

Framing Women's Politics "Wadon Wadas" Against Mine Resistance National Strategy Project in Wadas Village Purworejo

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Abstract

The emergence of agrarian conflict cannot be separated from the presence of social movements, including the women's movement. Female Wadas is a women's resistance movement against andesite mining. This mining is part of fulfilling the need for raw materials for the construction of the Bener Dam, one of the National Strategic Projects being implemented in Purworejo. *Wadon Wadas* rejects the mining of raw materials in the form of andesite for the need to protect Wadas' nature, which is a hereditary legacy that supports the lives of Wadas residents. Various collective actions were carried out by *Wadon Wadas*, starting from *mujahadah*, scavenging, demonstrations, and so on. The actions carried out received massive public attention which then increased the movement's campaign. Through a literature study, this research shows that the framing of the resistance movement, which is an important part of the political structure of resistance (contentious politics), has been successfully carried out by *Wadon Wadas* through framing injustice. The injustice faced by *Wadon Wadas* then gave rise to collective resistance from Wadas women and showed women's politics born from tradition and domestic needs

Abstract

Munculnya konflik agraria tidak dapat dilepaskan dari kehadiran gerakan sosial termasuk gerakan perempuan. *Wadon Wadas* merupakan gerakan perlawanan perempuan terhadap penambangan andesit. Penambangan tersebut adalah bagian dari pemenuhan kebutuhan bahan baku pembangunan Bendungan Bener salah satu dari Proyek Strategis Nasional yang dilaksanakan di Purworejo. *Wadon Wadas* menolak penambangan bahan baku berupa andesit untuk kebutuhan menjaga alam Wadas yang merupakan warisan turun temurun penopang kehidupan warga Wadas. Beragam aksi kolektif dilakukan *Wadon Wadas* mulai dari *mujahadah*, *membesek*, aksi demonstrasi, dan lain sebagainya. Aksi-aksi yang dilakukan mendapatkan sorotan publik yang masif yang kemudian membesarkan kampanye gerakan tersebut. Melalui studi literatur, penelitian ini menunjukkan framing gerakan perlawanan yang merupakan satu bagian penting dari struktur politik perlawanan (contentious politics) telah berhasil dilakukan *Wadon Wadas* melalui framing ketidakadilan. Ketidakadilan yang dihadapi *Wadon Wadas* kemudian melahirkan perlawanan kolektif perempuan Wadas dan menunjukkan politik perempuan yang lahir dari tradisi dan kebutuhan domestik

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1. INTRODUCTION

Agrarian conflict has been a problem that has attracted attention since the Dutch colonial era until Indonesia's independence (Zuber, 2016). Indonesia has agrarian law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Regulations. The making of this law is a legal protection for farmers and to avoid conflict, both vertically and horizontally (Zakie, 2016). However, even though the law expressly provides protection to every individual who legally owns land, land owners may agree to buy or give land for free to the government on the grounds that public facilities will be built. Moreover, in the case of land acquisition for public facilities, many residents do not fully understand, starting from the procedures and implications for their own lives (Mulyadi, 2017).

Land grabbing often does not pay attention to social, economic, ecological and even theological impacts, especially for indigenous communities (Purba, 2020). Because it leaves behind many problems, land confiscation in agrarian conflicts reaps agitation of resistance from various parties, especially farmers as the parties whose land will be confiscated because they feel that their welfare and living space are threatened (Sadikin, 2005). Agrarian conflict inevitably directly involves women as the parties most disadvantaged (Rozaki, 2016). Because of this, several resistance movements over agrarian conflicts were also driven by women (Suryani, 2020), including those that occurred in Wadas village, a village in Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

Wadas Village is one of 207 agrarian conflicts that occurred in 2021 according to data compiled by the Agrarian Reform Consortium. The conflict that occurred in the village was a conflict between the farming community as land owners in Wadas regarding the andesite mining process as the material needed for the construction of the Bener Dam. The construction of the Bener dam is one of 201 National Strategy Projects (PSN) whose achievement target is until 2024. The implementer of the PSN program itself is the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR). The conflict that occurred gave birth to a resistance movement from a local women's group called *Wadon Wadas*.

