stories who are displaced from their living space	31
Land Bank Agency an Effective and Systematic Eviction Model	35
Land Bank Agency for Resolving Agrarian Inequality or Just a Fake State Solution?	35
Job Creation Law a Legacy of Prolonged Agrarian Conflicts	39
Sugarcane Land in Takalar: Sweet for Rulers, but Bitter for Women	39
The Bitter Sugar of Sweet Love: Women who Continue to Fight for Their Living Space	42
Your cement is as solid as the oppression experienced by women in Aceh	45
Transmigration Privatization and the Plasma Partnership Mode	49

Protecting the Earth: Kolhua Women Strongly Resist The Development of Kolhua Dam	52
Lore Lindu National Park: A Model of Women's Expulsion Under the Pretext of Protecting the Environment	56

CLIMATE INVESTMENT AMBITIONS: STATE CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN	59
Geothermal: A False Solution to the Impoverishment of Women and Indigenous Peoples Indigenous Peoples	63
Women's "Action to Guard the Village" against Geothermal Development Geothermal Development in Poco Leok	66
Proven to Harvest Problems, Poso Energi's Hydropower Plant is Expanded	70
Climate Policy Direction (Should) Be for Women, Not Investment Interests	73

STRUCTURAL SLAVERY AND NEGLECT OF THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN MIGRANT WORKERS	75
Warta in Figures: Neglecting the Protection of Women Workers Migrant Workers and Their Families	77
Deadlock in the Implementation of PPMI Law	87

EPILOG: GRASSROOTS WOMEN CHALLENGE PATRIARCHY / STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY AGAINST WOMEN'S IMPOVERISHMENT	91
---	-----------

RECOMMENDATIONS	94
------------------------------	-----------

BIBLIOGRAPHY	95
---------------------------	-----------

SOLIDARITAS PEREMPUAN PROFILE	97
--	-----------

SOLIDARITAS PEREMPUAN COMMUNITY PROFILE	99
--	-----------

SOLIDARITAS PEREMPUAN WORK AREA	101
--	------------

INTRODUCTION

In 2024, Solidaritas Perempuan recorded the experience of collective resistance and the layered situation of women against structural impoverishment through a Advocacy Annual Report (catahu). Catahu is recorded and documented with the Solidaritas Perempuan community as an effort to voice the situation and various feminist initiatives continuously and consistently to encourage the recognition and fulfillment of women's rights.

The track record of women's resistance stories is expected to foster a spirit of solidarity in waging collective resistance. In addition, Catahu 2024 can also contribute as a strategic document to support the advocacy work of Solidaritas Perempuan in realizing women's human rights and equality in various domains amid layers of oppression due to the global economic power paradigm and the patriarchal political system that impoverishes women.

The National Executive Board of Solidaritas Perempuan expresses its highest appreciation to women at the grassroots level who have consistently remained in the line of resistance. In addition, we also express our gratitude to all administrators, members, and activists of Solidaritas Perempuan who continue to tirelessly maintain solidarity in strengthening and expanding the feminist political movement of the Solidaritas Perempuan.

Jakarta, 18 February 2024
National Executive Body
Solidaritas Perempuan

WORD FROM THE WRITER TEAM

The impoverishment of women has not yet ended in this country. The state continues to take actions that impoverish women by using the law as a means to achieve the goals of power. This can be seen from the policies implemented by the Prabowo regime, a legacy of the Jokowi regime, which experienced waves of rejection from the public, especially women, such as Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning Job Creation. Where the policy has given the state the freedom to fulfill its ambitions to increase investment from abroad and within the country, even though the process was carried out without consent and had to get rid of women.

This year, Solidaritas Perempuan presents another Advocacy Annual Report (Catahu) with the title “Women Against Impoverishment, A Year of Fighting Together with Grassroots Women to record traces of women's resistance against impoverishment”. Our highest appreciation goes to the 12 Solidaritas Perempuan Communities who have never stopped working with grassroots women to ignite the spirit of struggle to achieve women's sovereignty, despite having to face various obstacles and threats.

Various experiences of women become valuable lessons, not only providing an overview of the situation of women in the midst of patriarchal politics, but also the variety of struggles carried out by women in dealing with the state and corporations that deprive them of their rights. These experiences are documented from Solidaritas Perempuan's case advocacy with the SP Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh, SP Palembang, SP Sebay lampung, SP Anging Mammiri, SP Palu, SP Sintuwu Raya Poso, SP Kendari, SP Mataram, and SP Sum- bawa, SP Flobamoratas NTT and SP Mamut Menteng Central Kalimantan.

Hopefully, the 2024 Solidaritas Perempuan Catahu can be an input for policy makers in this country to see the situation and conditions of women as a whole so that they can present policies for the protection of women that are participatory and in accordance with the needs of women. It is also a foothold for women to continue to stir up the spirit to fight against impoverishment and domination and subordination of the state and to achieve their sovereignty.

Jakarta, 18 February 2024

Writer Team

PROLOGUE: WOMEN AGAINST PATRIARCHY AND IMPOVERISHMENT

The 2024 Solidaritas Perempuan Advocacy Annual Report or Catahu is an effort to take a picture of women's situation in 2024, particularly women's experience that collectively fighting against global economy system which capitalistic and using political patriarchal approach that not only oppressive and exploit, but also impoverish women. Structural and power relation that is not fair and unequal cause various women identity must face to face with state and private company power that seize the sovereignty and marginalize and even abolish women role and position in determine the decision and also in managing their livelihood resource.

2024, it is politics year that can show that Indonesia is currently experience democracy degradation. Power and sovereignty is not in the hand of the people accordance with the mandate of 1945 constitution, but has controlled by the interests of patriarchy political power in Indonesia which is based on political parties and oligarchy power. The 2024 election that sucks a budget until 76 trillion IDR¹ and often claimed as "party democracy" that running successfully and safe, but the real situation is there are many of deviation and far from the real democracy. The general election (PEMILU) of legislative and president, also the election of regional head elections (Pilkada) should become a democratic momentum that is substantive functioning as means to realize just, welfare, human rights and women's rights that are fair, equal and inclusion. However, in reality, the election become an arena for fulfilling the democratic model procedural under the control and power of oligarchy which is very patriarchal and marginalizing even destroy the people's particularly women's life.

Solidaritas Perempuan records the politics situation in Indonesia and not parted with the influence of global political economy. The global interest agendas has intervene the development policy system in Indonesia through various policies issued by the state. One of it is the Job Creation Law which take sides in the interests of industry extractive that marginalize and impoverish the people's especially women, as well as ignore human's rights.

Catahu will to unravel the facts about marginalization, oppression, and impoverishment against women as consequence the presence of various policy/regulation and also projects in the name of development. Solidaritas Perempuan notes that the process of patriarchal development and along with the

1 <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/tag/pemilu-2024>

oppression and impoverishment, had greatly affected 7.595 people in 57 villages in Indonesia, 3.624 women (47,7%) and 3.971 men (52,3%).²

First, Weakening Democracy and The Minimal Protection for Women.

This section analyzes the facts about patriarchal politics as an oligarchic transactional space to realize the ambition of green and blue economic development through extractive industries which is actually a false solution for the Indonesian people who have discriminated against women. The silencing of democracy through the **Autocratic Legalism Trend** using the law to legitimize undemocratic actions (Corales, 2015; Scheppele, 2018)

Second, The Impoverishment of Women Behind Unconstitutional Policies.

This Catahu section analyzes the impact of various development policies such as the Job Creation Law and its derivative regulations, and the policies of land bank agencies that impoverish women through systemic crimes of land grabbing and sources of community life in the implementation of National Strategic Projects (PSN) that destroy the lives of the surrounding community. Among others, crimes in the development of the Makassar New Port Project in Makassar, Geothermal in Lampung and East Nusa Tenggara, the Nickel Smelter Project in Palu and Kendari, the Dam Project in Jogja and West Nusa Tenggara, and the Food Estate Project in Central Kalimantan.

In addition, this section will also analyze the facts about **the Job Creation Law which has perpetuated the Legacy of Prolonged Agrarian Conflict** for the community and women through various agrarian conflicts that have occurred since the New Order era until now. Among others are the community conflict with the State-Owned Enterprise (BUMN) PT Perkebunan Nusantara (PTPN) in Takalar, South Sulawesi and Ogan Ilir Regency, South Sumatra, PT Solusi Bangun Andalas in Aceh, Lore Lindu National Park in Palu, Central Sulawesi, Kolhua Dam Development Plan in NTT, PT Sawit Jaya Abadi in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi. It also describes **women's initiatives in maintaining the fire of resistance** in fighting various development projects that impoverish women due to various patriarchal policies.

2. data source from SP Community and BPS 2024 compile by Solidaritas Perempuan

Third, Climate Investment Ambition that deceives women. This section describes the facts of the false solutions of climate change projects through various investments that were also negotiated by the Indonesian government at COP 29 through forest restoration, Food Estate projects, Geothermal to Hydroelectric Power Plants. These projects increasingly create inequality and impoverishment for women and indigenous peoples.

Fourth, Structural Impoverishment and The Dead End of Women's Protection. This section describes the facts of the feminization of migration due to marginalization and systemic impoverishment from various patriarchal developments in Indonesia.

Fifth, Strengthening Solidarity Against Women's Impoverishment. This section will call for a solidarity movement as an antithesis to women's resistance strategies to seize their sovereignty and create an equal and just world and life.

Various patriarchal development policies and programs have positioned women as objects rather than subjects who have an interest in their lives and sources of life. Women's experiences and situations in meeting the needs of themselves, their families and also their communities to survive have been ignored by the state to this day. Women's democratic spaces continue to be narrowed and even eliminated, both directly and indirectly.

In this situation, SP witnessed the movement of women farmers, women fishers and coastal, indigenous women, and women migrant workers who remained consistent at the heart of the resistance to fight for their sovereignty. Women consolidated themselves to seize political spaces starting from the village, knit solidarity and relentlessly moved to ignite the flashpoint of struggle in strengthening the feminist political movement to fight the patriarchal political system that disempowers women. The valuable experience of women in nurturing the movement through various collective initiatives became a valuable story in the 2024 Catahu, women's voices and struggles became the hope and light for an equal, just and sustainable world in the future.

WEAKENING DEMOCRACY AND THE LACK OF PROTECTION FOR WOMEN

In 2020-2021, the COVID-19 pandemic has caused a multidimensional crisis, which has also affected women's struggle against the dominance of power amidst false solutions. Various false solutions of policies and development presented by the state³ under the pretext of improving the welfare of society have in fact not brought benefits, in fact the government consciously and with great will continues to foster practices of oppression and eviction of women's living space for investment interests. Then in 2024 it was marked by the holding of the General Election which elected Prabowo as President. As in the previous Election, the 2024 Election will still be a space for the consolidation of oligarchy and capital interests which will also have an impact on women's lives. Today's politics still perpetuate patriarchal politics, although in the 2024 election women won 127 seats out of a total of 580 council members (DPR). There has been an increase in women's representation in the legislature, but this does not correlate with strengthening the protection of women or the fulfillment of women's rights in the legislative and budgeting processes in the DPR.

Indonesia has ratified CEDAW (The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) through Law No. 7 of 1984 concerning the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, in addition to issuing a number of other policies to protect women. Thus, the state should have the responsibility to protect women from all forms of discrimination and violence. However, the state remains the perpetrator of discrimination and violence through various policies that rely on investment, economic growth and development that have actually destroyed women. The political system that still relies on patriarchal characteristics increasingly ignores and sidelines women's experiences, situations, needs and communities.

Political systems that still rely on patriarchal traits increasingly ignore and sideline women's experiences, situations, needs and communities. The changing trend due to globalization, new technologies, the digital revolution, the spread of information and increasing autocracy, has a negative impact on the quality of democracy.

3. CATAHU Advokasi Kasus Solidaritas Perempuan Tahun 2020 dan 2021 <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1q0ZHOjvGy0Q296bIQfD-YZtgpM3F7ng/view> dan <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Agyh-Q250NKEbTm9DIX3lND-Hg2OIT76C/view>

Solidaritas Perempuan continues to record various acts of violence committed by the state as a reflection of the state facilitating the interests of capitalists and investment so that it runs smoothly. Repressive actions by armed forces to expel people, especially women, from their living spaces. These incidents are filled with human rights violations without any legal protection and meaningful resolution for people in the conflict circle.

Towards the end of his term, Jokowi together with the Indonesian House of Representatives and parties supporting the government are increasingly reckless in showing their ambitions in creating legal/policy products to realize the ambition of achieving investment growth targets and even targets to fulfill the interests of oligarchies and government supporters. The government is encouraging increased expansion of the extractive industry and infrastructure development through deregulation of investment procedures, synchronization and harmonization of licensing regulations formulated in the Job Creation Law. This effort is now being continued by President Prabowo through revisions to various legal provisions related to natural resource management, protection of migrant workers, the role of the TNI/Polri, downstreaming of the green economy and blue economy, and fake energy transition policies.

The consolidation of oligarchic power has given birth to various repressive actions when there was a wave of demonstrations rejecting the ratification of the Job Creation Law in 2021. It has also strengthened repressive digital actions to stop various protests initiated by various critical groups. Among other things, restrictions on internet access around the location of the action, the process of criminalization and disclosure of personal data to the public of human rights defenders who speak out digitally, and the layered vulnerabilities that will certainly be experienced by Women Human Rights Defenders. This tendency is increasingly worrying because the government will try to revise the Police Law by adding authority to carry out guidance, supervision and supervision of cyberspace, thus giving the Police room to abuse their power.

Currently, the political law package does not provide space for the public to determine who to elect and how to supervise the elected people. In fact, the law package has provided enormous space for political elites to determine the division of power between them. This trend shows that democracy is getting worse, especially after the ratification of the Criminal Code Bill at the end of 2022 which gives the state the power to use the law as a tool of power to criminalize and limit women's freedom of movement. What is concerning is that a number of laws that aim to provide protection and wider freedom of movement to the public, which have long been pushed, such as the Indigenous Peoples Bill, the PPRT Bill, are not at all a priority agenda of the DPR. On the contrary, the government and the DPR have actually closed the space for public participation in discussing various provisions of legislation that are dangerous or that limit the interests of the public, especially women.

The Nawacita agenda in the era of President Jokowi is just a story. Democracy or people's sovereignty is increasingly regressing and declining. The silencing of civil movements and the mass media continues to occur, the security and protection of the community is increasingly illusory. Not only that, Jokowi also uses his influence to build a political dynasty. The country's constitution is being torn apart, the weakening of the Constitutional Court to deliver his eldest son as the elected vice president in 2024.

The presence of President Prabowo after the 2024 Election did not bring any new changes. Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka actually continued and even strengthened what Jokowi inherited even though they carried Asta Cita by carrying the vision of "Together Indonesia Progressing Towards Golden Indonesia 2045", Asta Cita will be realized through strengthening Indonesia's downstream industrialization which includes renewable energy, fisheries, food, mining, and green jobs.

Therefore, at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) CEO Summit in Lima, Peru, Prabowo invited business actors in the Pacific region to invest in Indonesia. Then Hashim Djojohadikusumo as a representative of the Indonesian Government who is also Prabowo's brother strengthened Prabowo's statement when he attended COP 29 in Baku, Azerbaijan. According to him, the food crisis can be answered by continuing the food estate program. Prabowo and Hashim's statements are actually false illusions because their real goal is only to ask for financial assistance from developed countries.

The ambition of green and blue economic development as a way to create sustainable and environmentally friendly growth, sustainable utilization of marine resources for economic growth, improvement of people's lives, and health of marine ecosystems is actually a false solution for the Indonesian people. Why is that, because in reality the process to achieve this is actually carried out by destroying protected areas of life systems and even seizing women's living space.

THE TREND OF AUTOCRATIC LEGALISM: THE USE OF LAW TO LEGITIMIZE UNDEMOCRATIC ACTIONS

In strengthening centralized and oligarchic power, the Jokowi and Prabowo regimes developed an autocratic legalism government characterized by the use of law as a means to achieve the goals of power. This can be seen in a number of provisions of the Laws that were born in the Jokowi regime, and the most comprehensive is the Job Creation Law which uses the omnibus law method.

The idea of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation was first expressed by President Joko Widodo in his inauguration speech as President of the Republic of Indonesia for the second term, October 20, 2019. Despite the high wave of public rejection, within 7 months at least 64 meetings were held, until on October 5, 2020 it was passed and officially came into effect on November 2, 2020 as the Job Creation Law. Rejection of the Job Creation Law was carried out in various ways by many parties ranging from workers, academics, and even civil organizations. This bill was opposed because in addition to the closed drafting process and its conflict with Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Formation of Legislation, it was also because overall, starting from the reasons for the presence of this bill to the substance of the problematic articles, it could not be separated from the legal politics and orientation of the government's economic policy.

The Constitutional Court in its decision on November 25, 2021, stated that Law Number 11 of 2020 was conditionally unconstitutional. It was considered to be formally flawed in the discussion process, did not fulfill the element of openness and did not fulfill the provisions stipulated for the formation of a law as stated in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945). The Constitutional Court gave the lawmakers 2 years to improve the Job Creation Law. However, the government did not make improvements according to the Constitutional Court's decision, instead issuing Perppu Number 2 of 2022 which was ratified as Job Creation Law No. 6 of 2023.

The Job Creation Perpu is just one symptom of the implementation of authoritarianism wrapped in law. Political and constitutional law literature notes that this phenomenon is becoming a global trend because it is easy to hide. This phenomenon is called "autocratic

legalism", namely the use of law to legitimize undemocratic actions (Corales, 2015; Scheppele, 2018). The initial step is a planned attack by the authorities on institutions whose job is to oversee power. After all constitutional constraints are relaxed, the authorities will easily use legal instruments so that their actions seem right, even though they have actually violated the principles of the rule of law, even towards authoritarianism (Scheppelle, 2018)



WOMEN IMPOVERISHMENT BEHIND UNCONSTITUTIONAL POLICIES AND PROJECTS

The fundamental problem of the substance of the Job Creation Law has opened wide the door to threats of environmental destruction and protection of women's livelihoods and their families. This law has limited community access and control over the environmental licensing system, seized agrarian resources, threatened women's sovereignty over food, ignored labor rights and even provided space for the exploitation of women workers and marginalized women and strengthened gender inequality.⁴ This entire process has had an impact on increasing poverty for women in various regions, especially in centers of Natural Resource exploitation. This poverty can be witnessed with the naked eye in several areas, for example in Makassar City, South Sulawesi, in 2024 it showed an increasing trend in the number reaching 79.53% and in West Lombok Regency reaching 96.57%.⁵

This impoverishment seems increasingly systematic, especially after the government issued Government Regulation (PP) Number 42 of 2021 concerning the Facilitation of National Strategic Projects, Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 109 of 2020 concerning the Third Amendment to Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects, Jokowi's ambition to boost various National Strategic Projects (PSN) which have been touted as solutions to increase productivity and economic growth to realize justice for all people.

Another policy of the Land Bank Agency which is considered as one of the solutions to manage, develop and consolidate ex-HGU/abandoned lands for the benefit of public welfare, is also real evidence of the government's false solution. Through PP No. 64 of 2021 concerning the Land Bank Agency and PP No. 19/2021 concerning Land Acquisition, Presidential Regulation No. 113 of 2021 concerning the Structure and Organizers of the Land Bank has legitimized land control by the state.

4. Solidaritas Perempuan Position Paper on Job Creation Law

5. data source BPS 2024

Strategic Project Crimes: Evictions and Dispossession at Scale

The current National Strategic Project has developed far into a series of systemic crimes that destroy the lives of the surrounding communities. This can be seen in various PSN areas, such as the Makassar New Port Project Development in Makassar, Geothermal in Lampung and East Nusa Tenggara, the Nickel Smelter Project in Palu, the Dam Project in Jogja and West Nusa Tenggara, and the Food Estate Project in Central Kalimantan. These projects have given rise to various conflicts, exploited vast forests, threatened customary areas and biodiversity and were greedy for land which led to the removal of sources of life and the structural impoverishment of women by the state.

Quoted from data from KOMNAS HAM in November 2024, some of the PSNs involved human rights violations. There were around 114 cases of human rights violations originating from the PSN. In addition, this project also created agrarian conflicts and other human rights violations.

Nurturing the Fire of Resistance: Rejecting the Expansion of Makassar New PSN Port

For more than a decade, fisherwomen on the coast of Tallo, Cambaya and Buloa in Makassar City have rejected the construction of the Makassar New Port (MNP) National Strategic Project, Presidential Regulation Number 109 of 2020 concerning the Third Amendment to Presidential Regulation Number 3 of 2016 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of National Strategic Projects. The PSN Scheme as an Effort to Centralize Natural Resource Management, through Presidential Regulation Number 109/2020 is also a regulation oriented towards extractive and infrastructure development.⁶

On February 22, 2024, President Jokowi inaugurated MNP Phase 1A, 1B and 1C which has a total length of 1,280 meters which was built on 52 ha of reclaimed land. On the same day, 202 women took action to reject the inauguration of the MNP which was attended and inaugurated directly by Jokowi, where the action was actually blocked by the police and TNI who guarded the inauguration by seizing women's campaign equipment.

6. SP Anging Mammiri press release <https://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/peresmian-pelabuhan-mnp-bentuk-nyata-pengabaian-negara-terhadap-pemulihan-hak-perempuan-nelayan-tradisional/>



(SP Anging Mammiri Documentation: Coastal Women and Fishermen's Peace Action Rejecting the Inauguration of the MNP Attended by Jokowi on February 22, 2024)

The Makassar coast is a locus for city life, this makes the coast very dense as a living space, economic activities and traditional fishing businesses. The reclamation carried out has an impact on the imbalance of the ecosystem on the coast, reclamation activities have damaged women's fishing areas and eliminated the work of women clambers, especially the kanjappang type. In the midst of this situation, women are required to think extra to be able to continue living and meet the needs of their families. Moreover, the work of women clambers has never been recognized by the state as fisherwomen even though they have used the coast as a management space for generations, as a result their knowledge and experience are not considered important.

“Before MNP, we usually only sailed close by, but after MNP, we have to sail further. That costs more because it requires more fuel. Not to mention if the waves are high, we are forced not to go to sea”

Women Fishers Affected by MNP Development

The condition of the sea polluted by fuel spills from container ships, the muddy seabed due to dredging, damaged coral reefs, and shipments of marine debris, these problems have never been resolved, even the state seems to have lost its memory of its actions. The inauguration of the port is a real form of state neglect of the restoration of the rights of women and traditional fishermen who have been fighting for so long.

Until now, women who lost their fishing grounds have been forced to become casual laborers, including scavengers to survive. Uncertain income has caused women to enter the debt trap of banks, whose interest rates are even higher than loans. Until today, the Solidaritas Perempuan Angin Mammiri has recorded that 150 traditional fishing communities have become victims of the MNP PSN development, 19 men and 131 women spread across the Cambaya, Tallo and Buloa Sub-districts.^{7a}

“Our lives are getting harder, fishermen are going further out to sea, so they have to spend more money. Meanwhile, our income continues to decrease. The flow of sea water is also hampered by the embankments built by the company.”

Women Fishers

Coastal women and traditional fishers have made various efforts to seek justice for their living space. Meeting with PT Pelindo, dialogue with the South Sulawesi Governor Government, Makassar City Government, DPRD Commission E, Commission B, Commission C, Secretary of the South Sulawesi Provincial DPRD. In these dialogue spaces, women continue to convey the situation they are experiencing and urge the relevant government and the company to immediately restore the environment, economic rights, provide recognition and protection for the fishing areas of women fishers.

Even in the Hearing Meeting (RDP) held on January 24, 2024, Coastal women and fishers, the DPRD and PT Pelindo agreed to go to Jakarta together to meet with PT. Pelabuhan Indonesia to discuss this issue, but Commission B and PT Pelindo ignored the results of the agreement. Commission B met with PT. Pelabuhan Indonesia in Jakarta without involving representatives of women and traditional fishermen, of course this shows non-compliance with the results of the RDP and the government's lack of seriousness in resolving women's issues.

Instead of focusing on women's demands for environmental and economic recovery, PT Pelindo has instead disbursed CSR programs to fishermen around the MNP area, namely net rejuvenation, UMKM training and waste banks. These programs are not the answer to the problems of women fishermen, even if the program continues but their environment and fishing areas have disappeared, it is the same as continuing to care for and repeating the same mistakes

7. Mekar Bank is a special coaching program run by PT Permodalan Nasional Madani (PNM) for non-bankable productive underprivileged mothers who want to start a business or develop a business can easily obtain access to funding compared to applying for a loan to a Bank

7a. Data source: Solidaritas Perempuan Angin Mammiri

To continue to maintain the spirit of resistance of women fishers, through feminist solidarity economy (FES) with the principles and values of the struggle to seize women's sovereignty, they process the sea catch into a sambal dish sold for Rp15,000-20,000 per bottle. Until today, women continue to reject the expansion of MNP and demand the state to restore the environment, provide protection and recognition of managed areas and economic recovery.

Food Estate: Alibi of Food Security VS Women's Resistance and Preserving Local Wisdom

Not only with palm oil expansion, Kalimantan is again the target of large-scale land clearing through the food estate program. Food estate is one of the PSNs stipulated through Presidential Regulation No. 109/2020. However, in the organizing area of the Mamut Menteng Solidaritas Perempuan, the food estate is present not through PSN regulations but through a rice field printing project. This is in line with the ambition of the Prabowo Government which will print 150 thousand hectares of new rice fields in Central Kalimantan in 2025 as the initial stage of the food estate.⁸

Whatever the form and regulation, all processes carried out by the government will always lead to land grabbing, which is reinforced by the many and severe land conversions when the Joko Widodo administration rolled out the red carpet for investors through the Job Creation Law. It is not surprising that resistance to the food security project was also carried out by Dayak women, precisely in Mantangai Hulu Village, Kapuas Regency, Central Kalimantan.

This resistance was carried out because the presence of the food estate only planted food crops without paying attention to existing local wisdom so that the seeds planted were ultimately not suitable for the characteristics of peat soil and resulted in continuous crop failures. In addition, environmental damage that was previously present due to oil palm plantations has worsened due to the presence of the food estate.

The Food Estate program in Mantangai Hulu Village has a fairly long history, considering that the land used as a food estate was a former one-million-hectare peatland during the Soeharto administration. Continued with the social forestry project in the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration and converted by the Jokowi administration into a Food Estate project. Food estate pattern It is very clear how from the beginning the farming land of village communities has been continuously seized by the state.

8. <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/genjot-food-estate-pemerintah-prabowo-akan-ce-tak-sawah-150-ribu-hektare-di-kalimantan-tengah-tahun-depan--1160293>



(SP Mamut Menteng Documentation: Research Results that will be used as a rice field printing program in Mantangai Hulu Village)

The Food Estate in Mantangai Hulu Village has continued to experience crop failures, but until now there has been no effort from the Kapuas Regency Government and the Mantangai Village Government to reject the food estate and restore the variety of local food production in Mantangai Village. In 2024, the Mamut Menteng Solidaritas Perempuan together with the civil society network conducted research on the impacts of the Food Estate in Mantangai Hulu Village. From this research, various changes were found in fulfilling the basic needs of village communities.

Before	Now
Clean water from nature (river)	Buy gallon water
Cook with firewood	Cook using a gas stove
Rice from farming is enough for one year of food at home	Buy SPHP rice at a price of Rp 70,000/kg
Vegetables from farming	Buy from street vendors and trans
Vegetables and rice are not Worried about containing chemicals	Worried about the content of lime preservatives, stones found in rice, and vegetables that use chemical fertilizers

In fact, changes in the fulfillment of basic needs for the lives of rural communities are the result of the accumulation of various large projects that have entered the Village, starting from the Regional Government Policy on the Prohibition of Land Burning, large-scale Palm Oil Plantation Projects, REDD+ Projects to the emergence of food estates that are increasingly changing people's lifestyles, especially women.

In the process of the presence of the Food Estate, women have also never been involved in decision-making spaces, even though so far Dayak women have been very close to the forest and the traditional farming system. For the Dayak people, preserving the forest is a form of respect for the universe and the sublime. The community protects its sources of life by managing them carefully, such as the activities of fishermen catching fish using traditional tools and gardening or farming avoiding the use of chemical fertilizers.

However, ironically, the forest that supports them and in their daily lives women are very close and attached to the forest, but in every decision-making related to forest management, women are very rarely involved. The interests of the state and patriarchal development have removed women from their strategic spaces regarding access to and control over existing natural resources.



(SP Mamut Menteng Documentation: Research Results that will be used as a rice field printing program in Mantangai Hulu Village)

The presence of Food Estate does not guarantee the food welfare of the people in the Village and fails to provide food security as often promised by the government. Over the past year, the failure has been in the form of rice not being able to grow on the food estate land. Since then, there has been no more variety of food, farmers have now turned into food consumers. The community's need for rice and vegetables is obtained from purchases from vegetable sellers and traders as well as merchant ships.

“The sadness of not farming makes us buy rice, buy vegetables, there is no food barn for 8 to 15 years after the ban on burning land while the cost of living continues to increase but the joy is that there are no more land fires...” –

Women Farmer Affected by the Food Estate Project

It is from this recurring situation that women finally resist and organize to voice the impact of the presence of the Food Estate. In addition, Dayak women also carry out strategies to defend the land by managing group gardens on the land they have successfully reclaimed. The reclaiming efforts are certainly inseparable from the discussions that have been carried out over the past few years.

Their resistance to large-scale land clearing has fostered a sense of solidarity among women in Mantangai Hulu. They build groups and keep the resistance alive by maintaining the local wisdom they have. By forming groups, women can strengthen each other when the government does not recognize women's voices so that they can push for their demands together, namely the involvement of women in the preparation of regulations related to the management of natural resources, especially food, and the protection of traditional farming patterns because that is where the knowledge of Mantangai Village women lives and is sustainable.

Women in the Clutches of Extractive Industries

East Indonesia is in the grip of extractive, the abundance of natural resources owned becomes an attraction and gives life to the oligarchy's ambition to reap profits under the pretext of development and people's welfare. According to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), Indonesia has a nickel mining area of 520,877.07 hectares recorded in 2022 and spread across various provinces in Central and Eastern Indonesia.

One of the nickels producing areas is Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi. The nickel industrialization process in Morowali took place so quickly, initially only mining and exporting ore in the 2000s, developing into a nickel processing industry and its derivative products since PT IMIP was established in 2014. Since then, social, economic, cultural, environmental, health and even political changes have occurred so quickly along with the growth of investment. In addition to the positive impacts in the form of economic growth, there are also negative impacts related to environmental, social and cultural problems including worsening the quality and welfare of women.

In 2023, Central Sulawesi will become one of the regions with the largest industrial development targets in Indonesia. President Jokowi's Nawacita regarding electric vehicles has encouraged many nickel mining projects in Indonesia, one of which is in Central Sulawesi. Fatufia and Labota Villages, Bahodopi District, are one of the points where the integrated nickel industry is located with an area currently reaching 4000 Ha. The Indonesian government has designated Central Sulawesi as the Morowali Industrial Area or Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP), even in 2022 after the enactment of the Job Creation Law, IMIP has been made one of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) based on the Decree of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy Regulation Number 9 of 2022 concerning amendments to the regulation of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy number 7 of 2021 concerning changes to the list of national strategic projects.

PT IMIP is located in Fatufia, Labota and Keurea Villages, Bahodopi District, Morowali Regency, Central Sulawesi Province. The PT IMIP area is a nickel industrial area. PT IMIP covers 2,000 hectares of land in 2022 and has now reached 4,000 hectares⁹. The main shareholders of PT IMIP are Shanghai Decent Investment (Group) at 49.69%, PT Sulawesi Mining Investment at 25% and PT Bintang Delapan Investama at 25.31% with an authorized capital of USD 40,000,000, in 2024 the number of PT IMIP employees reached 80,259 people. The presence of the giant company is in fact closed, the public, especially women, have never been informed of the presence of PT IMIP.

"How can we respond, when we ourselves do not know if there is any socialization. Only the government knows, especially since the initial construction of the company was carried out in Fatufia. We were even shocked when a company was built in our village. How can we refuse, when we ourselves do not know, do not understand"

Women affected by PT IMIP

Since the enactment of the 2009 Minerba Law, it turns out that mining companies are not fully ready to build smelters. This condition requires the government to find a way out and find a way out. One of them is by revising a number of derivative regulations from the Minerba Law, including:

9. Anugrah Perkasa, Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP). <https://responsibleminingindonesia.id/id/corporate/32> (2 September 2024).

Policy Changes	Note
Government Regulation No. 23 of 2010 Concerning the Implementation of Mineral and Coal Mining Business Activities	The government then issued a Presidential Decree on the derivative of the 2009 Mineral and Coal Mining Law
Changes to the 2015-2019 RPJMN related to Industrial Areas (KI)	Morowali Regency is 1 of 14 KIs that are prioritized for processing nickel minerals into nickel products
Regional Regulation of Central Sulawesi Province Number 08 of 2013 Concerning the Spatial Plan of Central Sulawesi Province 2013-2033	The regulation states that the mineral mining area with the nickel mining type is in the sub-districts of North Bungku, Mamosalato, Soyo Jaya, Petasia, Central Bungku, South Bungku and Bahodopi
Regional Regulation of RTRW of Morowali Regency 2018-2033	The area around IMIP has been designated as a Regency Strategic Area (KSK) with economic interests.

Long before the mining sector entered Morowali, the people of Fatufia and Labota generally worked as farmers and fishers, but now many of these jobs have been abandoned and have become company laborers. Another situation is that women can no longer farm and go to sea due to the massive conversion of land into mining locations and changing sea conditions.¹⁰ Sea water conditions have become hot and murky due to company waste being dumped directly onto the coast, plus the many barges carrying coal moored around residents' homes, causing damage to coral reefs when their anchors are thrown into the sea, damaged coral reefs will cause various types of fish to migrate to further places.

Environmental damage and changes in living conditions force women to find alternatives to survive, women who have lost their living space are now looking for waste iron from companies that have been dumped into landfills. Women's vulnerability is multi-layered, women often risk their lives, when they collect iron, at any time large equipment will pour piles of iron into the dump and it is possible that if women are in that place, they will be hit by the iron waste. It doesn't end there, women who pick up iron are often accused of being thieves in the company area without any evidence. As a result, women are often discriminated against and taken to the police station and even confronted with company security guards and soldiers.

10. Dr. Haslinda B. Anriani., M.Si, Dr. Ilyas Lampe, M.Kom, Dr. Harifuddin Halim, S.Pd., M.Si/FATUFIA: Potret Sebuah Desa Tambang/Yayasan Intelegensia Indonesia/2019

K Because of this vulnerability, and also women feel bored and tired of constantly going in and out of the police station, they finally choose to work to collect plastic bottles scattered in their village, including those in the sea, landfills, and in the mangroves. The bottles that have been collected are then sorted by type, the bottle caps are separated, the brands from the bottles are peeled off. The cleaned bottles will be sold to the waste bank in the village which is a business entity owned by the BUMDes. Bottles are valued at IDR 3,000. In addition to collecting bottles, they also work for the waste bank, namely cleaning and sorting the types of plastic in the waste bank, the wages given to them are IDR 2,000 per kilogram of bottles they clean.¹¹ Other women choose to become fish cleaning laborers at fish suppliers who will be distributed to companies. The wages given to them use a profit-sharing system, of course this will not always be the same considering the price of fish goes up and down. Likewise, women in Labota Village, there are no longer women farmers and fisherwomen.



(SP Palu Documentation, Women coastal looking for side job as fish cleaner)

11. Results of participatory mapping of women affected by the nickel industry



(Documentation of SP Palu, Coastal Women Looking for Extra Side Income as Fish Cleaners))

The extractive industry has caused environmental damage on land and at sea. Water sources are almost no longer found because of the pollution. Women have to wait for their turn to be distributed clean water from 5 or 6 pm to 11 pm, after which they will get their share of clean water until the next day waiting for the community distribution schedule. Meanwhile, in Labota Village, the community, especially women, get water from dug wells that have been contaminated by coal waste and dust and garbage that is dumped anywhere. The use of polluted water disrupts women's reproduction and causes various skin diseases.



(SP Palu documentation, condition of community water sources polluted by coal waste and dust)

The loss of women's access and control in the management of natural resources has an impact on the loss of women's social roles, minimal decision-making by women, control of women's sexuality creates unequal relations between women and men, impoverishment and prolongs the record of violence against women.

Various situations experienced by women do not break the spirit of women to fight to seize their sovereignty, Solidaritas Perempuan Palu together with women affected by the nickel industry in Fatufia and Labota Villages continue to strengthen solidarity through discussions to strengthen the women's movement, documenting women's experiences and knowledge to continue to maintain the fire and spirit of women's resistance to continue to be grounded.

Southeast Sulawesi Province is one of the largest nickel producing areas in Indonesia. It is recorded that there are around 134 Nickel Smelter industrial companies in the province, with a total nickel producing area reaching 198,624.66 Ha. One of the areas in Southeast Sulawesi that produces the most nickel is Kolaka Regency with a mining area of 3,283.64 km². Apart from Kolaka, South Konawe Regency is also an easy target for nickel industry extractives. South Konawe is one of the industrial areas determined through the Konawe Regency Regional Regulation number 9 of 2014 concerning the Konawe Regency spatial plan for 2014-2034 (Konawe Regency Regional Gazette 2014 Number 131, Konawe Regency Regional Regulation Number 8 of 2018 concerning the Konawe Industrial Area. The Konawe Regency RTRW Regional Regulation stipulates that the mining area is 2,78,298 hectares with three types including Mining Business Areas (WUP), People's Mining Areas (WPR), and Oil and Gas Mining Work Areas (WKP). The conversion of forest land for mining in North Konawe Regency until 2017 was recorded at 152,598 hectares with a total mining area of 226,102 hectares.

Quoting Kompas news, Mining terror in South Konawe Regency has become a complex problem for the community around the mine. During nickel mining activities, the water discharge in the river which is the main water source for their land continues to shrink. The color of the water also changes to cloudy and sometimes foamy. As a result, the plants are affected. Based on residents' testimonies, the harvest has continued to decline for the past three years. This is mainly after the mining company opened land near her rice fields. The last time she harvested in September, she got 51 sacks in her 2-hectare rice field. The total is around 5 tons. Mining in the Torobulu area has been going on since the mid-2000s. At that time, one company began opening land for nickel mining. They processed in an area far from settlements to clean water sources for residents.

However, a few years later, the company stopped operating and changed ownership. In mid-2016, the new company started operating again. At that time, the nickel fever began to occur along with the downstream program initiated by the government. Southeast Sulawesi is the region with the largest nickel reserves in Indonesia. The company that entered is PT Wijaya Inti Nusantara (WIN), replacing the previous company. Reported from data from Mineral One Data Indonesia (MODI) of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, PT WIN holds a Mining Business

License (IUP) for Production Operations with an area of 1,931 hectares¹². The permit is valid from November 2019 to November 2029.



Doc. Kompas. The rice field area bordering the river with nickel mining in Laeya, South Konawe, Southeast Sulawesi, as seen on Wednesday (10/16/2024). Residents have repeatedly protested the mining pattern of PT Wijaya Inti Nusantara (WIN), but ended up reporting it to the police.

Wadas Women's Struggle to Protect Nature

Quarry mining of andesite rocks for construction materials for the Bener Dam in Wadas Village, Bener District, Purworejo Regency, Central Java has given rise to rejection and become the cause of prolonged agrarian conflict. Mining with a blasting system to a depth of 40 (forty) meters has caused damage, even destruction of the natural landscape of Wadas Village. For women in Wadas Village (Wadon Wadas), mining in Wadas has robbed them of their living space, political space, and socio-cultural space, so that the threat to the sustainability of life, knowledge and cultural values that they have maintained has become a reality. The land that was once full of green trees has now become a stretch of mining area with smoke and dust billowing at all times. Now hundreds of Wadas women no longer go to the gardens, no longer harvest durian, kemukus, coffee, petai, jackfruit, and various herbal plants that grow abundantly on Wadas land. Now there are not many women who weave besek, not many who make palm sugar because raw materials are increasingly difficult to obtain.

Andesite stone mining activities using the blasting system have been actively started since 2024, resulting in damage to the Wadas landscape, dozens of springs (out of 27 spring sources) have disappeared and dozens of others have experienced drought, because the expanse of forest and tree stands that function as *water*

12. "Terror" of Mining Waves in South Konawe

catchment areas have disappeared and been damaged. Mining activities also cause air pollution, so that agricultural land is also polluted, full of dust, can no longer be used for animal feed, and crop failures. Mining also causes earthquakes due to blasting activities carried out every day. As a result, the walls of residents' houses are cracked, roof tiles are sagging, and tiles are cracked. The earthquake caused by this mining also caused many brooding chickens to be unable to hatch, so that the population of native chickens in Wadas has decreased drastically.

K Damage caused by mining has also affected women's lives, especially in meeting the need for clean water. Water is a basic need in households that affects women's health, especially reproductive health¹³ and causes various ecological disasters. The damage to 27 springs is not only in the decreasing water discharge but also the water quality is very poor, cloudy and muddy. Even the water in the river is cloudy and full of mud, especially in the rainy season. Clean water that used to be easy to get is now very difficult and must be purchased.

Based on Article 42 Letter c of Regional Regulation Number 27 of 2011 concerning the Spatial Planning of Purworejo Regency for 2011-2031, it is stated that Bener District is a protected area, one of the disaster-prone areas due to its steep land contour¹⁴. Such land contour and typology are prone to causing Wadas Village to be threatened by natural disasters, climate crisis disasters and serious development disasters.

Environmental damage caused by mining activities causes a decline in the provision of environmental services due to changes in topography, decreased land quality, and increased risk of flooding and landslides felt by the community. Andesite mining that digs up land, clears forests, soil erosion and landfilling have had an impact on land degradation and threaten the sustainability of the environment and women's livelihoods. When the rainy season hits Wadas, there have been at least several floods accompanied by overflowing water and mud that is cloudy in color and materials such as rocks and pieces of fallen trees. As mentioned above, Wadas is a disaster-prone area, now the threat of disaster is increasing and haunting residents at all times, namely the development disaster whose source is in the center of andesite rock mining. Even at the end of 2024, a flood of mud and rocks hit and hit a resident's house and a vehicle belonging to one of the residents.

13. <https://solidaritasperempuankinasih.com/2022/11/21/perjuangan-perempuan-dalam-merawat-alam-gerakan-ekofeminis-wadon-wadas/>

14. <https://bincangperempuan.com/wadon-wadas-masih-melawan-perjuangan-perempuan-menjaga-kelestarian-alam/>

The conditions in Wadas are a series of many repressive and intimidating incidents carried out by the state against Wadas residents, resulting in the release of land that led to the activation of the mining project in Wadas Village, even though various resistances had been carried out since 2018 to 2024.

The year 2022 was the peak of a series of procedural flaws in the andesite stone mining project which was also accompanied by human rights violations. On April 23, 2021, there was an attack by officers on Wadas Village residents who were carrying out a mujahadah action in Kaliancar Hamlet, Wadas Village. This road blockade action was carried out to fight the government's efforts to measure the area of the land. However, the government through the police actually carried out the attack using violence. Women, men, children, and the elderly who took part in this action were kicked, beaten, stepped on, sprayed with tear gas, regardless of crying and screaming, even this incident coincided with the fasting month of Ramadan. This action ended with the arrest of 11 people consisting of 1 attorney and 10 residents, 1 of whom was a woman with bruises on her face and body due to beatings by officers.

"I was beaten and dragged from the scene to the police car to be transported, until I didn't realize one of my sandals was missing and who knows where it is."

Wadas Women

The terror after terror and traumatic experiences faced by women in rejecting mining made them undaunted to continue fighting, the community consciously then set up guard posts at the entrance to the village and forest area, the aim was to ward off land surveyors, mining companies and police who often patrol and try to enter the village. Only relying on simple equipment such as bamboo kentongan to communicate to the entire community if there are other parties trying to enter the village so that everyone can close ranks to try to ward off unwanted guests.

Women take turns guarding the post during the day while making besek together, taking care of children, and even cooking at the guard post location. Weaving besek is one of the livelihoods of Wadas women, from children to the elderly. From besek and making palm sugar, Wadon Wadas are able to meet their daily needs. Gardening, making palm sugar, and weaving are not only about meeting the needs of life, they are much more meaningful because these activities become political space, cultural space, and economic space for women. More than 12 (twelve) guard posts were built through mutual cooperation by residents and spread across several hamlets. These posts are not only busy in the morning and afternoon, but even at night, because the men, especially the young people, are always on guard from night to morning.

Entering 2022, repression occurred again, namely on February 8, 2022, the government through its apparatus carried out another attack, even accompanied by a siege of the village. The government deployed a joint military, police and civil security apparatus of more than 1000 (one thousand) personnel. Equipped with complete weapons and tracking dogs, they occupied all community resistance posts, guarded all road access to Wadas Village and checked everyone who passed or was going to enter Wadas Village.

This joint apparatus surrounded residents (mostly women) who were carrying out mujahadah in one of the mosques located in Krajan Hamlet, Wadas Village. The mosque was blockaded by hundreds of police officers with complete weapons or civilians so that hundreds of residents inside the mosque could not leave the mosque from morning to evening (maghrib). Everyone inside was afraid, small children screamed and cried, there was no water and food, everyone was holding back thirst and hunger. Approximately 250 residents consisting of 150 women, 50 children (toddlers), and 50 men who were in the mujahadah were surrounded in the mosque.

During the day, arrest after arrest was made, starting from the arrest of residents who came out of the mosque to perform ablution, residents who passed the mosque, to school children who had just returned from school and farmers who were returning from their fields. A total of 67 people consisting of children, women and residents were arrested and detained for two days at the Purworejo Police. The pretext for the arrest was because the residents were carrying weapons that were used to resist the land surveyor. In fact, at the time of the arrest, the residents were returning from the rice fields, gardens, and looking for grass so they were carrying weapons such as machetes, cleavers, knives, hoes, etc. Residents were also accused of hiding weapons in posts, even though these weapons were agricultural tools that were placed in posts to make them easier to take when going to the garden and also tools used for weaving bamboo or splitting firewood.

The officers in full uniform and civilian clothes filled the entire main road of Wadas for two days, February 8-10, 2022, destroying banners rejecting andesite mining, taking residents' fruits, and even entering empty houses because they were displaced. For 2 (two) days, electricity and internet networks were turned off, communication networks were blocked and wiretapping was also carried out. For two days, not a

single resident dared to leave their homes because the 67 residents who were arrested had not been released. Wadas Village became a dead village, dark and lifeless. This situation even lasted for more than a week even though the residents who were detained had been released.

The repression has left deep wounds and trauma that have not been completely healed. For approximately one month, residents did not go to the fields, residents did not guard and do activities at the resistance post because they experienced prolonged trauma. Many residents are plagued by anxiety, restlessness, and fear, insomnia, diarrhea, fever, headache. Until now, the memory of the violence has not disappeared from the minds and hearts of the residents.

SP Kinasih together with residents and networks, do various ways to eliminate the trauma of violence little by little. A series of trauma healing such as storytelling, writing, drawing, gathering, mujahadah, cooking, become effective ways to erode little by little. The experience of repeated repression makes women grow and become more courageous in conveying opinions and the situation of Wadas to the public to fight to reject mining.



Through seminar forums, radio broadcasts, webinars, demonstrations, dialogues with Ganjar Pranowo, the government, and dialogues with various state institutions, all were taken to demand state justice. Wadas women also visited state institutions such as Komnas Ham, Komnas Perempuan, KPA (Child Protection Commission), LPSK (Witness and Victim Protection Agency), National Police Commission, National Police Headquarters, Governor Ganjar, BBWSO, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), and also to

case were all declared lost. Although the second lawsuit and cassation were declared lost, in the same year a lawsuit was filed again in the form of Unlawful Acts through the Sleman District Court, Yogyakarta. The lawsuit was addressed to the Head of the Serayu Opak River Basin Office, Directorate General of Water Resources, Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, Head of the Land Office of the National Land Agency, Land Office of Purworejo Regency, Central Java Province, President of the Republic of Indonesia, Minister of Public Works and Public Housing of the Republic of Indonesia, Governor of Central Java, the plaintiffs are land owners who did not release their land. Similar to the fate of the previous lawsuit, the citizen's lawsuit was declared rejected, then continued with an appeal until in 2024 a cassation was again filed against the decision of the PMH (Unlawful Acts) lawsuit, but it was declared rejected (lost) so that residents were required to pay a fine.

After the cassation decision, residents who refused to release their land were approached by the government and asked to sign the documents, but some residents remained adamant about refusing the documents and continued to reject the mine. The government responded to this resistance by sending a letter of consignment determination. Then on June 4, 2024, a hearing was held to object to the consignment of land ownership and the amount of compensation, but it reached a dead end, so the consignment was still enforced even though this letter of determination was legally flawed because it did not meet the requirements for consignment determination. Solidarity for Women noted that the victims affected by limestone mining reached 3,687 people, 1,944 men and 1,743 women in Wadas Village.^{14a}

Despite repression and intimidation experienced many times until they ended in consignment, the spirit of resistance of Wadas Melawan continues to be maintained and shared by women and young people who remain consistent in rejecting mining. It is not easy resistance in the midst of the unstoppable rate of mining activities even though it has been proven to cause ecosystem damage and disasters. Blasting after blasting continues to be carried out regardless of the damaged nature and affecting the quality and quantity of the harvest. When agriculture can no longer be expected amidst the acute damage to the Wadas ecosystem, residents (women, young people, elderly) collectively joined the Young Farmers Group (KTM) Wadas Farm to fight back through goat farming and animal feed cultivation.

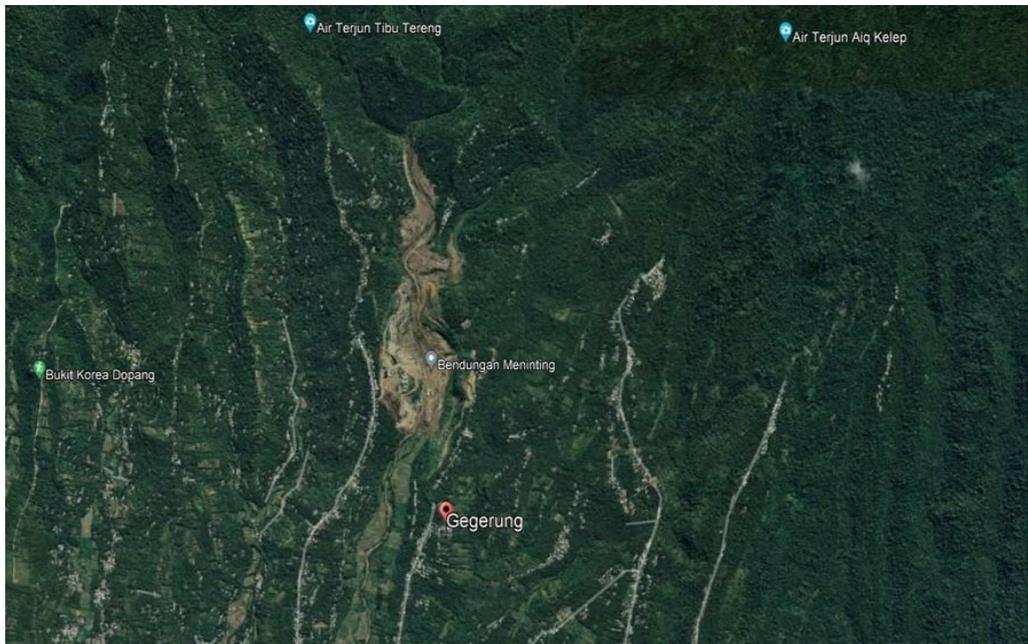
This group established collective livestock pens in several houses of residents affected by mining, especially those who continue to fight mining, farm laborers and landless residents, and elderly people affected by mining. This group also built a feed bank as an effort to develop natural feed cultivation to meet livestock needs

14a.Data source BPS 2024 compile by Solidaritas Perempuan

independently. The feed bank was developed on the remaining land of residents with a rental system and also in the green belt of mining. To meet daily needs, this group also opened a business such as selling the harvest from the remaining land such as palm sugar, petai, durian, vegetables such as mustard greens, and consistently weaving besek. Support for this resistance also came from the Wadas solidarity network so that those who resist continue to grow and stand tall, continue to resist in civilized ways even though only dozens of residents remain. No matter who wins or loses, no matter how many or few, because what is needed is to keep the flame of resistance burning against injustice, against the seizure of living space, against the destruction of nature.

Meninting Giant Dam and the Silence of Women's Stories who are displaced from their living space

Meninting Dam is one of 74 dams spread across West Nusa Tenggara and is one of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) determined through the legal basis of PSN is Presidential Regulation No. 3 of 2016, which was successively amended by Presidential Regulation No. 58 of 2017, Presidential Regulation No. 56 of 2018, and Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020. This giant dam was built in the middle of the intersection of several villages, namely Bukit Tinggi Village, Penimbung Village, Gegerung Village and Dasan Griya Village.



(SP Mataram Documentation: Report on the Results of Identification and Mapping of the Situation of Women in the Meninting Dam PSN Development Area)

The Meninting Dam was built in 2019, and is still under construction, clearing 10 hectares of forest and freeing up hundreds of hectares of land owned by residents. The government plans for this dam to be completed in 2024. However, it seems like it is still just a pipe dream because at the end of 2024, the form of the reservoir pond to fill its water has not been seen. It is likely the same as other giant dams in Indonesia, namely taking a long time, greedily exploiting nature, exploiting workers and eliminating women's voices for years, one of which occurred in the construction of the Jatigede Reservoir, which was built for approximately 46 years.



(SP Mataram Documentation, Condition of Meninting Dam Construction on June 12, 2024, the form of the reservoir pond is still not visible)

“We, the women who live around the Meninting Dam, feel the changes directly. The land where we farm is now being cleared and abandoned, even though it is our source of livelihood. Water that used to be easily accessible, trees for making palm sugar, for wrong permits, historical fruits are all gone and seized because the distribution of the Meninting Dam is not even. We understand that this is for development, but we also hope that our voices are heard so that we are not just victims of change, but part of the solution.”

Women affected by Meninting Dam Development

This national strategic project, which cost more than IDR 1.5 trillion, was predicted to be able to become a source of irrigation for thousands of hectares of agricultural land in West Lombok and parts of West Lombok, but it turned out to cause residents to lose their water source due to the dam construction process. The construction also eliminated the source of

livelihood for women who had been active in the forests, gardens and rice fields. Since the dam construction process, Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram has recorded that at least 40 farmers whose land is located in Orong Bawah, have not been able to plant due to water shortages. This condition has occurred for 5 years without being voiced in the wider communities.

The construction of dams that has re-emerged in this country tends to repeat the model of reservoir construction in developing countries that was previously supported by the World Bank. It seems strange and quite backward because this model has been widely criticized and many of them have gone bankrupt. However, it seems that the country still has the ambition to carry out giant infrastructure construction that is celebratory, namely the pride of selling the largest dam. Infrastructure development should be able to support the fulfillment of economic, social and cultural rights. Ironically, in the case of the construction of the Meninting Dam, it is the opposite, namely seizing women's rights.

Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram noted that the situation of women in the development circle area has experienced more negative impacts due to development, such as the loss of their water sources, the loss of economic and food sources due to land that cannot be replanted, making it vulnerable to disasters. Since the dam construction process, there have been two flash floods and concerns about the dam breaking due to the threat of earthquakes that often hit Lombok. In early January 2024, there was a landslide in the Meninting dam area, but the government argued that it was due to a normal disaster and was not related to development even though there was tight security in the dam area through security forces so that not many media and civil society organizations could conduct further investigations.

Throughout 2024, Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram together with grassroots women have carried out various kinds of rejections ranging from rejection actions, conveying the results of investigations to audiences with the village government. From the results of the investigation, it was found that the Head of Jelateng Hamlet and the Head of Penimbung Timur Hamlet were not aware of the plan to build the Meninting Dam even though development should be based on human rights. By understanding that the state does not own the land and is only in the position of manager in the eyes of the law, methods must be designed that are oriented towards human rights. From the identification of the situation of women in eight villages carried out by Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram, the situation experienced by women is almost the same, namely women do not receive information about the Meninting Dam construction project. Patriarchy certainly plays a role in limiting women's space to move, their voices to speak and their decision-making, including by not involving women's consent in this project.



(SP Mataram Documentation: Workshopn on Develop Fact Sheet about the impact of PSN)

Land acquisition for development should not be imitated as it was done during the New Order era. In the name of public interest, the state eventually became an actor that forced landowners to give in. This model actually impoverishes women and causes many women around the Meninting Dam development to become migrant workers and often become victims of human trafficking due to their land being taken. Will the construction of the Meninting Dam only repeat the bitter experiences and stories of dam development in other areas? In fact, women's voices have been silenced in every development that takes away living space. Development that does not involve women should be stopped because there should not be a single development that leaves other groups behind, including women.

““The construction of the Meninting Dam has had a significant impact on the surrounding community. On the one hand, this dam is a solution to the problems of irrigation and flood control, and is expected to increase community food security. However, on the other hand, residents in the surrounding area experience social and economic impacts, such as relocation of residences, changes in livelihoods, and environmental damage that affects daily life. Therefore, it is important for the dam party / authorities to continue to accompany affected residents and ensure that community needs continue to be met evenly.”

**Program Coordinator Of Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram
Community Executive Body**

Land Bank Agency an Effective and Systematic Eviction Model

In the era of Jokowi's leadership after the ratification of Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation into Law, various derivative PPs were born such as Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 62 of 2023 concerning the Acceleration of the Implementation of Agrarian Reform, PP No. 64 of 2021 concerning the Land Bank Agency, PP No. 19/2021 concerning Land Acquisition, Presidential Regulation No. 113 of 2021 concerning the Structure and Organizers of the Land Bank. This policy orientation shows how great the dominance of power and strength of investors is to facilitate land acquisition, this systematic and effective eviction model has given rise to various resistance from the community, especially women who are increasingly structurally impoverished by the State.

Land Bank Agency for Resolving Agrarian Inequality or Just a Fake State Solution?

The implementation of this policy can be seen in several areas, one of which is in the highlands of the Pekurehua Valley, Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi in the villages of Alitupu, Winowanga, Maholo, Kalemago and Watutau. The Land Bank (BT) has succeeded in controlling the former HGU land of PT Sandabi Indah Lestari (PT SIL) covering an area of 7,740 ha. Of the total former HGU area of 7,740 ha, there are 4,079 that are considered to have no land control, land controlled by the community covering an area of 3,213.05 ha, land with legal entities covering an area of 224.29 ha, government land covering an area of 12.26 ha and state land controlled by the state covering an area of 7.17 ha. The land management rights by the Land Bank Agency are 6,648 ha (based on a circular letter of confirmation to the village government regarding land bank activities).

Pekurehua is a fairly large valley, in Central Sulawesi Province, Poso Regency and is divided into three sub-districts, namely: North Lore, East Lore and Lore Peore, in these three sub-districts there are around 20 villages. This area is located at an altitude of approximately 1800 meters above sea level, so it is quite cool. The majority of the community, especially women, work as farmers, women also have attachments and carry out maintenance work with their forests, women use the forest as a market in concocting various traditional medicines, the forest as a source of food and the forest as a source of fulfillment of needs to carry out traditional rituals, the complexity of women's issues is so complicated. The Napu Valley has long been an arena for fighting for space, the state in this case the government has long been the main actor.



(SP Palu Documentation: Indigenous communities affected by BT conduct dialogue and report on criminalization carried out by BT against the community)

The aftermath of the protest action led to the opening of the people's voice, on August 1, 2022 the Poso Police sent a letter of summons to 7 people from Watutau Village (6 men and 1 woman) regarding an invitation to an interview for clarification of the case. Several days after the summons, the Ministry of Agriculture together with the Indonesian Ambassador to Vietnam visited the BT location in Poso Regency, the land that had been claimed would be designated as a large-scale cattle farm to support the free nutritious meal program of the Prabowo-Gibran Government. At least 250 dairy cows will be brought to the location and it is projected to produce 1.8 million liters of milk per year.¹⁵

15_ <https://ditjenpkh.pertanian.go.id/berita/1931-kementan-bersama-dubes-ri-untuk-vietnam-siap-tarik-investor-sapi-ke-indonesia>



On the same day, FMBL again held a protest by unfurling several banners of rejection, the action was thwarted again by armed police and TNI officers accompanied by threats of complete weapons and also some of the community tried to be taken to the police station even though there was no arrest warrant that could be proven. The security forces also placed several intelligence officers in Watutau village to monitor community movements and also spread a sense of insecurity and fear among the community. The community's concerns about the presence of BT controlling productive land are not without reason, rumors of large-scale cattle farming have become surprising news in early 2025. Through the Letter of the Ministry of Agriculture with Number B-181 / RC.020 / A / 01/2025 on January 15, 2025 that the development of dairy cattle and beef cattle will be included in the 2025-2029 national strategic project (PSN) which requires a land area of 15,846 ha through foreign investment.

Solidaritas Perempuan noted that the number of victims affected by BT in Poso Regency reached 204 people, 123 men and 38 women spread across Watutau Village, Poso Regency.^{15a} Another way is also taken by the community by conducting a dialogue with the Poso DPRD, reporting BT cases to the National Commission on Violence Against Women and the National Human Rights Commission, the community, especially women, in the report stated that they would continue to reject BT, stop all intimidation and criminalization carried out by armed forces against the community in defending their customary rights, immediately form a special committee to resolve the BT conflict and not involve the police in the conflict.

15a. Data source from data SP Palu

Job Creation Law a Legacy of Prolonged Agrarian Conflicts

Since the first time the discourse on the formation of the Job Creation Law was conveyed, the government's orientation saw great economic opportunities with the support of Indonesia's abundant natural resource potential, especially the state paradigm that interprets existing resources as being controlled by the state so that they are free to be used for anything, with this the government sees land in particular as an asset with economic value, this understanding is an understanding of colonialism that should be able to be ended by the government. This is inversely proportional, much deeper in society, especially women, see that natural resources should be protected and cared for, because if they continue to be exploited, they will certainly disappear without a trace. If it runs out, where else will women depend on to live. Women have a strong bond with nature and have wise ways to care for it. Unfortunately, the government never wants to consider this important, as evidenced by how the state is present through the government, continuing to perpetuate agrarian conflicts, some of which have even been inherited since the New Order era. Community conflicts with the State-Owned Enterprise PT Perkebunan Nusantara (PTPN) located in Takalar, South Sulawesi and Palembang, PT Solusi Bangun Andalas in Aceh, Lore Lindu National Park in Palu, Central Sulawesi, the Kolhua Dam Development Plan in NTT, PT Sawit Jaya Abadi in Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi.

Sugarcane Land in Takalar: Sweet for Rulers, but Bitter for Women

Sugar, which is now so familiar in our drinks, the candy we eat and the tea we drink, was once one of the driving forces of European colonialism. It is stated in the book *A History of The World in Seven Cheap Things* (2017) that sugar plantations started by colonialists in the 15th century were the earliest form of capitalism itself. Where in contrast to the feudal economic system that depended on the center of the colony, sugarcane plantations generally ran through funds from outside investors and were supported by exploited slave labor, as happened in Madeira, Portugal, precisely at that time.

Colonization through sugarcane plantations did not stop in the past, patterns of colonization such as the massacre of indigenous people, the search for colonial areas and the destruction of nature for sugarcane plantations still occur today, as happened in Polongbangkeng Takalar, South Sulawesi. Sugarcane that tasted sweet, turned out to cause suffering for women in Polongbangkeng, their land was seized for the interests of a handful of powerful parties.

The conflict experienced by Polongbangkeng residents began when PT Madu Baru took over residents' agricultural land in 1978-1979 and shortly after that, the central government issued instructions to continue land acquisition by the sugar company, PTPN XIV under the New Order regime. This land grabbing has been going on for a very long time, even until the HGU has expired, namely in 2024. However, the conflict between Takalar residents and PTPN XIV Takalar continues due to the coercion carried out by PTPN XIV Takalar to continue operating amidst the expiration of the Land Use Rights (HGU) certificate.

Sugar cane, which was originally used as pig feed by Polynesians and Austronesians in Southeast Asia, later turned into a driver of land grabbing, slavery and environmental destruction, as happened in Takalar. The conflict that occurred on the sugar cane plantation with an HGU land area of 6,650 hectares has in fact left a variety of dynamics of rejection to this day. Rejection after rejection has been carried out by women since land acquisition, resurfacing in 2007 due to the company's unilateral claim to the land. In addition, in that year there was also a horizontal conflict because the company promised cooperation through people's sugar cane which finally broke the agreement of the farmers in Polongbangkeng. The concept of people's sugar cane itself is actually a concept that needs to be rejected because it makes women farmers work as laborers only, cannot determine the crops that will be managed other than sugar cane, cannot determine the selling price and does not have ownership rights to their land. Sugar cane plantations in Takalar in fact only make women become farm laborers on their own land. SP Anging Mammiri together with women farmers continue to be consistent in carrying out rejections, including in rejecting the concept of people's sugar cane because this concept ignores the rights of women farmers who should have rights to their land.



Throughout 2024, various rejections continued to be carried out by women farmers in Polongbangkeng. This happened because on September 17, 2024, PTPN Takalar resumed cultivation on Farmers' Land even though all of its HGU had expired. This coercive activity took place in Towata Village, where one of the employees who was on site continued to force land cultivation to continue and even brandished a sharp weapon to intimidate. With the spirit of fighting to stop

the extension of the PTPN XIV Takalar HGU permit, women farmers together with the community also prevented the company from cultivating the land. This year, women were also involved in creative actions and campaigns as a symbol of notification to the public that PTPN Takalar's HGU had expired and it was time for farmers to reclaim their rights to the land that had previously been seized by the company.

"Now women have the courage to fight against the authorities and PTPN because their HGU has expired but PTPN is still operating and taking care of their bodies, PTPN also still wants to control the community's land and in the future we will continue to fight for our land rights so that the government and the company return our land."

Takalar Women Farmer

After the issuance of the Peace Agreement Number: 009/KP/MD.00.001/X/2021 in 2021, until now there have been no significant efforts made by each party to follow up on the results of the joint agreement. In the Hearing Meeting (RDP) in 2024, the Head of the ATR/BPN Land Office of Takalar Regency stated that all PTPN HGU in the area had expired and explained that when the HGU expires, the land will return to state land. However, the facts on the ground show otherwise, on November 23, 2024 the company continued to carry out processing activities on land owned by farmers and even involved the Security Forces to secure the company.



(SP Anging Mammiri Documentation: Armed Brimob guarding PTPN's illegal sugar cane processing on HGU land that has expired)

It is very ironic that the sweetness of sugar is not comparable to the lives of women whose land has been seized, structurally impoverished by the state and living with full intimidation with their community for decades. Angin Mammiri Solidaritas Perempuan noted that to date there are 578 farmers who have re-used their land, 200 of whom are women farmers from Lassang Barat Village and Parangluara Takalar.^{15b}

15b. Data resource from Solidaritas Perempuan Angin Mammiri

Solidaritas Perempuan Anging Mamiri together with the community, especially women farmers, have done various things, but various inconsistencies in information and the company's lack of transparency regarding the land acquisition documents have made the conflict prolonged even though HGU is one of the public information that can be accessed by everyone. However, these challenges did not dampen the spirit of women farmers in Polongbangkeng to fight for their land back and realize their hopes, namely living prosperously and without intimidation.

The Bitter Sugar of Sweet Love: Women who Continue to Fight for Their Living Space

The 'Cinta Manis' agrarian conflict is an illustration of a chronic and broad-based structural agrarian conflict because it involves decisions by officials that then eliminate women's access to their land. This conflict began when PTPN VII Cinta Manis began managing 20,000 hectares of land located in 22 villages in Ogan Ilir Regency in 1982. In fact, the Land Use Rights (HGU) were only issued by the National Land Agency (BPN) in 1995, for 6,600 hectares of land and continued with a second HGU covering 8,886.75 hectares in 2016.

Since the company first started operating, rejections have indeed occurred. This is because the land control carried out by the company is very unfair to farmers, including women farmers in Seribandung Village. In the Solidaritas Perempuan fact sheet in 2019, it was stated that since the beginning of land acquisition, there was no transparency of information, such as companies carrying out evictions at night without the consent of residents and even manipulating information which resulted in the disappearance of evidence of residents' land ownership.

The elimination of women's access to land is not just the elimination of administrative evidence. This elimination results in the loss of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights which are directly in the form of the loss of living areas, livelihoods, property, narrowing of living space, and ultimately the elimination of women's knowledge in traditional agriculture which pays great attention to environmental sustainability. This can be seen from the emergence of various large-scale plantations, including sugarcane plantations, making residents always anxious when the sugarcane harvest season arrives because of frequent land fires and this happened in 2023 where finally the sugarcane plantation owned by PT Perkebunan Nusantara (PTPN) VII Cinta Manis, was sealed by the Environmental Supervisory Officer Team (PPLH) of the Directorate General (Ditjen) of Law Enforcement (Gakkum) for the Environment and Forestry (LHK).

“In my opinion, until now there is no bright spot, even though we have fought in various ways, mediation in offices such as district, province, to the center. We even did a walking action for 27 days during the journey to Jakarta, we were kicked like a ball. In my opinion, this HGU PTPN VII Cinta Manis, there is no consensus from the community, for example the HGU in Rayon Burai?”

- Women affected from Tanjung Pinang 1 village

In 2024, Solidaritas Perempuan Palembang together with Seribandung women farmers made various efforts to continue fighting for women's land rights, including encouraging dialogue with the Ogan Ilir Regency government. This was done because of the ongoing conflict, there was no clarity or response from the government regarding the company's HGU status and worsening impacts that occurred, such as the management of sugarcane land that was burned and often scapegoating the community so that the struggle was finally polarized and caused horizontal conflict effects. In addition, the threat of haze from sugarcane plantations in Ogan Ilir had not completely disappeared so that in mid-October 2024, Solidaritas Perempuan Palembang held a Public Discussion on Forest and Land Fire Management which was to become a space for women to voice their situation and encourage meaningful involvement of women because prevention and management of forest and land fires are also related to women's lives. Even in 2024, protests and court lawsuits were taken in the hope that this haze problem could be resolved.



(SP Palembang Documentation; demonstration activities carried out together with civil society networks in South Sumatra)

“This smoke makes us go wrong and die. If we go out looking for food we die, if we don't go inside looking for food we die”

Women from Seri Bandung village

“This is our concern, the forest fire on the company's land is not a disaster because it occurs every year. We as residents are always anxious when the sugarcane harvest season arrives.”

Emilia, Women from Seri Bandung village

The ongoing and increasingly chronic ‘Sweet Love’ conflict occurred due to the state being defensive when the people protested against the land grabbing that occurred. Not infrequently, these protests were then responded to with violence, deployment of military personnel, criminalization and intimidation. Conflicts between communities also occurred due to village officials siding with the company, making residents trust village officials more than fighting for their land rights. There were even villages that openly rejected the presence of the Palembang Solidaritas Perempuan, but this did not dampen the spirit of women who continued to fight against the company by moving collectively as was done by the KPPS.

In Seribandung Village, there is a women’s group often called KPPS (Kelompok Perempuan Pejuang Seribandung). This group was born to strengthen and fight together to defend land from company control, they also agreed to continue to maintain the hope of the struggle by encouraging the economic sovereignty of the group to continue to be able to finance the struggle they are carrying out. Emping Ubi Umak is one of the processed products produced by KPPS with a spirit of solidarity, they make emping with simple tools, the sweet potatoes obtained come from each member's garden to financial documentation based on the values of Feminist Solidarity Economy (FES). The selection of sweet potatoes is not a random choice, but these sweet potatoes are deliberately planted on 25 meters of land that is not compensated by the company, then members plant sweet potatoes on narrow land and are suitable for the soil structure there and then managed together. Although in practice, they can only plant on the edge of the garden, even then they still have to face the potential for plants to be damaged, but by planting, they have fought and preserved their land so that the struggle that has been present can continue and live.

Your cement is as solid as the oppression experienced by women in Aceh

Indonesia has the potential for karst areas reaching 1.54 million ha or around 8% of Indonesia's land area¹⁶. Karst landscapes play an important role in the sustainability of ecosystems, one of which is playing a major role in providing clean water sources. Despite playing a major role in the sustainability of ecosystems, the government still sees karst as a profit-making field, regardless of whether it will have a negative impact on the order of human life, karst in Indonesia is threatened to continue to be exploited by the cement industry, while karst is a natural resource that cannot be renewed.

PT Semen Andalas Indonesia (PT SAI) which has now changed its name to PT Solusi Bangun Andalas (PT SBA) is located in Lhoknga District, Aceh Besar, one of the cement factories that has excavated the karst area and has had a negative impact on environmental conditions and the conditions of the community around the company. 2024 is the worst year of drought and water crisis faced by more than 18,636 people, 9,364 men and 9,272 women in Peukun Bada and Lhoknga Districts¹⁷. Since long ago, the community has utilized Pucok Krueng (karst area) as the main source of clean water, but the presence of PT SBA in the area has monopolized Pucok Krueng as a raw water reserve for cement production, this has further distanced women from clean water sources, even though clean water is an important element that influences the welfare and health of the community, which should be protected by the government.

Water Crisis in Lhoknga, Aceh Besar



16. <https://greennetwork.id/ikhtisar/melindungi-bentang-alam-karst-demi-keberlanjutan-ekosistem/>

17. Data of BNPB Aceh Besar



Jumlah Penduduk Desa Naga Umbang :



Air yang di supply ke Desa Naga Umbang berjumlah **6.000 liter**.

6.000 liter : 432 jiwa
= 13 liter

Jadi, satu orang hanya mendapat **13 liter air bersih** dalam sekali pendistribusian.

Berdasarkan Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 23 Tahun 2006 menjelaskan bahwasanya standar untuk kebutuhan pokok air minum masyarakat ialah 10 meter kubik per kepala keluarga per bulan.

Dengan kata lain, berdasarkan keterangan tersebut bisa dikatakan bahwa kebutuhan pokok akan air ialah sebesar **60 liter per orang per harinya**.

Prediksi Anggaran yang Dikeluarkan untuk Pendistribusian Air Bersih

Per-hari

Bahan Bakar Minyak (BBM) :
 300.000×7 unit mobil tanki
= 2.100.000,-

Konsumsi :
 30 bungkus nasi $\times 15.000$
= 450.000

Anggaran yang dikeluarkan untuk pendistribusian air bersih ke Kecamatan Lhoknga perharinya ialah berjumlah **2.550.000 rupiah**.

Rp. 2.550.000 $\times 30$ hari = Rp. 75.000.000



The gender roles that are attached place women in greater contact with water, such as cooking, washing clothes, washing dishes, and bathing children. Women have greater needs and vulnerabilities to water for their reproductive health. The water crisis also makes women experience multiple burdens, because they have to think and work harder or, find ways to manage household money to buy water, in order to ensure its availability for family and household needs.



(SP Bongoeng Jeumpa Aceh Documentation: Women Queue to Get Clean Water)

Clean water pollution by companies has been going on for a long time, community wells can no longer be used because the water is oily and smelly, but the company's responsibility has never been fulfilled, the water crisis experienced by the community is in fact only a competition for a handful of people to gain votes in the 2024 regional elections, water distribution is in fact not a definite answer, because it only solves temporary problems. Solidaritas Perempuan Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh said that Naga Umbang Village is one of the locations with very limited clean water distribution, out of a total of 432 people, each person only gets 13 liters of clean water in one distribution, of course this is far from the minimum requirement standard of 60 liters per person per day, as regulated in Permendagri number 23 of 2006. This condition has caused various negative impacts on the community, including the emergence of health problems such as skin diseases and decreased quality of life.

“We are very tired of conditions like this, every day we have to carry water from other villages until our bodies hurt,”

Resident of Naga Uambang

This further confirms that the government cannot provide protection and a sense of security for the community, ironically the government seems to be ignoring the situation. The conditions experienced by the community force them to switch to using PDAM water and have to pay every month. Not only that, company activities are also major contributors to air pollution, poor air quality due to dust produced has an impact on public health in the company area, in 2024 according to the Health Office, ISPA is still a health problem, one of which is in Aceh Besar, at least 264 cases of pneumonia were recorded.



(SP Aceh Documentation: Middle-aged women transport clean water distributed by PDAM)

The destruction of natural resources and transnational corporate violations with impunity and supported by patriarchal culture have accumulated extraordinary global economic and political power. Today, transnational corporations have played a very large role in shaping the hegemonic narrative that determines economic and political life. On the other hand, the presence of the government to ensure protection for its people is increasingly far from expectations, instead what happens is taking advantage of the powerlessness of the people to secure their respective positions. Solidarity for Women noted that victims of andesite rock mining by PT SBA reached 1,217 people, 621 men and 569 women spread across the villages of Naga Uambang and Deah Mamplan.

“The water crisis experienced by the Naga Uambang community is getting worse, but there is no effort from PT SBA to help, in fact during the dry season when the government supplies water, the company does not provide a single tank of assistance”

Resident of Naga Uambang village

Solidaritas Perempuan Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh together with grassroots women continue to voice various situations faced, women also strive to seize sovereignty in village decision-making spaces, currently women in Naga Umbang Village are encouraging the Village Government to draft Village Regulations related to the protection of clean water springs, the proposal was welcomed by the Village Government, currently in the stage of mapping clean water source points, SP Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh together with the Aceh Indigenous Community Network (JKMA) will assist in the process of drafting the village regulation.

Transmigration Privatization and the Plasma Partnership Mode

Transmigration is a government program that has existed since the colonial era, initially this program aimed to improve welfare and reduce population density in a particular area. As this transmigration program continues to be implemented, instead of improving the welfare of transmigrants, this colonial legacy has actually given rise to various oppressions of women. This situation is being felt by the transmigration community in Trans Madoro which is located between Tiu Village and Kancu'u Village, East Pamona District, Poso Regency.

The discourse of the transmigration program in East Pamona has been widely heard since 1998, even the planned location of the transmigration is already known to the community. The people in Tiu and Kancu'u Villages are farmers/planters in their daily lives, besides rice they also plant annual crops such as chocolate, cloves, durian and others. The land they manage is land that has been passed down from their parents for generations. The initial location of the transmigration which is located on the border of Tiu and Kancu'u Villages is a swamp, to drain the swamp water the Poso Regional Government at that time built several water gates.



(Solidaritas Perempuan Documentation: Water gates to drain the swamps planned by transmigration locations)

However, the location that was originally intended as a transmigration area was actually used by the Poso Regional Government as a profitable area to open a large-scale oil palm plantation. The oil palm plantation industry thrived without supervision, control and did not consider the impact of risks to people's lives and the sustainability of a healthy environment. One of PT Astra Agro Lestari's (PT AAL) subsidiaries, namely PT Sawit Jaya Abadi (PT SJA), began operating at the location. Through the Poso Regent on behalf of Piet Inkiriwang, a Location Permit was issued Number 188.45/3688/2008 dated July 18, 2008 with an area of 8500 ha as stipulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Agrarian Affairs/Head of BPN No. 2 of 1999 concerning Location Permits. Until today, PT SJA has been operating on the land without any environmental impact study results and a Business Use Rights Permit (HGU).

The palm oil industry is inseparable from the role of the transmigration program and plasma partnerships between palm oil companies and communities, both transmigration communities and local communities. After PT SJA began operating, in 2011 the Indonesian Minister of Manpower and Transmigration issued Decree Number KEP 279/MEN/XI/2011 Concerning Transmigration Implementation Permit to PT SJA to participate in the implementation of transmigration through the development of partnership oil palm plantations in Pamona Timur District and Pamona Tenggara District, Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi Province. The communities that entered the transmigration program initially came from Java Island, because the land provided had been planted with oil palm, the Poso Regional Government then took another alternative, by looking for new land for transmigration settlements. The location claimed by the Poso Regional Government was the plantation land of the Tiu and Kancu'u Village communities, without the knowledge of the community and without any socialization, the Poso Regional Government through the Manpower and Transmigration Office began to seize and divide up the land that was ready to be built into housing.

Not accepting their land being seized, the community then went to the Village Office and asked for information. The information received by the community was that the land would be used as a transmigration area, the community who did not want to let go of their land were offered to register as transmigration participants in order to retain their land. With no other choice, the community was then forced to become transmigration residents in order to maintain their rights, the number of transmigration placements was 100 heads of families (KK). The hopes of the transmigration community willing to leave their birthplace to improve their fate on other land were dashed when they found out they would be partnering with PT SJA, with 100 ha of land through planting plasma gardens and building core gardens covering 1,905 ha above land management rights (HPL).

The plasma partnership pattern was designed in the New Order era, the purpose of the plasma was to empower the community around the plantation/livestock so that they could also enjoy the results and improve the family economy. In fact, it was just a jargon, plasma plantations would only plunge women into poverty and give rise to various conflicts that would lead to land loss and the threat of increasingly widespread deforestation. The community, especially women in the Trans Madoro area, strongly rejected the plasma plan, according to women, plasma is not an option, this method actually restricts women's sovereignty to cultivate the land and does not free women to plant other seeds besides oil palm, other community lands are vulnerable to being claimed by companies.

Not to mention the state's neglect of their rights as transmigration citizens is also not fulfilled, school facilities in Trans Madoro are still far from adequate, in that location there are only 3 elementary school classrooms, the rest of the children continue their education to other villages, every day women travel kilometers with damaged roads to ensure their children go to school safely, the lack of health facilities makes women, children and the disabled more at high risk. The government also does not give the community the right to the Certificate of Ownership (SHM) which they should have held.



Palm oil expansion has had negative impacts on the environment, social, culture and economy. One of the real evidences is the loss of Lake Toju in East Pamona, Lake Toju used to be often used by the community to earn a living, the community used to work as fishers, the fish that were usually caught were carp, eel, tilapia to

snakehead fish, besides that every year the community routinely holds the Mosango tradition, a fishing tradition followed by hundreds of people by catching fish using traditional Sango tools made of bamboo¹⁸, palm oil expansion in East Pamona and the loss of Lake Toju and traditional values are real evidence that there are so many negative impacts, layered oppression that has been carried out by transnational companies to reap profits, on the other hand the state should be at the forefront to protect the rights of its citizens, instead it shares for the benefit of a handful of people. Solidarity for Women noted that the victims affected by palm oil expansion by PT SJA reached 1,616 people, 833 men and 801 women spread across Tiu and Kancu'u Villages.

Until today, there are 81 heads of families from transmigration communities both from Java and local communities who are still surviving in the midst of a difficult situation. These various oppressive situations do not immediately make women resigned to accepting the situation.



Women together with the Solidaritas Perempuan Sintuwu Raya Poso continue to strengthen collective movements, various methods have been carried out starting from conducting dialogues with the Disnakertrans and DLH Poso Regency.

The long journey of women's struggle brings a breath of fresh air, currently there are 68 heads of families who have been registered to obtain SHM.

Protecting the Earth: Kolhua Women Strongly Resist The Development of Kolhua Dam

Kolhua Village is located in the eastern part of Kupang City, divided into 13 community units and 39 neighborhood units, Kolhua covers an area of around 159.33 ha with a population of 9,326 people. Unlike the urban areas which are dense and arid, Kolhua Village is a fertile expanse with rice fields. The Kolhua River which is connected to the Liliba River, is predicted to have a River Basin Area (DAS) of 22.83 square kilometers and is a source of river water which will later be used for the Kolhua dam reservoir.

18. <https://www.mosintuwu.com/2022/12/09/sawit-datang-danau-toju-hilang/>



(Documentation: Kolhua Dam Development Plan Source PUPR)¹⁹

Administratively, Kolhua Dam is located in Kolhua Village, Maulafa District with a land requirement of 118.86 hectares. The dam's water source comes from the Kolhua River-Liliba River with a River Basin Area (DAS) of 22.83 square kilometers. Kolhua Dam is one of 7 dams that are a priority to be built in NTT. The Kolhua Dam costs an investment of 596 billion from the State Budget, this dam is planned to have a capacity of 6.65M³, a pool area of 69.76 ha with an estimated supply of raw water of 0.15 M³/second and generate electricity of 0.04 MW, it is also projected to be used as a flood control infrastructure for the downstream area of Kupang City by reducing flooding by 304.53 m³/second, the potential for a Microhydro Power Plant (PLTMH), and the potential for urban tourism destinations. Before Jokowi became President, rejection of the construction of the dam had been carried out since Soeharto was still President in the early 1990s. The rejection was not without reason, the history of land grabbing by corporations and the government has often occurred, the Kolhua community has been a victim of development. In the 1970s, the construction of the Kolhua BTN with socialization promised various things but like the nature of the government in general, it failed to be fulfilled. The community had to lose forests and productive agricultural land for the development of BTN Kolhua by PT Lopo Indah Permai²⁰. Reflecting on this experience, the community, especially women, learned the methods of seizing women's livelihoods and eliminating the identity of the Helong Tribe community, which has been so closely associated with the nature of Kolhua under the pretext of development

19. <https://katongntt.com/saling-cuci-tangan-hadapi-penolakan-bendungan-kolhua/>

20. Hasil pemetaan SP Flobamoratas

“The government’s plan to take our land through dam construction is not the first time the government has wanted to take our land, it was previously taken to build BTN Kolhua, the first housing complex in NTT, which cleared our forests, resulted in the drying up of springs, and the loss of forest products, including traditional medicines. We have felt the impact until now, so we do not want to fall into the same experience a second time.

Maintaining our rice fields, forests, rivers, and homes is a must!”

- Mama Bet Bimusu -

With the excuse of providing raw water to meet the clean water needs of Kupang City residents, the lives of Kolhua residents are increasingly threatened. The dam construction plan has received support from the Kupang City Government and the East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) Provincial Government. Early in 2022, the Central Government through the PUPR Ministry said that the Kolhua dam construction plan would be implemented in the 2022 budget year. On the official website of the PUPR Ministry, it is explained that a feasibility study has been carried out and will be continued with an environmental impact analysis (AMDAL) study and design certification.²¹



(SP Flobamoratas Documentation: Kolhua women who have always strongly rejected plans to build the Kolhua Dam since the New Order era)

21. <https://katongntt.com/saling-cuci-tangan-hadapi-penolakan-bendungan-kolhua/>

Rejection of the Kolhua Dam is still ongoing to this day, because the dam construction plan is close to residential areas, rice fields and fields, and there are ancestral graves of the Helong ethnic group that are threatened with being lost if the dam is built. Several community resistance efforts have been carried out from time to time:

On June 14, 2013, 300 Kolhua people and civil society networks from various elements held a walking action from Kolhua, then their first stop was the Maulafa sub-district office. There they gave speeches and conveyed their rejection of the Kolhua development plan. After the sub-district office, they continued their walking action to the Kupang City DPRD Office. In 2013 during the action, the community was shrouded in anxiety and on guard. They left their activities at home, gathered in public kitchens, and gathered to strengthen each other. Women cooked in large quantities, and looked after their children in safe places, and delivered them to the demonstrators and the community who gathered in large numbers who gathered to agree on the next steps of resistance.

The Helong Cultural Festival 1, 2, and 3 were held. The Helong Cultural Festival can be seen as a form of resistance by the Kolhua people. This festival starts in 2022 every June 1st to coincide with the Birth of Pancasila. The purpose of these 3 festivals is to preserve the customs, culture, and noble heritage of the Helong Tribe, as well as to spread the existence of the Kolhua people as the Helong Tribe which is an indigenous tribe that inhabits Kupang City. This festival is filled with dance events, weaving demonstrations, local food stalls, traditional medicines, weaving, and various other events that enliven the atmosphere. In fact, the Helong Cultural Festival is a strategy to fight the construction of the dam wrapped in a cultural preservation event so that a sense of belonging, a sense of love grows, and then collectively they can work together to protect their livelihoods from the threats of large-scale development.

“The government plans to build a dam and its size could cover rice fields, rivers, forests, and even houses. We do not believe in the compensation plan, because money is not the same as the lost nature. Can the government guarantee that if we move to another place, the government will provide everything exactly the same as it is now in Kolhua? Absolutely not! The mud to glue the weaving will not be found anywhere else, the rice fields will not be able to be moved to another place, and our lives from childhood to adulthood will not be able to be replaced exactly the same in the new place later”

Atalia Taklale



(SP Flobamoratas Documentation: Culture Festival Helong that involve Kolhua women)

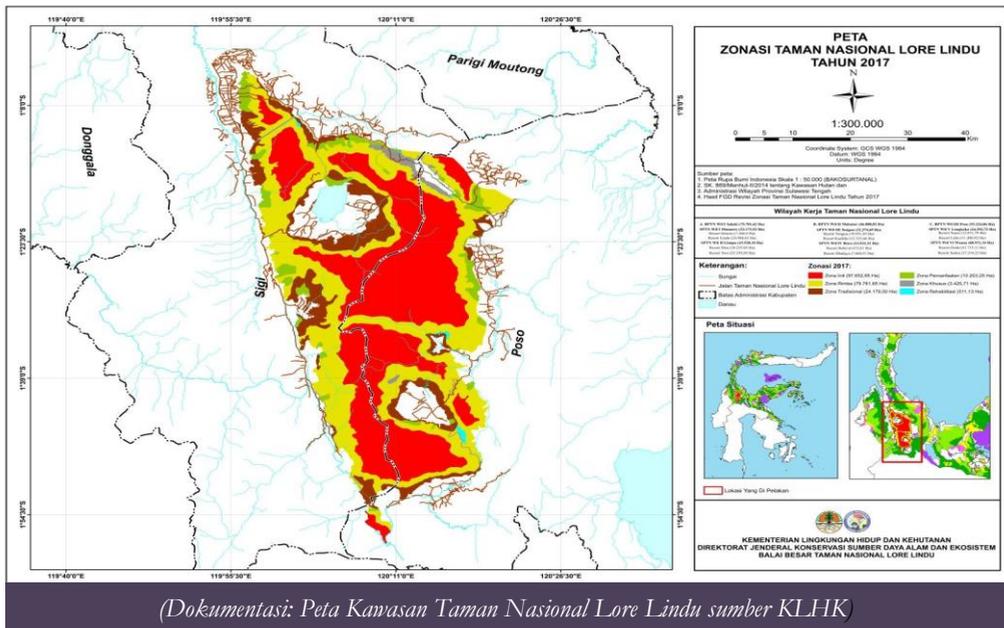
On April 11, 2024, hundreds of Kolhua residents again held a demonstration in front of the Kolhua Village Head office. They felt that the names of those invited by the village head to attend the government's socialization regarding the dam were only a one-sided fabrication. The invitation did not involve landowners or communities affected if the Kolhua dam was built, SP Flobamoratas also continues to strengthen women, through women's discussions to continue to build collectivity, solidarity and support each other in order to continue to protect mother earth Kolhua from the grip of investment.

Lore Lindu National Park: A Model of Women's Expulsion Under the Pretext of Protecting the Environment

The change in function of the forest area in the Pekurehua Valley highlands of Poso Regency into the Lore Lindu National Park (TNLL) area has had its own impact on community activities, especially women. The conflict that occurred was rooted in the state's perspective that forced local residents through welfare and public order projects, as well as protection of forest areas. This is what happened in the Determination of the Lore Lindu National Park (TNLL) area in 1981, showing a process of state hegemony over local communities living around the forest, through the implementation of the 1990 natural resource conservation law concerning the prohibition of agricultural activities and community settlements in forest areas²².

22 The role of non-governmental organizations in the establishment of Lore Lindu National Park by Yayasan Tanah Merdeka

In fact, in almost all areas, the establishment of National Parks has actually given rise to conflicts between the community and the state. One of them is Watutau Village, the presence of TNLL with an area of 217,991.18 ha has limited access, control and utilization of the forest by the community because it is considered to be damaging the environment and even getting the stigma as a thief of forest products. In fact, long before TNLL was present, the Watutau community had inhabited the land since prehistoric times which can be proven by megalithic statues whose age is estimated to be approximately 300SM²³. In general, people as farmers/gardeners, both in groups and individually, cultivate their land wisely and sustainably.



(Dokumentasi: Peta Kawasan Taman Nasional Lore Lindu sumber KLHK)

Since long ago, the forest has been a source of life for the community, especially women. In its management, the community has customary rules that must be carried out and respected. Women use the forest to collect pandan leaves which are used as mats and headbands for traditional events, wood is used as building materials for houses and coffins, vegetables, tree bark as materials for making clothes and plants used to make traditional medicines, all of these materials come from the forest that they have been protecting, then claimed by the state as the Lore Lindu National Park and designated as a biosphere reserve by UNESCO in 1977. The long road to reclaiming women's sovereignty over their forests continues to be lit by women. The complexity of the struggle for space by the state in the Napu highlands is increasing, but the state continues to ignore and allow this situation to grow even more fertile.

23.Source from BRWA

“The TNLL policy has alienated women from their sources of livelihood, because the forest is like a home or a market, where from the forest women can carry out spiritual, cultural and social values, including using it as a source of women's economy and a source of traditional medicines.”

Women from Watutau village

In 1980, after the survey was conducted, the TNLL team again measured and made a boundary by forming a mound of earth with a white painted stone on top, the stone was proof that the area had entered the TNLL area. The forestry department then promised that the Boundary Mark was only temporary. Until 1981, the land where the Boundary Mark had been installed was included as a wildlife sanctuary area, this decision was made without any information and approval involving the community and the village government. Until today, the community's productive land that had been claimed temporarily has never been returned, community activities, especially women, are no longer free to manage and enter the forest.

Another problem is the inequality of land ownership and allocation that continues to be carried out by the state, the government has also claimed the former HGU land of PT Sandabi Indah Lestari (PT SIL) covering an area of 7,800 ha to belong to the Land Bank Agency in 2021, the pressure of living space forces the community to enter the arena of fighting to defend their land and forests, the rejection of the presence of TNLL and BT in their village continues to be echoed. Until today, SP Palu together with 96 people, 43 women and 53 men, continue to consolidate and collect various evidence of their independent ownership of productive land, to reclaim land with a total area of 161 ha which will be reclaimed.^{23a}

The long struggle of women to regain sovereignty over their sources of livelihood has continued from time to time, women have taken various methods, from dialogue, forum intervention to reporting cases, in fact the government still does not give back their rights to access the forest with a sense of security, to manage productive land that has entered the TNLL area.

23a. Data source from SP Palu

CLIMATE INVESTMENT AMBITIONS: STATE CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN

The climate crisis is a reality for all of us. The Job Creation Law was drafted to fulfill the country's ambition to bring as much investment into the country as possible even without the consent of the affected communities, especially women. The impact of the country's great ambition is the massive destruction of the environment, the destruction of living space as a source of livelihood for women and their families. The higher the vulnerability of Indonesia as a country located on the ring of fire to disasters caused by the climate crisis.

The National Disaster Management Agency stated that throughout 2023 Indonesia experienced 5,400 natural disasters, the majority of which were hydrometeorological disasters due to climate change. Of the thousands of disasters, 8 million people experienced quite significant impacts such as losing their homes, being injured, missing, dying and being displaced.



Source: Indonesia Geoportal Disaster

The World Meteorological Organization has once again issued a Red Alert about the rapid pace of climate change in a generation, exacerbated by the continued increase in greenhouse gas levels in the atmosphere. The years 2015-2024 will be

the warmest decade on record; glacier ice loss, sea level rise, and ocean warming are accelerating; and extreme weather is wreaking havoc on societies and economies around the world. Meanwhile, the IPCC 2023 synthesis report states that global warming has reached a critical 1.1°C since 1850-1900, and the impacts of the climate crisis are already very real. Simultaneous and profound mitigation and adaptation actions must be taken immediately. The impacts of the climate crisis are also deepening the gap of inequality, both between countries, regions, genders, ages, and vulnerable and marginalized groups will experience worse impacts than groups that are rich and have better economic conditions and access.

Solidaritas Perempuan throughout September 2024, consultations were held with women farmers, women fishers and women migrant workers to see the impacts experienced by the climate crisis. For women farmers, the climate crisis has triggered the loss of natural signs that have been a guide for farmers to start farming due to unpredictable seasonal changes, and some of the most severe impacts felt by women farmers due to the climate crisis are: Planting failures and crop failures due to flooding, drought, increased pest attacks, the emergence of new pests and a decrease in the quality of agricultural products.

The same impacts are also experienced by women fishers, such as: Changes in the weather mean that fishermen can no longer determine the right time to go to sea, unpredictable winds and storms. The increase in sea temperature has damaged coral reefs as an important habitat for fish and marine biota so that these fish cannot survive or find a cool place, as a result fishermen have to go further out to sea with higher costs than before but the catch actually decreases. In addition, due to extreme weather, women fishers are vulnerable to accidents at sea that result in death during storms and large waves.

All the impacts described above lead to a decline in the economic welfare of women farmers and women fishers, increasing the economic burden to meet their living needs. In the end, women are forced to choose the wrong steps to meet the needs of their lives and families, namely borrowing from banks/loan sharks with high interest and having to be paid in installments per day/per week amidst uncertain income. The difficult economic situation of the community due to the climate crisis has resulted in an increase in criminal acts such as theft of livestock in NTT, especially after Cyclone Seroja, in addition to economic difficulties, women are also vulnerable to experiencing Domestic Violence (KDRT). The loss of women's livelihoods as farmers and fishers with the high rate of violence against women.

The difficult situation experienced by women has encouraged women to seek alternative jobs, such as migrating, either migrating from villages to cities or migrating between countries to work in shops, restaurant waiters or domestic workers. Women who work as migrant workers outside in the context of the climate crisis have difficulty adapting to weather changes in the host country, so they are vulnerable to health problems, such as: nosebleeds, acute headaches, and when floods occur, migrant workers still have to work and sleep in damp places.

In the midst of this emergency, the COP 29 negotiations in Baku, Azerbaijan, failed to produce decisions that favored countries or even groups most affected by the climate crisis. It was called the Finance COP because it specifically discussed collective commitments for climate finance. But by the end of the COP, the annual target for climate finance of 300 billion USD by 2035 and the vague investment pledge of 1.3 trillion were inadequate in terms of both quantity and quality and ignored the needs of developing countries and communities and their knowledge of the costs of staying within 1.5 degrees of warming.

This allowed developed countries as historical polluters to evade and obscure their obligations to provide public support to developing countries as climate debts to be paid. It did not include finance to address loss and damage, did not set minimum allocation limits for the most vulnerable countries, and failed to include commitments to increase direct grant-based access for marginalized and affected communities, including women and girls in all their diversity.

The decision makes no mention of human rights or gender-responsive finance. Rather than providing a mechanism to leverage finance for more climate ambition in developing countries, with new national climate plans due next year, this outcome further undermines trust and undoes the grand bargain that is the Paris Agreement. It puts the multilateral climate regime in serious jeopardy at a time when we need solidarity, empathy and collective climate action more than ever.

*Instead of urging developed countries to implement the principle of **common but differentiated responsibility**, Indonesia, as one of the developing countries and also most affected by the climate crisis, continues to sell its land and water in the name of solutions to the climate crisis.*

In Hashim's speech as the President's special envoy for Climate and Energy and Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia (Delri) at the 29th COP in Baku, there was no indication of any immediate efforts to deal with the dangers of the climate crisis occurring in Indonesia. The speech was not much different from that delivered by President Jokowi at COP 28 in Dubai. State leaders still view the climate crisis as an opportunity for economic commodification to attract as much investment as possible, instead of an approach based on sustainability and justice. For example, the issue of multiplying clean energy to 75 GW which is full of Just Transition investment, and the Ambition to restore and rehabilitate critical land or forests covering 12.7 hectares which is full of carbon trading (carbon market), which was echoed by Hashim in his speech.

Multipling clean energy capacity to 75 GW will increase agrarian conflicts with the community. Accelerating growth, creating more jobs, ensuring food security, and reducing poverty with clean energy projects is just a myth. The Geothermal Project in Poco Leok and the Poso Hydroelectric Power Plant are some of the many examples of how energy transition projects that are touted as clean energy continue to give rise to violence and impoverish communities, women, indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups.

From these examples, it is clear that there will never be a balance between growth and environmental sustainability if the development of energy transition projects ignores community consent and the carrying capacity and carrying capacity of the environment. It is still far from what is called a just energy transition. In addition, the implementation of the National Gender Action Plan that Indonesia has had since March 2024 must go beyond women's participation, but rather how aspects of fulfilling and respecting women's rights to sources of livelihood, including care work carried out by women, are also part of the considerations for implementing a just energy transition.

The ambition to restore and rehabilitate 12.7 hectares of forest in the Prabowo Subianto Government is also an investment target that is also being negotiated by the Indonesian government at COP 29. Food Estate as a National Strategic Project has the potential to become a red carpet for the exploitation of natural resources and forests. The Food Estate project, which is claimed as a solution to the food crisis by the government, actually deepens the crisis for women and small farmers. This project not only causes the loss of productive agricultural land, but also worsens Indonesia's dependence on food imports. In addition, forest restoration through the Food Estate project will only repeat the same failure.

In Central Kalimantan, from 30 points monitored and intersecting with protected peat areas, 15 food estate land points covering an area of 4,159.62 hectares were found abandoned, while 274 hectares were turned into oil palm plantations. This is in line with President Prabowo's speech that he will open 20 million hectares of land for food and energy. He even without hesitation appealed to the Regional Government and the TNI-Polri apparatus to guard oil palm plantations. Prabowo claimed that oil palm is a strategic material so it needs to be guarded. In his speech, he also mentioned that oil palm plantations are the cause of deforestation, which is a false accusation. In fact, various studies have shown that deforestation for oil palm plantations has triggered an increase in the earth's temperature and given rise to various ecological disasters. This is because palm oil cannot replace the function of forests that have a lot of biodiversity and have a better ability to absorb carbon than monoculture plantations such as palm oil.²⁴

CATAHU 2024, SP documented two energy projects that were touted as solutions to overcome the climate crisis, but on the contrary, they actually worsened the climate crisis itself, destroying and impoverishing women, namely: the Poso Energi Geothermal and Hydroelectric Power Plant Projects.

Geothermal: A False Solution to the Impoverishment of Women and Indigenous Peoples Indigenous Peoples

The shift to renewable energy sources, which are an important component in mitigating the impacts of the climate crisis, is seen as an opportunity for Indonesia to utilize renewable energy resources. Energy policy in Indonesia is regulated in Law No. 30 of 2007 (Energy Law). Article 4 of the Energy Law defines renewable energy as a source produced from sustainable methods that include, for example, geothermal, wind, bioenergy, sunlight, water flow and waterfalls, and energy utilized from the movement and differences in sea temperature. One of the energy projects that is projected to overcome the climate crisis is geothermal power plants. The Indonesian government argues that the potential for 'renewable energy' in Indonesia can reach up to 3,686 gigawatts (GW). Indonesia is estimated to have 40% of the world's geothermal reserves. The government has found at least 300 potential geothermal energy reserves.²⁵ With an energy potential of 24 GW on the islands of Sumatra, Java, Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, and Maluku.

However, the Indonesian government's extractive approach to geothermal development has resulted in policies and implementations that target the development of destructive 'renewable energy' projects and facilities in various regions. The exploitation of natural resources for geothermal energy development

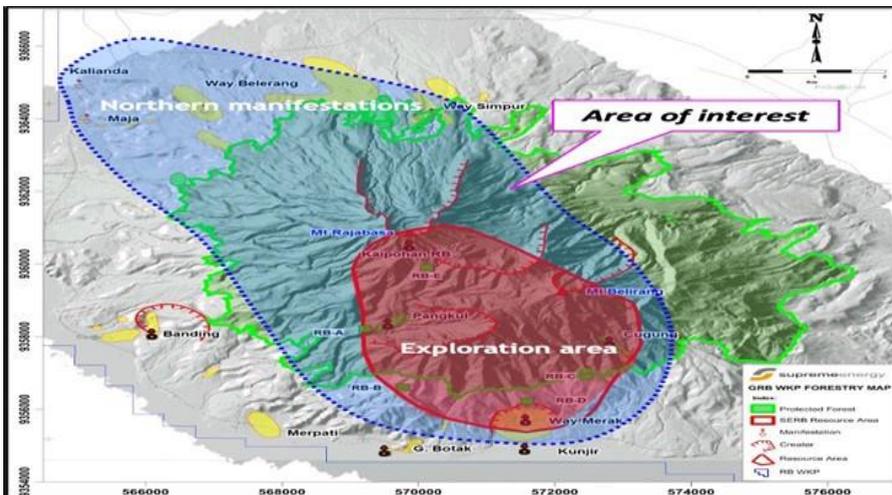
24. lihat <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c878ng8gdgpo>

25. Alexander Chipman Koty, "An Tinjauan Sektor Energi Panas Bumi Indonesia,"

has triggered land conflicts, violence, food and clean water crises and resulted in environmental pollution for indigenous peoples and other vulnerable groups in the mining area.

Solidaritas Perempuan conducted an assessment related to geothermal development in Indonesia. Specifically, for the Rajabasa geothermal project, PT Supreme Energy Rajabasa (SERB) acts as the party implementing and developing the exploration plan in Lampung. PT SERB will supply the electricity generated to PLN through a power purchase agreement under the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. The Rajabasa geothermal project is expected to generate 220 MW of electricity, most of which will be implemented by PT SERB together with a French company (GdF Suez or Engie) and a subsidiary of Fortune 500, Sumitomo Corporation. Since the start of exploration in 2013, PT SERB has continued to push for the exploration even though the indigenous people of Gunung Rajabasa have voiced their rejection of geothermal exploration.²⁶

The Rajabasa geothermal exploration is carried out in a protected forest and PT SERB assumes that the obligation to carry out reforestation will repair the environmental damage. This assumption was made without considering the cultural values and attachment of the Rajabasa indigenous people to their forest. The government deregulated land acquisition in forests for business purposes through the Job Creation Law, until now the community has lost their access due to land acquisition around Mount Rajabasa carried out by PT. SERB.



PT. Supreme Energy Geothermal Project Documentation in Mount Rajabasa, Lampung

26. Exploring-Geothermal-Energy-Development-in-Indonesia.pdf

The most fundamental thing is that Mount Rajabasa is one of the pillars that unite the Saibatin Paksipak Sekala Brak Traditional Kingdom, in addition to four other mountains in Lampung. Mount Rajabasa became a place of shelter for their ancestors during the eruption of Mount Krakatoa in 1883 and played an important role in defending against colonial invaders. Not only that, Mount Rajabasa became an evacuation site for victims of the Sunda Strait tsunami in 2018, and has a water source that is utilized by thousands of people in 39 villages in 8 sub-districts in South Lampung.²⁷

The rejection of the construction of the geothermal project was also carried out by the community, especially Padang Rincang women who have worked as farmers for generations. Geothermal development is feared to have the potential to damage the ecosystem of Mount Parakasak which has a number of water sources that flow into the residents' areas. In addition to daily needs, the flow of water from Mount Parakasak is also used to irrigate residents' rice fields. However, the winning tender company actually cleared land for the construction of a well site on Mount Parakasak in 2015. According to the community, the activity has resulted in their land drying out, which had never happened before the activity²⁸. Geothermal rejection was also carried out by the community, especially the Poco Leok women, through their ongoing village guard actions.

For women, the seizure of living space in the name of climate exacerbates the injustice they have experienced so far. In the Indonesian context, with its patriarchal culture and deep-rooted social order, women's ownership and control of land is very limited. The feminization of poverty is a situation in which the increasing vulnerability of women to poverty in a social class is associated with gender bias in the allocation of household resources, public policies, and laws and regulations.²⁹ At the same time, women are required to fulfill reproductive roles such as providing food and water sources for family needs, which makes them very dependent on nature. This in turn makes Indonesian women very vulnerable to the impacts of environmental damage. In addition, failure to fulfill their reproductive and socio-economic roles will encourage women to leave their villages or seek opportunities abroad to become migrant workers and get trapped in less protected jobs.

27. Sita Planasari A, "Masyarakat Adat Lampung Proyek Tolak Panas Bumi," Tempo.co, 29 Mei 2013

28. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/crm2lygk8x8o>

29. Valentine M. Moghadam, "Feminisasi Kemiskinan dalam Perspektif Internasional," The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Vol. 5, No.2: 244.

Women's “Action to Guard the Village” against Geothermal Development Geothermal Development in Poco Leok

Flores is an island in East Nusa Tenggara that has a potential of almost 1,000 MW with reserves of 402,000 MW. Seeing the great geothermal potential of Flores Island in 2017, the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources issued the Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 2268 K/MEM/2017 concerning the Determination of Flores Island as a Geothermal Island without the consent of the community, especially women. One of the objectives of issuing the Decree is to attract investment in the geothermal sector in Flores. Attracting investment is still the country's ambition today, including in the context of geothermal projects, even without the consent of the community, especially women. The geothermal development project in Flores is also part of the National Strategic Projects (PSN) contained in the Electricity Supply Business Plan (2021-2030), we know based on the description above that the National Strategic Projects are currently the main factor in impoverishing women.

One of the geothermal projects in Flores is the Ulumbu PLTP, which is planned to be expanded to Poco Leok which is located in Manggarai Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. The Poco Leok area is 2,002.2 km from the city of Ruteng with a travel time of ± 45 minutes. Poco Leok consists of 14 traditional villages, 3 villages, namely Lungar Village, Mocok Village, and Golo Muntas Village, and 21 residential areas. Lungar Village has a population of 1,329 people consisting of 663 men and 666 women. Mocok Village has a population of 1,539 people consisting of 805 men and 734 women. The population of Golo Muntas Village is 1,211 people consisting of 613 men and 598 women. So the total population in the Poco Leok area is 4,145 people consisting of 2,081 men and 1,998 women.

The Wellpad H exploration point is located in Lungar Village, with a land area of around 2,195 hectares, Wellpad I is also located in Lungar Village, with a land area of around 2,087 hectares, and wellpad J is located in Wewo Village, with a land area of around 1,901. Meanwhile, based on the customary administrative area, wellpad H is located in Gendang Rebak and Gendang Lungar, wellpad I Gendang Rebak (Laking Tribe), while wellpad J is located on the Gendang Lale land. Meanwhile, the data on land requirements for the access road for Wewo Village is 1,195 hectares, Ponggeok 0.210 hectares, Mocok Village 0.5 hectares, Lungar Village 4,320 hectares. The locations of these development points include a number of customary lands such as Gendang Wewo, Gendang Rebak, Gendang Lale, Gendang Tere, Gendang Mesir, Gendang Leda, and Gendang Lelak

The Poco Leok geothermal exploration plan has been started since 1982, since then the escalation of visits to Poco Leok has become more intense since 2016. Until 2017, PLN together with the research team began to enter the village to productive land and customary land without notifying the community.³⁰ Until today, the expansion of the Ulumbu PLTP to Poco Leok by PLN continues, even though it is amidst the rejection of the community, especially women, which has been carried out since 2022.

The rejection by women of the expansion of the Ulumbu PLTP to Poco Leok was caused by women's concerns about losing their land as a living space for women, damage or loss of water sources, and the threat to life safety due to the emergence of the risk of gas leaks that cause death and poisoning, which occurred in Sorik Marapi and Mataloko, as well as the risk of disasters that threaten the community, such as earthquakes and landslides. Another impact before the Ulumbu PLTP expansion plan, the Poco Leok community had experienced a decline in harvest yields since 2012 coinciding with the start of the Ulumbu PLTP operation. People who used to harvest up to 150 kg of coffee can now only harvest 10-15 kg of coffee.

“We don't care about the law or the decree issued by the regent, we only want to defend our ancestral land and our living space. We will fight until we die”

Mama Elisabeth - Women from Poco Leok



Dok. Mongabay.co.id - Pocolok women protest the planned construction of a geothermal power plant that will impact their customary land. Photo: Anno Susabun.

The first socialization conducted by PLN has been subject to a number of manipulations ranging from non-transparent information by only explaining the benefits without explaining the negative impacts if geothermal operates to misuse of documents so that it appears that the community accepts if geothermal enters, so that reflecting on various experiences of manipulation, the community, especially women, are very careful of new people.

Poco Leok women work as farmers, they use the Poco Leok land to plant coffee, cloves, candlenuts, cocoa, tubers and vegetables. Poco Leok is the best coffee producing area in Manggarai, from the results of agricultural sales, women can meet the needs of food and school fees for their children up to college. Sovereignty over the land as "mother" and the sky as "father" for human life. Poco Leok women believe that the extraction of the geothermal industry will destroy 'mother earth'. Thus, the cosmic belief in the relationship between heaven and earth will no longer be a guide for living together with indigenous people, that is why the relationship between women and the Poco Leok land is so strong.

The function of land or earth as a provider of food for family life. Poco Leok women believe that land destroyed by geothermal extraction will no longer support those who have been guaranteed by the results of fields for food and other agricultural products. Sovereignty over land as a provider of life, for the Manggarai people, is inseparable from the larger concept of living space. Living space in this case includes six points; Gendang'n one (Gendang house or traditional house), Lingko'n peang (customary garden), Natas bate labar (village yard as a place to play), Compang (altar of offerings in the middle of the village), Wae bate tekku (spring of life source), and Boa (ancestral graves).³¹

"Because God gave me hands to cultivate the land, not to sell the land"

Mama Mery – women from Poco Leok

The Poco Leok geothermal expansion plan has created terror, fear and trauma in women because not only physical attacks, PLN and its team also sexually assaulted women. So that collectively women fought back through the Village Guard Action, this action was carried out in response to the planned arrival of PLN and the Manggarai Regional Government escorted by the Police to Lingko Meter to identify and record land to run the Ulumbu PLTP expansion project. Poco Leok women are at the forefront to prevent PLN from entering, women are also the ones who experience a lot of violence from armed officers. The actions of the officers caused trauma to women and children. In addition, in the action, several young people were

31_ <https://www.indonesiana.id/read/164579/%E2%80%9Ctanah-itu-ibu-kami%E2%80%9D- cara-perempuan-pocoleok-flores-pertahankan-tanah-dari-ancaman-proyek-geothermal>

also intimidated and chased by officers because they took pictures and videos when the security forces carried out brutal violence against the community. Hitting, kicking, pushing, pulling until several people fell including several women.



(SP Flobamorats NTT Documentation, The activities of Poco Leok women in the Stasi collective garden, this space is a strategy for women to spy on new people who enter Poco Leok, especially the geothermal company)

The Manggarai Regency Government remains adamant about continuing the project, resulting in clashes between the community and security forces (a combination of police and military) who were guarding the arrival of PLN. Clashes broke out again on October 2, 2024 when people from 10 indigenous communities or gendang in Poco Leok held a guard action for the 26th village in Lingko Meter, which is also part of the Gendang Lungar customary land.

The long journey of the community and women in fighting against geothermal expansion in Poco Leok has not diminished their spirit of resistance in the slightest, they have made various efforts to obtain justice for this gross human rights violation, starting from reporting to the German Bank Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) to reaffirm their rejection of the expansion of the Ulumbu geothermal power plant, reporting to the Ombudsman regarding maladministration carried out by PLN and its team, to reporting to the National Human Rights Commission and the National Commission on Violence Against Women regarding gross human rights violations committed by the State against the Poco Leok community. Solidaritas Perempuan Flobamoratas also continues to strengthen through women's discussions to continue to maintain awareness, collectively and spread this spirit until it multiplies.

Proven to Harvest Problems, Poso Energi's Hydropower Plant is Expanded

PT Poso Energy is a subsidiary of Kalla Group, after building PLTA 1 and 2, the company is planning to build 6 new PLTAs which will have a total capacity of 2,060 MW, two of which are the construction of PLTA Poso 3 with a capacity of 400 MW and PLTA 4 with a capacity of 30 MW located in Tampemadoro and Pandiri Villages, Poso Regency, Central Sulawesi, will soon be built where the main contractor of the project is PT Bukaka Teknik Utama. The activities of PLTA 1 and 2 have had a massive impact on the destruction of women's sources of life, the destruction of ecology to the social and cultural values of the community.

Dredging and bombing of the Poso riverbed has changed the landscape, the soil has become unstable, as a result many building constructions have been damaged, for more than 10 years people have lived and carried out activities in houses that are no longer habitable. People feel unsafe living in their own homes and are worried about the safety of their families. Data from the Solidaritas Perempuan Sintuwu Raya Poso shows that to date, 23 houses and 1 church have been damaged due to the Poso hydroelectric power plant's activities.



Do SP Sintuwuraya Poso Documentation: Community houses damaged by dredging and bombing activities on the Poso riverbed by the PLTA Poso 1 and 2 in Sulewana village

PT PT Poso Energi has polluted the Poso River, the river that used to be clear green has long been used by the community as a source of livelihood for consumption, farming and fish farming such as eel, tilapia and others. However, the river has now changed color to a murky brownish color and oily due to the company's waste oil spill. As a result, people no longer use the water for household needs.

Women are forced to buy clean water to meet their drinking and cooking needs. However, some of those who cannot afford to buy clean water, have no other choice but to continue using polluted river water, the use of this water causes reproductive health problems, as an alternative women will walk for kilometers to get water from other sources.

Women have also lost their main jobs as farmers and fish farmers, this is because the river landscape is damaged so that it can no longer accommodate the overflow of the river. To meet their living needs and school needs, women who have lost their livelihoods are now entering a cycle of debt so that their children can continue to go to school. This has become a threat to women's food sovereignty in the affected villages. This situation has caused the community, especially women, to experience a decline in their quality of life and health.

"I often feel worried and afraid when I am in the house, we the community also lost clean water in the past we used river water for everyday use, now river water can no longer be used and we are forced to buy gallons of water"

**Women from Sulewana village who affected by PLTA
Poso**

The sweet promise of the initial development to open up employment opportunities so that people are prosperous and get free electricity is in fact just a dream, because until today there are still many people who choose to work outside the area because of the lack of jobs, people in Sulewana Village continue to pay for electricity every month even though large electricity resources are in their village. Not only that, everyday people continue to feel anxious, the position of Sulewana Village which is surrounded by the Poso River Watershed could at any time cause an ecological disaster, the results of monitoring by the Solidaritas Perempuan Sintuwu Raya Poso found that plants around the riverbank are now starting to head towards the river, this is due to the degradation of the Poso river landscape due to dredging and bombing of the banks and riverbed, further exacerbated by the activity of opening water gates that continue to erode the river because the water is so fast. Solidaritas Perempuan recorded that the victims due to the construction of the Poso Hydroelectric Power Plant reached 5,511 people, 2,657 men, 4,092 women spread across Pandiri, Tampemadoro and Sulewana villages.



Solidaritas Perempuan Documentation: Women in Pandiri village discuss and share their stories regarding the presence of the Poso Hydroelectric Power Plant

Even though it has been proven to be a problem, in fact the construction of the hydroelectric power plant will still be continued in Pandiri and Tampemadoro Villages. The hydroelectric power plant development plan does not involve all levels of society, especially women who will be directly affected, socialization is carried out with several people in the

village who are considered capable of smoothing the progress of the project. Of course this situation is also rooted in patriarchal culture, where women are only seen as objects of development whose existence and voices do not need to be heard and considered. Women as recipients of the impact of hydroelectric power plant development are not involved and do not receive adequate and regular information from the planning process to project implementation.

Women are not aware of the potential environmental, social, economic, and cultural impacts that should have been notified from the start by the company and the government. Solidaritas Perempuan Sintuwu Raya Poso has written to the Poso Regency Environmental Agency (DLH) several times to obtain the Environmental Impact Analysis (Amdal) document for the hydroelectric power plant, but none of the letters sent have received a response, clearly the government has ignored the right to open information to the public. In the Environmental Impact Analysis (Andal) document, the land acquisition/clearance process is carried out based on Law Number 2 of 2012 concerning Land Acquisition for Development in the Public Interest and PT Poso Energi claims that in the land acquisition process, a discussion has been held first to determine the price/form of compensation to be given.

However, other field findings, information regarding the land acquisition process and procedures and price determination were not informed to the public, especially women, and there was no agreement on how to resolve the problem for people who did not want to give up their land. The method of land acquisition still uses land brokers by visiting land owners one by one so that their land will be released. Land prices also vary, per meter is set at a price starting from IDR 1,000 to a maximum price of IDR 10,000/meter, then the land that is bought by brokers at a low price is resold to the company at a high price.

The people who sold the land were not given a choice, the government and companies continued to use the pretext of development for the public interest to continue their actions. Although the hydroelectric power plant has not been built, the impact of the activities of hydroelectric power plants 1 and 2 is also felt by the community. The opening of the hydroelectric power plant 1 and 2 floods the gardens of the community around the river due to the large and fast water discharge. As a result, many people experienced crop failures and their cattle and chickens were swept away by the strong river water, and there was not a single good intention from PT Poso Energi to take responsibility for the damage and losses experienced by the community since 2022.

The various situations experienced by the community, especially women, did not stop them from continuing to make efforts to defend their violated rights, through actions, audiences, hearings and reporting cases to the National Human Rights Commission and the National Commission on Violence Against Women, but until today, there has been no clarity on resolving these human rights violations. This spirit of resistance continues to be sown by women until it multiplies, this collective struggle is real evidence of the importance of climate programs based on women's experience and knowledge, therefore it is important for the government to involve women in every stage of development to achieve a just energy transition.

A Climate Policy Direction (Should) Be for Women, Not Investment Interests

Due to the emergency situations experienced by the community, especially women caused by the climate crisis as described above, the state should attend to a climate-just policy based on the needs, experiences and local knowledge of the community, especially women. However, the state has betrayed the people, especially women, by presenting pro-investment climate policies and projects, such as the Job Creation Law, clean geothermal energy projects and hydroelectric power plants which in fact, as described above, are worsening the climate crisis through environmental destruction and causing extreme poverty for the community, especially women.

Based on consultations conducted by SP with women farmers, women fishers in the organizing area and strengthened by SP, it turns out that they have taken various steps without destroying the environment based on their local knowledge to deal

STRUCTURAL SLAVERY AND NEGLECT OF THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN MIGRANT WORKERS

The second term of President Jokowi's administration ended with the neglect of the protection of Migrant Women Workers (PBM) and their Families which was inherited by the next administration. Not only neglecting to protect PBM and their families, the state is also the main actor that forces women to work as migrant workers abroad without protection, through various patriarchal policies that marginalize and perpetuate the impoverishment of women. Law Number 7 of 2021 concerning the Harmonization of Tax Regulations (UU HPP) is one example of a policy that encourages women to work abroad. This is caused by the increase in the price of basic necessities and services needed by the community,

The increase in prices will certainly force women to make various efforts to ensure that the family's domestic needs are met, namely: saving on household expenses and/or reducing the quality of goods and basic services needed to be aligned with income, ignoring special goods needed by women, or the last effort that can be done by women is to become informal workers with minimal protection, such as: Domestic Workers (PRT) at home and abroad due to limited access to decent work in the country for women.

Not only the HPP Law, the implementation of Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning the Stipulation of Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation into Law (Ciptakerja Law), also further impoverishes women. This policy was introduced only to fulfill the country's ambition to attract as much investment as possible within the country, even though it means taking away women's management space as a source of livelihood, both on land and at sea through various projects and programs as explained in the previous chapter.

The presence of the Job Creation Law is not only about the ease of investment entry, but also the state's hands-off action to protect PBM and their families as mandated by Law Number 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PPMI Law, by changing several provisions in the PPMI Law which provide easy permits for Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI) to run their businesses.

In fact, P3MI is the main source of problems that make PBM and their families trapped in unsafe working situations and full of violence and intimidation.

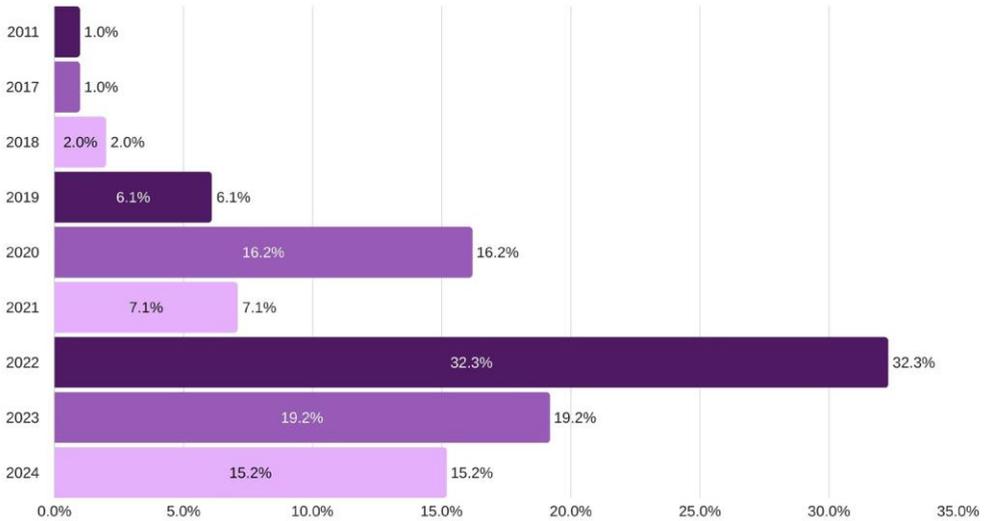
Changes to the provisions related to the P3MI licensing procedures by the Job Creation Law have eliminated the spirit of the PPMI Law itself which provides great legitimacy to the state to protect PBM and their families. The ease of doing business provided by the Job Creation Law to P3MI is only business-oriented which ignores the feasibility of life, comfort, security and safety of PBM and their families.

In addition to these two policies, other things that force women to migrate are the climate crisis, where the intensity of disasters continues to increase, crop failures and crop failures, and the patriarchal culture that lives in society where the stigma against women who find it easier to get work abroad as domestic workers because they are considered accustomed to doing it at home, violence experienced by women in their households, are other factors that encourage women to migrate. To see more clearly the situation of neglect of protection of PBM and their families in the 3 stages of migration by the state, it can be seen through the data on handling SP cases in 2022-2024.

Warta in Figures: Neglecting the Protection of Women Workers Migrant Workers and Their Families

Throughout 2022-2024, SP advocated for ninety-nine (99) cases of women migrant workers (WMW) who experienced injustice, rights violations, violence, exploitation and even became victims of human trafficking.

Diagram 1.
Case Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on Year

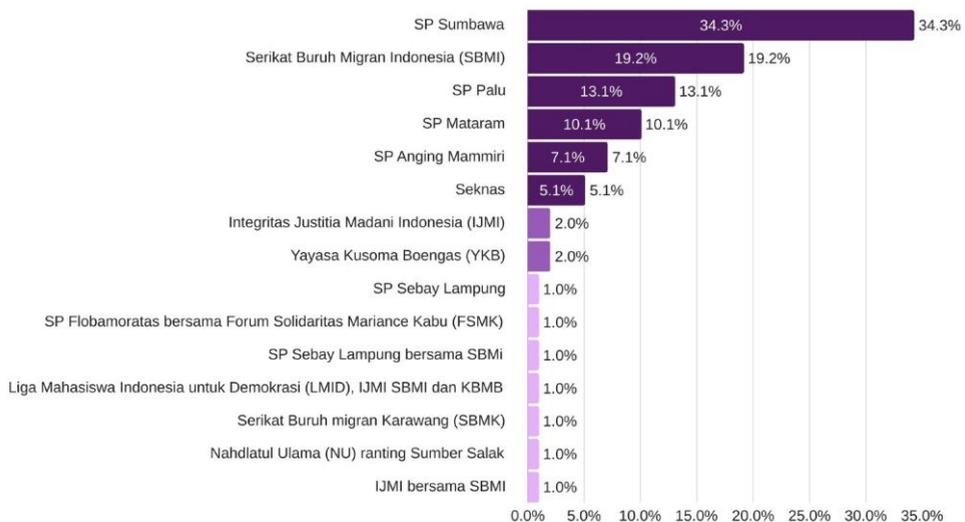


The resolution of cases for justice for WMW is long and protracted because the majority are sent unprocedural by individuals, so they are not registered in government data and cannot access the services they need, it is difficult for WMW to access the assistance they need while working, especially those who work as domestic workers, because of the closed work system, communication tools and personal documents that are withheld by employers. In addition, the lack of information that can be accessed by WMW and their families related to safe migration because the One-Stop Integrated Institution (LTSA) has not been maximized in accordance with the mandate of the PPMI Law.

In advocating for cases against WMW and their families, the National Secretariat (Seknas) of SP does this together with 5 SP Communities, consisting of: Advocacy with SP Sumbawa for 34.3% of cases. SP Palu, 13.1% of cases, SP Mataram 10.1% of cases, SP Anging Mammiri 7.1% of cases and with SP Sebay Lampung for 1% of cases.

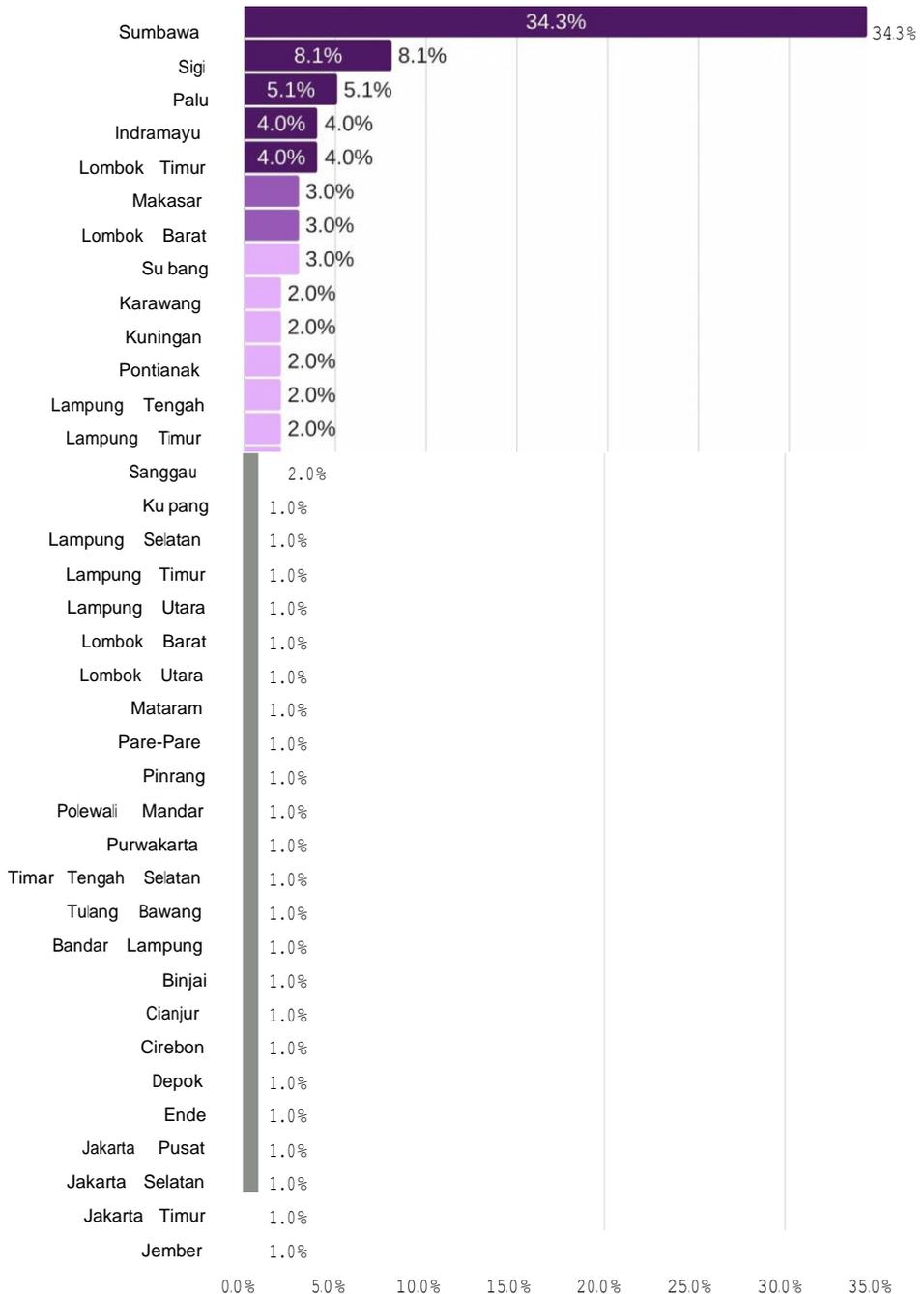
In addition to working with SP Community, advocacy is also carried out with networks that focus on encouraging protection, fulfillment of rights and justice for WMW and their families, consisting of: 19.2% of cases with the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union (SBMI), 2% of cases with the Integrity of Justitia Madani Indonesia (IJMI), 2% with the Kusuma Bongas Foundation (YKB), 1% with the Karawang Migrant Workers Union (SBMK), 1% of cases with the Sumber Salak NU Branch, 1% of cases with SBMI and IJMI, and 1% of cases with the Cambodian Advocacy Solidarity, and there are 2% of cases that are advocated jointly between the National Secretariat and the SP Community with the network, namely: 1% of cases with SP Sebay Lampung and SBMI and 1% of cases with SP Flobamoratas and the Mariance Kabu Solidarity Forum (FSMK), and 5.1% of other cases are direct complaints to the National Secretariat of SP.

Diagram 2.
**Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas with SP
Community and Networks**



If we look at the data above, the SP Community that received the most complaints in the last 3 years is SP Sumbawa in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) and SP Palu in Central Sulawesi, which are the two SP communities that received the most complaints about WMW cases who experienced injustice, rights violations, violence, exploitation, and even became victims of human trafficking. SP Sumbawa and SP Palu are the only women's organizations in their areas that focus on the issue of protecting WMW and their families.

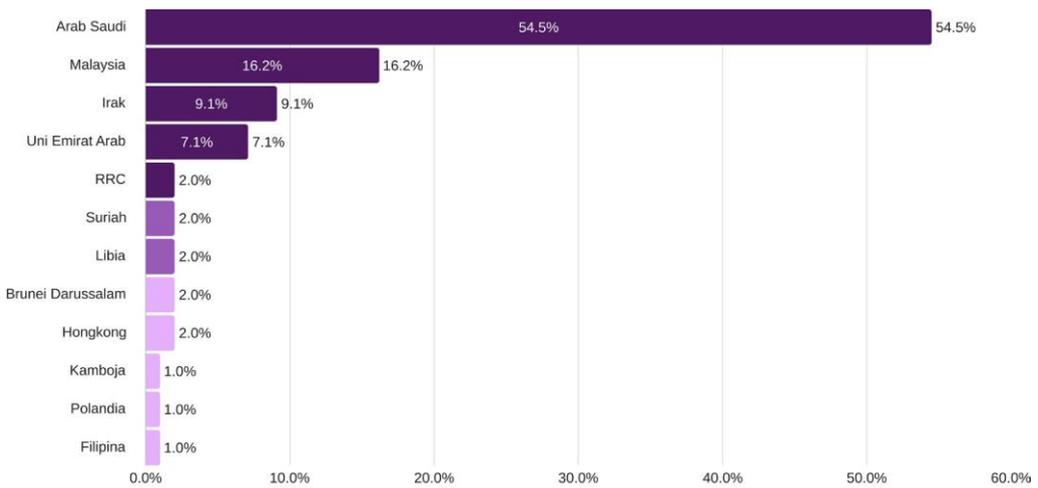
Diagram 3.
Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on origin



Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2022, the child marriage rate in Central Sulawesi was the 5th highest nationally, reaching 12.65%, where Palu was one of the areas with the highest child marriages based on data from the Central Sulawesi Ministry of Religion Office³³. The high rate of child marriage in Central Sulawesi is also a driving factor for girls to migrate to work abroad. Because after a woman gets married, the responsibility to meet the family's domestic needs will be attached to her and the girl does not have many choices to meet her family's living needs in her home area, amidst the difficulty of accessing jobs and sources of livelihood to meet her needs. Another thing that most convinces WMW in Sigi and Palu to work abroad is because recruitment is carried out by those closest to her, such as in-laws and others.

Diagram 4.

Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on Placemnet Country



In the last 3 years, Saudi Arabia is still the destination country for the most reported WMW placements, namely (54.5%) cases. The high number of WMW placements to Saudi Arabia is actually inversely proportional to the protection provided by the state. The state actually commits a "crime" by allowing WMW to be "trapped" in forced labor situations and become victims of human trafficking.

One of the main causes of WMW in Saudi Arabia not being protected is because the Indonesian government continues to maintain discriminatory policies for WMW and policies that cause WMW to experience unprocedural placement and become victims of human trafficking, namely the Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 260 of 2015 concerning the Termination and Prohibition of the Placement

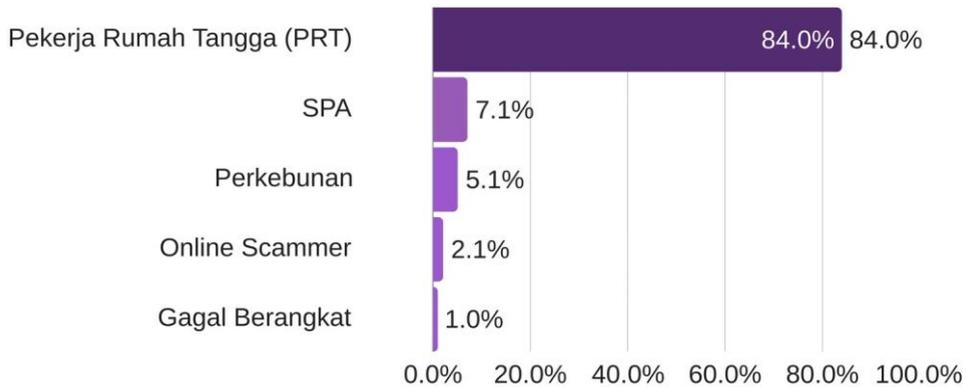
33. <https://channelsulawesi.id/2023/11/06/sulteng-peringkat-5-nasional-pernikahan-dini/>

of Indonesian Migrant Workers with Individual Users in Middle Eastern Countries. The lack of supervision and law enforcement has a deterrent effect on perpetrators of unprocedural placement of PBM and even become perpetrators of human trafficking, both individuals and by Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI) or government officials from various state agencies.

Not only Saudi Arabia, in the last 3 years there have been 20 out of 99 cases of WMW placed in other Middle Eastern countries that are also prohibited based on the Minister of Manpower Decree 260 of 2015 which also do not receive protection, consisting of: Iraq 9.1% of cases, United Arab Emirates 7.1% of cases, Syria and Libya 2% of cases each. From these data, it can also be seen that the placement of WMW in conflict countries continues, such as: Iraq, Libya and Syria. The placement of WMW in conflict countries is clearly prohibited by the PPMI Law, and they should be evacuated, but this was not done, so that WMW are not only trapped in forced labor and human trafficking situations, but experience deep fear and trauma due to the conflict in the destination country.

After Saudi Arabia, the second largest country of WMW placement reported to SP is Malaysia, which reaches 16.2% of cases. The work situation of WMW in Malaysia is also not much different from countries in the Middle East. Even 7 PBMs placed in Malaysia had to experience very frightening and horrific sexual exploitation, which left deep trauma. In addition, WMW Marianne Kabu also had to experience cruel torture from her employer for 8 months in 2014, even some of her organs were "damaged" and no longer functioned as before. Not only about torture, undocumented WMW s in Malaysia, especially those working in Sabah, must also be haunted by continuous arrests by Sabah immigration, where before being deported to Indonesia, WMWs must experience prolonged detention in DTI. The conditions in DTI as described by many WMWs who have been deported to Indonesia are very bad, cramped, and have minimal or even no special facilities needed by women and children.

Diagram 5
Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on Type of Work

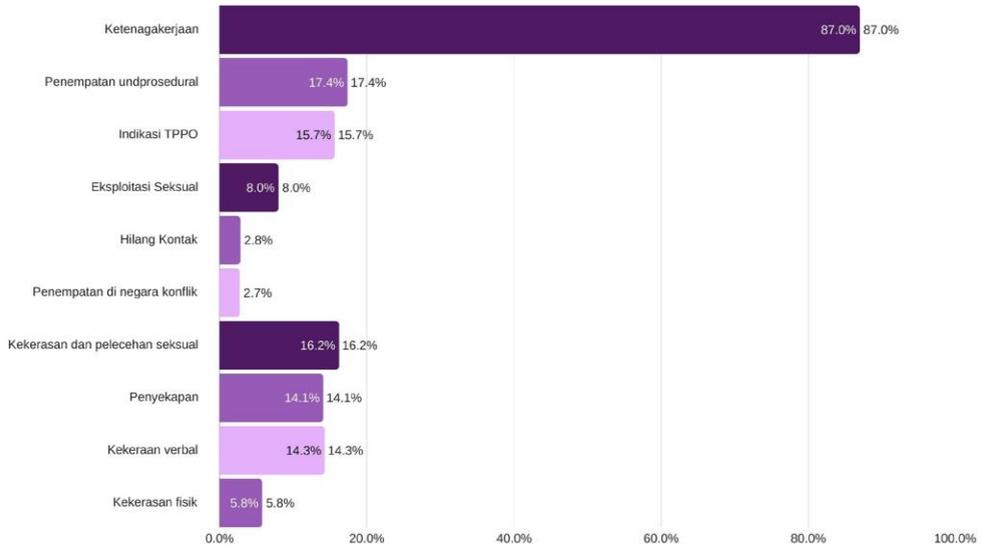


Domestic Workers (PRT) are still the most common type of work done and reported by WMW and their families to the SP. In the period 2022-2024, the number of WMW working as PRT reached 84.8% of people. Even so, many WMW work as PRT to meet the needs of their lives and their families, but until today Indonesia still does not recognize PRT as a job with the failure to ratify the PPRT Law or ratify the ILO Convention 189 on Decent Work for Domestic Workers. In a patriarchal society, PRT is stigmatized as work done by women and does not require special skills and is considered a lower job than other work done outside the home or public sphere. The still high demand for Indonesian PRT in various countries of placement is due to the stigma of Indonesian women being obedient and submissive, fear of losing their jobs, being underpaid and meticulous in doing housework.

In addition to PRT, 7.1% of WMW cases were promised to work as therapists in spas or salons. but after arriving in their destination country, they actually experience sexual exploitation, where they are asked to provide plus-plus massages to SPA customers, even one of them is forced to work as a sex worker. As many as 5 (5.1%) WMW work as plantation workers, where 2 of them are forced to work on their husband's plantations/fields after being caught in human trafficking with the mode of ordered brides, and 3 others work on palm oil plantations, Sabah-Malaysia who were arrested for being undocumented and deported to Indonesia. As many as 2 (2%) WMW were employed as online scammers in Cambodia and the Philippines, and, as much as 1% of other WMW failed to leave, after previously being promised by P3MI that they would be employed as meat packers in Poland but after WMW

handed over some money for placement costs, they were not sent and their money was not returned.

Diagram 6
Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on
Type of Case

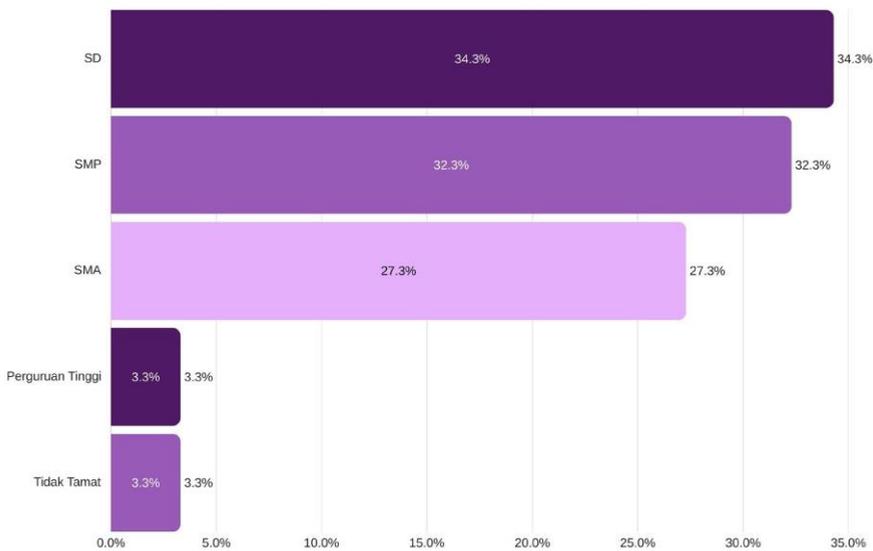


Meanwhile, if seen from the types of cases reported to SP, WMW not only experienced 1 problem, but 5-6 problems, this proves that WMW experienced layers of vulnerability in every stage of migration. In the last three years, the type of case most reported by SP which reached 87% was employment problems, ranging from unpaid wages, excessive working hours (18-24) hours a day, no holidays, no work contracts, document retention and document falsification. In addition, other types of cases that were also widely reported to SP in the last 3 years were unprocedural placement of 17.42% of cases, fraud of 16.44% of cases, indications of TPPO of 15.66% of cases, loss of contact of 2.84% of cases, sexual exploitation of 8% of cases.

2.74% of cases of placement in conflict countries. Criminalization of WMW on charges of murder of their female employers of 1% of cases, 1% of cases of WMW deaths. Physical violence amounted to 5.8% of cases, verbal violence amounted to 14.29% of cases, 16.23% of cases of sexual harassment and violence, and confinement either by employers or agencies or recruiters amounted to 23 cases. From the many problems faced by WMW, it can be concluded that 99 WMW advocated by SP in the last 3 years have been trapped in forced labor situations, based on forced labor indicators issued by the International Labor Organization (ILO).

The layered vulnerabilities experienced by WMW at each stage of migration, as well as the limited types of work that can be done by WMW are certainly greatly influenced by their level of education. This is proven by SP case advocacy data in the last 3 years, that as many as 34.3% of WMW only graduated from Elementary School (SD), followed by Junior High School (SMP) graduates as many as 32.3% of WMW, High School as many as 27.3% of WMW, and only 3.3% of WMW who entered college, and of the 99 cases advocated by SP, there were 3.3% of WMW who did not complete their education.

Digaram 7
Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on education

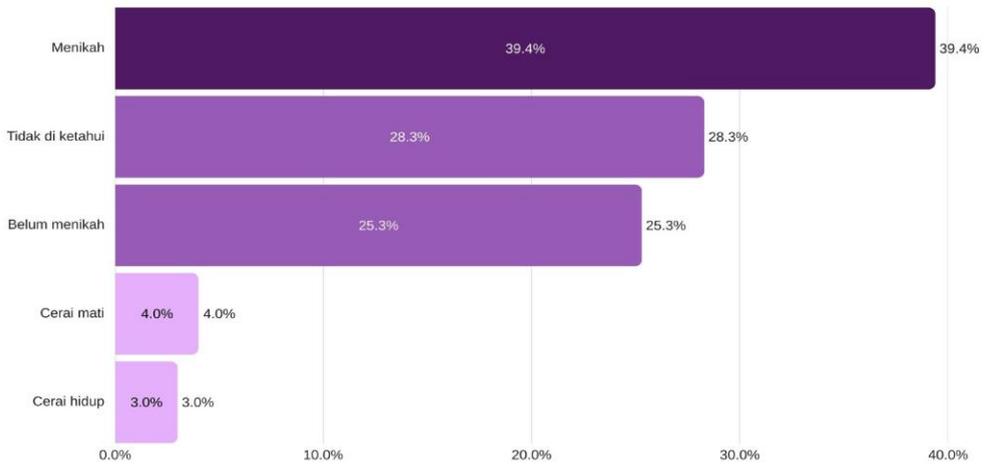


Although from the data above, there are quite a lot of WMW who have completed their education at the Senior High School level (SMA). However, this is not enough to get decent work in their home areas, due to limited job opportunities that can be accessed by women, not having adequate skills due to the stigma that women do not need to work, the threat of child marriage and power relations in the family, where women's space for movement is very limited, restrictions on age and marital status in a job.

Meanwhile, if seen from the average age of women who choose to work abroad based on SP case advocacy data, they are those aged 20-45 years. From this age range, it can be seen that the majority of women who choose to work abroad are those who have just graduated from school, the age of marriage and the age limit required in a job vacancy.

Diagram 8

Case Advocacy Data of Solidaritas Perempuan based on material status



If observed from the marital status, 39.4% of WMW people are married, 28-28.3% of WMW people have unknown marital status, 25.3% of PBM are not married, 4% of WMW people are divorced by death, and 3% of PBM people choose to divorce. From the marriage data, it can be concluded that marriage is not a guarantee for PBM to live better, but sometimes marriage brings PBM to an increasingly layered burden. Where a woman is "forced" to work both at home and abroad to meet the needs of the family, but on the other hand she is also forced to carry out her "duties" as a wife and mother, which of course is a form of injustice received by WMW. Sometimes they also have to accept the fact that their husbands decide to remarry while WMW is abroad, on the grounds of fulfilling biological needs, and not infrequently the new wife of the WMW husband is supported by the salary sent by WMW. In an effort to encourage case resolution to fulfill the sense of justice and rights of WMW and their families, non-litigation strategies are still the most widely chosen strategy by WMW and their families, namely (72.7%) cases through reporting and hearings to related agencies, such as: PWNI-BHI and representatives in the local country, BP2MI and its staff, Ministry of Manpower and its staff, Ministry of Social Affairs and its staff, human rights institutions: Komnas HAM and Komnas Perempuan.

Based on SP data, the high number of WMW and their families choosing to resolve cases through non-litigation strategies is due to: (1) WMW do not want to sue the perpetrator through litigation, apart from the fact that their rights have been fulfilled, the perpetrator is also someone close to them, or WMW feels sorry for the

condition and situation of the perpetrator, (2) WMW and their families do not know the steps to resolve cases through litigation, (3) WMW and their families are afraid of the stigma of being a problematic person and a failure in their travels which would embarrass their family and the surrounding community, (4) WMW who experience sexual violence and/or sexual exploitation are afraid to report the case to the police because the situation they experience is considered a great disgrace that could embarrass them and their families, and WMW still have low trust in law enforcement officers due to the long legal process and high costs.

In addition, from 5 cases of WMW who were victims of human trafficking who were assisted by SP, although the court found the perpetrator guilty and had to pay restitution which is a form of compensation from the perpetrator to the victim so that the victim gets full justice, the perpetrator did not pay restitution but chose to replace it with imprisonment in accordance with the court's decision on the grounds of being unable to pay restitution, and the lack of a clear restitution implementation mechanism;

Meanwhile, WMW and their families who chose litigation efforts amounted to 27.3% of cases. The choice to resolve cases through litigation is a form of awareness from WMW and their families, that the perpetrators who have caused them to suffer must of course be punished to provide a deterrent effect. But unfortunately, the legal process often takes too long, and many perpetrators are not tried, because: lack of evidence, perpetrators flee, bribery, the failure to reveal the human trafficking mafia involving law enforcement officers and other government agencies and the involvement of respected religious and community leaders.

From various efforts to resolve cases carried out by SP, both individually and with the network, at least in the last 3 years, 69.70% of WMW cases have been declared resolved because the demands and rights of WMW have been fulfilled. A total of 55 WMW s were successfully repatriated to their home areas and reunited with their families. Five WMW s received compensation from P3MI who had made mistakes in placing WMW s not in accordance with the placement agreement and work agreement. The proper burial of two WMW s who died in the placement country of Saudi Arabia, by the Indonesian Consulate General in Jeddah, and the repatriation of 1 WMW child who died with a disability to her home area in Pinrang, South Sulawesi to be cared for by the WMW family. The case of torture against WMW in the name of MK by her employer was reopened after being stagnant for almost 8 years. The last trial of the perpetrators was held on July 30, 2024, with the result that the two perpetrators of the torture were found guilty of immigration violations and also TPPO. The arrest of two perpetrators of recruitment which caused MK to become a victim of TPPO by the NTT Regional Police³⁴.

34. <https://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/mariance-kabu-sudah-habis-disiksa-tak-ada-keadilan-baginya>

The punishment of the perpetrator of TPPO who had placed PBM RK from Indramayu in a conflict country, Erbil Iraq for 4 years and 8 months by the Indramayu District Court with a fine of 120,000,000 (one hundred and twenty million rupiah) with a subsidiary of 3 months imprisonment, and the perpetrator was also required to pay restitution to WMW of 71,040,500 (seventy-one million forty thousand five hundred rupiah) with a subsidiary of 3 months imprisonment. In the last three years, 1 (one) WMW was also freed from the threat of the death penalty for the murder of her female employer. P3MI which sent WMW in the name of ES returned the placement fee of Rp. 9,224,100 that had been paid by WMW, and in the last 3 years, SP also succeeded in thwarting the unprocedural placement of 8 WMW who were also indicated to be victims of TPPO to Saudi Arabia and Malaysia.

Deadlock in the Implementation of PPMI Law

The case handling data above proves the state's neglect in carrying out its obligations to protect WMW and their families and the state's inability to provide equal access and opportunities for men and women without discrimination in any name to obtain decent work. This is a constitutional mandate as stipulated in Article 27 paragraph (2) and Article 28D paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which emphasizes that everyone has the right to decent work and to receive fair and proper compensation and treatment in employment relations which is also emphasized in Article 38 of Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights.

The state's neglect in protecting WMW and their families is not in line with the mandate of the PPMI Law, where this policy has given the state great legitimacy to protect WMW and their families, from the central to regional levels by reducing private sector dominance. Unfortunately, the ratification of the PPMI Law is only a "cover" to answer criticism that came due to the high number of problems experienced by WMW before the enactment of the PPM Law, because in reality the state continues to ignore the protection of WMW, this is caused by several factors, namely:

1. The pruning and issuance of derivative regulations of the PMI Law were late, so that the PPMI Law could not be implemented properly;
2. The village government did not carry out its duties based on Article 42 of the PPMI Law, because they were not aware of the policy, and/or did not have adequate facilities in their village;
3. The failure to form a One-Stop Integrated Service (LTSA) in each district/city in accordance with the mandate of the PPMI Law, as an integrated service that can be accessed by the community to carry out the migration process safely;

4. Digitalization of WMW placement is not accompanied by services and easy access for WMW;
5. Supervision from upstream to downstream is not implemented properly, because there are no derivative regulations specifically regulating supervision;
6. Discriminatory policies that cause many women to be trapped in unsafe placements, namely the Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 260 of 2015 concerning the Termination and Prohibition of the Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers with Individual Users in Middle Eastern Countries;
7. Policies that facilitate P3MI licensing will make WMW and their families unprotected, based on SP's experience, P3MI is one of the actors that causes WMW to experience rights violations, violence, exploitation and even become victims of human trafficking;
8. The absence of a minimum sentence in criminal sanctions in the PPMI Law, results in perpetrators who carry out unsafe placements for WMW so that WMW must experience bad situations at 3 stages of migration can be released based on the judge's decision, this certainly greatly harms the sense of justice for WMW and their families;
9. There is no explicit recognition of undocumented WMW in the PPMI Law. As a result, undocumented WMW often receive discriminatory treatment from the state and are not prioritized in protection, in addition, PBM also have to face various bad treatments, such as: arbitrary arrest and deportation, unpaid wages, violence and exploitation because of their migration status. In fact, whatever their migration status, WMW has the right to be protected and have their rights fulfilled;

Although it has not been implemented properly, the PPMI Law is considered to be quite capable of protecting PBM and their families, however there are several loopholes and things that have not been regulated in the PPMI Law, so that protection for PBM, especially those working in the domestic sector, is still not comprehensive, this is caused by³⁵:

1. The PPMI Law still focuses on improving the governance of the placement of migrant workers abroad with a development and gender-neutral approach. The reality of the feminization of migration and the unique vulnerabilities of female migrant workers have not been recognized and regulated by the Law;
2. Ignoring the migrant domestic worker sector which has so far dominated placement and at the same time faces special vulnerabilities in every migrant process;

35. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-komnasperempuan-dalam-peringatan-hari-pekerja-migran-internasional-prt-migran-ditinggal-dalam-derasnya-kebijakan-perlindungan>

3. The opportunity for impunity for perpetrators of crimes committed by legal entities or corporations, because in the provisions of this law, these parties can only be given administrative sanctions, as well as the opportunity for re-victimization of victims in the issue of document falsification.

Not only related to the substance of the PPMI Law, which is still unable to protect WMW, especially those working in the domestic sector, but also the structure of several state institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Manpower and the Ministry of Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers do not have a special section that handles WMW, the division of tasks in various institutions is only based on the country of placement, protection or placement. In fact, a special section that handles the situation of PBM is certainly needed in every authorized institution, because the reality is that until now the face of Indonesian migration still has a women face, who has a unique vulnerability where handling cannot be equated with other migrant workers.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the Prabowo-Gibran administration, the Ministry of Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (KP2MI) was formed, it can be interpreted that the formation of a special ministry that will handle migrant worker issues is an effort made to improve migration governance and build a protection system for WMW and their families. The establishment of KP2MI coincided with the revision of the PPMI Law to include regulations related to KPMI into the law. However, unfortunately the government revised the PPMI Law in a closed manner, because there was no draft revision of the PPMI Law that was submitted to the public, even though it had been included in the prolegnas and this certainly hurts the sense of justice, for civil society and migrant workers and their families, because the PPMI Law was built based on the situation, experience and needs of migrant workers and their families.

The push for the fulfillment of protection for WMW and their families, SP not only advocates for cases, but also raises critical awareness and empowers PBM and their families to present policies that protect WMW at the regional level. As done by SP Palu together with WMW and their families who succeeded in encouraging the Sigi Regency government to ratify Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2022 concerning the Protection of Migrant Workers based on the needs of WMW and their families in Sigi Regency. The SP Sumbawa Community also did something similar where they together with WMW and their families succeeded in encouraging the Sumbawa Regency government to ratify the Sumbawa Regency Regional Regulation concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Sumbawa Regency.

In addition, SP Sebay Lampung together with WMW and their families also succeeded in encouraging the village governments of Margototo, Margodadi, Sumber Agung, Sumbergede, Margosari, Sekampung and Batang Ari to ratify the Village Regulation concerning the Protection of Migrant Workers. In addition to encouraging the PBM and family policies strengthened by SP Anging Mammiri, SP Palu and SP Sumbawa were also involved in the Feminist Participacy Action Research (FPAR) to see the portrait of the availability of services for migrant workers in Pinrang Regency, Sigi Regency, and Sumbawa Regency, resulting in a report entitled "Portrait of the Availability of Services for Migrant Workers".

Meanwhile, the SP Anging Mammiri, SP Mataram and SP Kendari communities are currently also pushing for policies to protect PBM and their families at the regional level based on the situation faced by PBM. In addition to pushing for policies, the 5 SP communities, namely: SP Anging Mammiri, SP Mataram, SP Palu, SP Sebay Lampung and SP Sumbawa are also increasing the capacity of PBM and their families through learning circles, as well as forming paralegal groups in each of their organizing areas which aim to organize, strengthen and advocate for the rights of PBM and their families in the paralegal's home village.

EPILOG: GRASSROOTS WOMEN CHALLENGE PATRIARCHY/STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY AGAINST WOMEN'S IMPOVERISHMENT

As an association organization, members are of course the heart of the struggle that has an important role in running the organization's movement. That way, the struggle carried out by SP is not separate from the struggle of everyone in it to escape the oppression caused by patriarchal culture. The problems experienced and felt by women also cannot be separated from current global schemes. International agreements through bilateral, regional and/or multilateral agreements that present various projects in the name of solutions for society have actually had a negative impact on women's human rights. The various solution schemes that have been approved by the current Indonesian government are schemes that ultimately destroy women's sources of life. Added to this, the current democratic system actually worsens the situation of oppression experienced by women.

Today's state politics are a manifestation of patriarchal politics, where state decisions and attitudes tend to create layers of unfair power structures, and marginalize women and other marginalized groups. Patriarchal politics is interested in providing benefits to a handful of people, at the expense of the majority of others. These interests are in line with the interests of accumulating power, which is often interpreted as capital. The greater the wealth owned, the greater the power to determine policies for their interests.

The patriarchal political system has been part of the social and political structure for centuries, reinforcing male dominance over women. This system has created many deep gender inequalities and worsened the conditions of women. Not only does it impoverish women and destroy women's sovereignty, the state also continues to try to silence and destroy women's movements with various patterns, including using militaristic methods, including mobilizing groups that use religious interpretations to hinder the ideals of women's sovereignty over their bodies, ways of thinking, space for movement and sources of life.

Solidaritas Perempuan during its 34-year journey in fighting for the recognition and sovereignty of women in various aspects, has reflected the situation of injustice and oppression of women which has ultimately impoverished women from various backgrounds, including women farmers, women fishers, indigenous women, women migrant workers, poor urban women, and other marginalized women.

Women still experience multiple levels of discrimination, in many state and non-state policy products and projects that have been ratified and implemented without involving women, and without asking for women's consideration and approval. The deprivation of women's livelihoods and the elimination of women's local knowledge and wisdom have eliminated women's sovereignty over their lives. Even the conflicts that occur have increased the injustice and multiple burdens on women.

The presence of Solidaritas Perempuan as part of the general public, especially oppressed women, both at the personal and public levels, who will fight for the process of policy change together by providing spaces for the exchange of knowledge, and the capacity of grassroots women to encourage the birth of various collective women's initiatives in building movements.

Building a feminist political movement is a process of growing critical awareness to women's ability to speak up, and influence various decisions to encourage the desired changes. Of course, these efforts still need strengthening to be able to realize a critical and consistent feminist political movement in fighting for women's sovereignty.

The feminist political movement that has begun to build will be the main force in fighting patriarchal politics that impoverish women and become the right strategy to fight the patriarchal political system. The feminist political movement is built from women's critical awareness of injustice and oppression that leads to impoverishment. Grassroots women as a group that experiences marginalization and oppression in layers have the fighting power and strength to fight, therefore strengthening grassroots women is directed at building a feminist political movement, where women not only voice their interests, but also influence decisions to encourage the desired changes, through:

First: Strengthening and expanding feminist consciousness that is transformed through various collective resistance initiatives against political, economic and global interests as a strategy for grassroots women's political movements based on feminist ideology and values in fighting against the patriarchal political system that impoverishes women.

Second: Seizing decision-making spaces at various levels, from the village to higher levels, to intervene in policies, programs and development projects, so as not to seize and eliminate women's sovereignty over their bodies, perspectives, space for movement/mobility, work and management of natural resources.

Third: Creating and expanding spaces for consolidation and solidarity of grassroots women to mutually support and strengthen grassroots women's movements, so that a feminist political movement is built between women's groups, as well as with broader people's movements.

Fourth: Building protection systems and mechanisms for grassroots women in resisting the patriarchal political system that impoverishes women.

RECOMMENDATION

Based on the data contained in the 2024 Solidaritas Perempuan Catahu, we urge the State to immediately do:

First, Respect, protect and fulfill human rights and women's human rights

Second, Prioritize meaningful participation and inclusion for women in all stages of policy making and development.

Third, Recognize and protect environmental management systems based on women's local experiences and knowledge.

Forth, Revoke all pro-investment and anti-democratic policies that actually create structural impoverishment and destroy women's livelihoods, such as Law Number 6 of 2023 concerning Job Creation and other policies.

Fifth, Revoking other policies that discriminate and impoverish women, such as Law Number 7 of 2021 concerning Harmonization of Tax Regulations, Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 260 of 2015 concerning Termination and Prohibition of Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers with Individual Users in Middle Eastern Countries, Decree of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Number 2268 K/30/MEM/2017 concerning Determination of Flores Island as a Geothermal Island and other policies

Sixth, Stop the deployment of armed forces, both police and TNI, and civilian militia in land acquisitions and in resolving agrarian conflicts..

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Humaspkh. (2024, August). *Kementan bersama Dubes RI untuk Vietnam Siap Tarik Investor Sapi ke Indonesia*. From ditjenpkh.pertanian:
<https://ditjenpkh.pertanian.go.id/berita/1931-kementan-bersama-dubes-ri-untuk-vietnam-siap-tarik-investor-sapi-ke-indonesia>
- A, S. P. (2013). *Masyarakat Adat Lampung Proyek Tolak Panas Bumi*. TEMPO.
- Ariani, D. A. (2023, June). *Wadon Wadas (Masih) Melawan, Perjuangan Perempuan Menjaga Kelestarian Alam*. From bincangperempuan: <https://bincangperempuan.com/wadon-wadas-masih-melawan-perjuangan-perempuan-menjaga-kelestarian-alam/>
- BBC News Indonesia. (2024, October). *Jangkalan di Banten, kami menolak geothermal di mana pun’ – Mengapa proyek geothermal di Indonesia menuai penolakan warga?* From bbc:
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/crm2lygk8x8o>
- BBC NEWS Indonesia. (2025, Januari). *Pidato Prabowo soal ‘tak perlu takut deforestasi’ demi tambah lahan sawit tuai kritik – ‘Hutan akan terancam’ dan ‘ruang hidup masyarakat menyempit’*. From bbc: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/c878ng8gdgpo>
- Fitriani, T. (2024, June). *Melindungi Bentang Alam Karst Demi Keberlanjutan Ekosistem*. From greennetwork: <https://greennetwork.id/ikhtisar/melindungi-bentang-alam-karst-demi-keberlanjutan-ekosistem/>
- Indonesia Morowali Industrial Park (IMIP)*. (n.d.). From responsibleminingindonesia: <https://responsibleminingindonesia.id/id/corporate/32>
- Koalisi Keadilan Iklim. (2024). *Kertas Posisi: Koalisi Keadilan Iklim Mendesak Negara Untuk Segera Mengesahkan UU Keadilan Iklim*. From walhi:
https://www.walhi.or.id/uploads/buku/Kertas%20Posisi%20Koalisi%20Keadilan%20Iklim_Rev5.pdf
- Komnas Perempuan . (2017, December). *Siaran Pers Komnas Perempuan Dalam Peringatan Hari Pekerja Migran Internasional “PRT Migran Ditinggal Dalam Derasnya Kebijakan Perlindungan”*. From komnasperempuan: <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/siaran-pers-detail/siaran-pers-komnas-perempuan-dalam-peringatan-hari-pekerja-migran-internasional-prt-migran-ditinggal-dalam-derasnya-kebijakan-perlindungan>
- Koty, A. C. (2022, June). *Tinjauan Sektor Energi Panas Bumi Indonesia*. From aseanbriefing: <https://www.aseanbriefing.com/news/an-overview-of-indonesias-geothermal-energy-sector/>
- Lahay, S. (2022, December). *Sawit Datang, Danau Toju Hilang*. From mosintuwu: <https://www.mosintuwu.com/2022/12/09/sawit-datang-danau-toju-hilang/>
- Mammiri, S. A. (n.d.). *Siaran Pers “Peresmian Pelabuhan MNP; Bentuk Nyata Pengabaian Negara Terhadap Pemulihan Hak Perempuan & Nelayan Tradisional”*. From solidaritasperempuan: <https://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/peresmian-pelabuhan-mnp-bentuk-nyata-pengabaian-negara-terhadap-pemulihan-hak-perempuan-nelayan-tradisional/>
- Pascual, S. P. (2023). *Exploring Geothermal Energy Development In Indonesia: Policy Failures and Impacts on Women’s Rights*. Amsterdam: Recourse.
- Pemilu 2024*. (22024). From cnnindonesia: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/tag/pemilu-2024>
- Redaksi. (2023, November). *Sulteng Peringkat 5 Nasional Pernikahan Dini*. From channel-

- sulawesi: <https://channelsulawesi.id/2023/11/06/sulteng-peringkat-5-nasional-pernikahan-dini/>
- Salsabila Putri Noor Aziziah, A. K. (2023). *EXPLORING GEOTHERMAL ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA: Policy Failures and Impacts on Women's Rights*. Amsterdam: recourse.
- Solidaritas Perempuan. (2023). *Anggaran Dasar Anggaran Rumah Tangga Kode Etik Solidaritas Perempuan*. Jakarta: Solidaritas Perempuan .
- Solidaritas Perempuan. (n.d.). *Mariance Kabu: Sudah Habis Disiksa, Tak Ada Keadilan Baginya*. From solidaritasperempuan: <https://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/mariance-kabu-sudah-habis-disiksa-tak-ada-keadilan-baginya/>
- Solidaritas Perempuan. (n.d.). *Posisi Politik Solidaritas Perempuan Terhadap Onibus Law RUU Ciptakerja* . Solidaritas Perempuan.
- SP Anging Mammiri . (n.d.). *Siaran Pers "Peresmian Pelabuhan MNP; Bentuk Nyata Pengabaian Negara Terhadap Pemulihan Hak Perempuan & Nelayan Tradisional"*. From solidaritasperempuan: <https://www.solidaritasperempuan.org/peresmian-pelabuhan-mnp-bentuk-nyata-pengabaian-negara-terhadap-pemulihan-hak-perempuan-nelayan-tradisional/>
- SP Flobamoratas. (n.d.). *Dampak Pembangunan Bendungan Kolhua terhadap Perempuan*. SP Flobamoratas .
- Surida, A. (n.d.). *PERJUANGAN PEREMPUAN DALAM MERAWAT ALAM: GERAKAN EKOFEMINIS WADON WADAS*. From solidaritasperempuankinasih: <https://solidaritasperempuankinasih.com/2022/11/21/perjuangan-perempuan-dalam-merawat-alam-gerakan-ekofeminis-wadon-wadas/>
- Susabun, A. (2023, Mei). *"Tanah itu Ibu Kami": Cara Perempuan Pocoloek, Flores Pertahankan Tanah dari Ancaman Proyek Geothermal*. From indonesiana: <https://www.indonesiana.id/read/164579/%E2%80%9Ctanah-itu-ibu-kami%E2%80%9D-cara-perempuan-pocoloek-flores-pertahankan-tanah-dari-ancaman-proyek-geothermal>
- TEMPO. (2024). *Genjot Food Estate, Pemerintah Prabowo akan Cetak Sawah 150 Ribu Hektare di Kalimantan Tengah Tahun Depan*. From tempo: <https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/genjot-food-estate-pemerintah-prabowo-akan-cetak-sawah-150-ribu-hektare-di-kalimantan-tengah-tahun-depan--1160293>
- Tim Redaksi . (2022). *Saling Cuci Tangan Hadapi Penolakan Bendungan Kolhua*. From katongntt: <https://katongntt.com/saling-cuci-tangan-hadapi-penolakan-bendungan-kolhua/>
- Tim Redaksi . (2022). *Saling Cuci Tangan Hadapi Penolakan Bendungan Kolhua*. From katongntt: <https://katongntt.com/saling-cuci-tangan-hadapi-penolakan-bendungan-kolhua/>

SOLIDARITAS PEREMPUAN PROFILE

In the 1980s, the New Order government increasingly showed its cruel authoritarian face at the top of its tower of power. Under the pretext of development for the welfare of the people, the New Order easily seized the land and land of the people and eliminated people who were considered to be obstructing the development process. The New Order's development model was supported by two pillars that increasingly strengthened its power, namely conglomerate capital and the power of military repression, which had given the prosperity that was only enjoyed by a handful of political elites and rulers³⁶.

For the New Order, building meant dominating and subduing. For the majority group that spoke, their right to vote was eliminated and even their humanity was eliminated. Another plan carried out by the New Order was to place women or women's organizations under state control. Women's organizations have been killed as fertile ground. Women are dwarfed and gathered in patriarchal development. Women are only used as capital chains in development and are used as objects in development.

Solidaritas Perempuan as a mass organization that carries the mandate as a vehicle for building a women's movement that can accommodate various efforts in creating a more just order for women and society in general. For that, Solidaritas Perempuan will fully rely on the values of the people, brotherhood/solidarity, justice, liberation, independence, equality, diversity, non-sectarian, non-partisan and anti-violence³⁷.

As a mass organization for women in Indonesia, SP has an ideal to realize a democratic social order, based on the principles of justice, ecological awareness, respect for pluralism and anti-violence based on a system of equal male and female relations where both can share access and control over natural, social, cultural, economic and political resources fairly. Upholding democracy and feminism based on the principles of equality and justice between men and women. In addition, SP is also a place of learning together for its members, to be able to practice democracy and feminism more fairly and equally. To realize this vision, SP builds cooperation with women's movements, environmental movements and civil society movements that have the same goals, both in the regions, nationally, regionally and internationally.

36. Solidaritas Perempuan White Book

37. Solidaritas Perempuan Preamble to the Articles of Association

Solidaritas Perempuan is an organization that continues to grow and develop. The issues that are the mandate of the organization are also developing. Currently, SP focuses on work on the issues of Women, Environment and Agrarian Justice, Women and Climate Justice, Migrant Women Workers and Their Family Members and Organizational Strengthening, where intersectionality is the analytical tool. Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) has 692 members, both women and men, who come from various backgrounds such as activists, women farmers, indigenous women, women fishers, young people and works with grassroots women more than 7,000 people in 105 villages in Indonesia.

SP has 12 SP Communities (branches) in 10 provinces including SP Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh, SP South Sumatra, SP Sebay Lampung, SP Kinasih Yogyakarta, SP Anging Mammiri Makassar, SP Palu, SP Sintuwu Raya Poso, SP Kendari, SP Mamut Menteng Central Kalimantan, SP Mataram, SP Sumbawa, SP Flobamoratas East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)

SOLIDARITAS PEREMPUAN COMMUNITY PROFILE

Solidaritas Perempuan Bungoeng Jeumpa Aceh

Alamat : Jl T. Sulaiman Daud Lorong Sehat No.8 Peuniti Banda Aceh
Email : sp-bj-aceh@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Palembang

Alamat : Jl. Gersik, Lr. Pakis, No. 37 RT 031 RW 006, Kecamatan
Iilir Timur II, Kota Palembang, Sumatera Selatan, Indonesia,
30163 Sumatera Selatan
Email : sppalembang@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Sebay Lampung

Address : Jl. Sultan Haji, Gg. Mawar, Kedaton, Kec. Kedaton, Kota
Bandar Lampung, Lampung 35132 Lampung
Email : sp-lampung@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Kinasih Yogyakarta

Address : Jl. Godean Km. 6,5 RT. 6/12 Cokrobedog,
Sidoarum Godean Sleman, Yogyakarta
Email : spkinasih@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Mamut Menteng Kalimantan Tengah

Address : Jl .Kencana V No.19 RT.4 RW.V Kel.Bukit Tunggal Kec.
Jekan Raya kota Palangkaraya Kalimantan Tengah Kalimantan
Tengah
Email : spmamutmenteng@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Kendari Sulawesi Tenggara

Address : Jln. Ahmad Yani Lrg.Sinar Surya No. 22, Kel. Anaiwoi Kec.
Kadia Kota Kendari Sulawesi Tenggara
Email : spkendari@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Palu Sulawesi Tengah

Address : Jl. Munif Rahman 1, Lrg.Panampi Perum Greend Griya Silae
Nomor 4, Kelurahan Silae, Kecamatan Ulujadi, Kota Pal
Email : sppalu@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Sintuwu Raya Poso

Address : Jl. R. Wolter Monginsidi No. 03, Kelurahan Bonesompe
Kec. Poso Kota Utara, Kabupaten Poso, Sulawesi Tengah
Email : spsintuwuraya@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram

Address : Jln. Dr. Wahidin Gang Batam No.02 Rembiga Kota Mataram
Nusa Tenggara Barat
Email : spmataram@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Sumbawa

Address : Jln. Puncak Ngengas RT01 RW07 Kelurahan Pekat Kab.
Sumbawa 84315, NTB, Indonesia Nusa Tenggara Barat
Email : spsumbawa@solidaritasperempuan.org

Solidaritas Perempuan Flobamoratas

Address : Jalan Johar No. 15, RT 09 RW 03, Kelurahan Oetete, Keca-
matan Oebobo, Kota Kupang Nusa Tenggara Timur
Email : spflobamoratas@solidaritasperempuan.org



Solidaritas Perempuan

Jl. Jatisari No.12A, RT.005/RW.007, Jati Padang,
Kec. Ps. Minggu, Kota Jakarta Selatan, 12540

Support By:



Brot
für die Welt

Partnership for
the World's Future



Solidaritas Perempuan

Jl. Jatisari No.12A, RT.005/RW.007, Jati Padang, Kec. Ps. Minggu,
Kota Jakarta Selatan, 12540
Telp: (021) 2278867

Solidaritas Perempuan Community

*Anging Mammiri (Sulawesi Selatan) SP Bungoeng Jeumpa
(Aceh)*
*SP Flobamoratas (Nusa Tenggara Timur) SP Kendari
(Sulawesi Tenggara)*
SP Kinasih (Yogyakarta)
*SP Palembang (Sumatera Selatan) SP Palu (Sulawesi
Tengah)*
SP Mataram (NTB) SP Sumbawa (NTB)
SP Sintuwu Raya (Poso),
SP Sebay Lampung (Lampung)
SP Mamut Menteng (Kalimantan Tengah)

Solidaritas Perempuan, 2025



Solidaritas Perempuan

Jl. Jatisari No.12A, RT.005/RW.007, Jati Padang,
Kec. Ps. Minggu, Kota Jakarta Selatan, 12540

This publication has been produced with joint funding from the European Union and Brot Für Die Welt. Its contents are entirely the responsibility of Solidaritas Perempuan and do not necessarily reflect the views of the European Union.

Support By:



Co-funded by
The European Union

Brot
für die Welt