Wadon Wadas has its own distinctive movement in collective action against andesite mining. This characteristic also differentiates it from various movements carried out by non-women groups in Wadas village. Hendrastiti assesses that the women's movement through many strategies has a justice reconstruction agenda (Hendrastiti, 2019). Therefore, women who have been associated with domestic work, can get involved in the public sphere through protest movements (Ismail, 2020). Women's involvement in the protest movement is one of women's efforts to demonstrate leadership and political patterns that stem from their daily anxieties and problems.

The emergence of social movements themselves is also an effort to create change, both institutionally and in state policy (Situmorang, 2007). Situmorang (2007) has analyzed social movements through political opportunity structures (POS). The use of political opportunity structures in the study of social movements was used by Situmorang to explain the emergence of social movements as the impact of changes in political structures.

Titiek Kartika (2014) sees the women's movement as having a relationship with the state in *Local Women vs Global Sand Mining*. Kartika stated that the women's movement sees the state as something that has malestream power. State power is seen from a malestream perspective which leaves women left behind and not involved in political decisions. This makes the women's movement take a confrontational position regarding state policy, but there are also those who take a cooperative approach. Because this is what makes the women's movement have a movement agenda that is large enough to be able to influence malestream power in state institutions (Kartika, 2014).

Meanwhile, studies regarding the women's movement and the environment are also nothing new in Indonesia. Miranda Morgan looks at the relationship between women, gender and protests against palm oil expansion. Miranda not only sees women's protests in gender terms, but also as part of women's political struggle. For him, gender relations have static or unstable patterns in movement. individual actors in a women's movement play an influential role in opening up new political opportunities for women who are discursively often considered apolitical (Morgan, 2017).

Therefore, women's involvement in social movements becomes a space for political education as well as a means to realize that women's problems are not only personal problems, but also political problems. This argument is supported by studies conducted by Benediktus Dalupe (2020) and Hajeng Pandu Nagari (2020), who wrote about the Mollo women's movement, NTT. Both of them saw that the women's resistance movement in

Mollo, NTT, led by Aletta Baun, was born from women's experiences in seeing the forest become a political movement. In particular, Benedict saw different political movements in the mining resistance movement between movements led by men and those led by women. The women-led movement in Mollo uses a traditional approach or the spirit of local wisdom. The narrative of women's relationship with nature, such as the forest as veins and hair, is very strong in moving women in Mollo. The women's movement in Mollo, after 13 years of struggle, finally succeeded in expelling the mining corporations (Dalupe, 2020); (Nagari, 2020).

Meanwhile, Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti (2019) sees that the women's movement has provided a comprehensive solution to the form of women's agency in social movements. In her study, she emphasized that women's agency in social movements is a space for collective consciousness to voice women's interests and challenge masculinity. However, Hendrastiti emphasized the importance of women's knowledge so that critical education or political education of citizens is needed (Hendrastiti, 2019).

From various literature studies in research on women's movements, it indicates that much research related to social movements has been carried out, including specifically on the study of women's movements and the environment. In general, the similarity between the literature review above and this research is that they are both social movement approaches. This means that in this research the women's and environmental movements as social movements cannot be separated from mobilization and collective action.

This study uses the Collective Action Frames theory derived from Contentious Politics as theoretical research in political science. This theoretical approach is still needed to update political science in the study dimension of women's resistance movements. Apart from that, this study also looks at the empirical experience of women's resistance as part of the women's political movement. In looking at studies regarding resistance carried out by *Wadon Wadas*, the tendency that is widely used also leads to an ecofeminist approach. Meanwhile, this study is based on the empirical experience of women's resistance in the *Wadon Wadas* Movement which built the identity of political resistance of women farmers by maintaining local traditions. The resistance carried out by *Wadon Wadas* received the main spotlight from various corners which could not be separated from the various forms of action carried out by *Wadon Wadas*. The "typical" experience of *Wadas* women with local traditions, enthusiasm and agency initiative in being at the forefront of resistance became the basis of the politics of *Wadas* women farmers in rejecting andesite mining efforts in *Wadas* village.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses the literature study method. Literature study is a method of collecting data through a series of literature review activities from various sources. Both relevant previous research, social media sources used for the *Wadon Wadas* resistance campaign, etc. The activities carried out are studying, reading, taking notes, following a series of discussions on related topics, and processing research materials. Literature studies are carried out with the main aim of finding a basic framework of thinking, theoretical basis, and determining research arguments.

Literature study is a mandatory activity in research, especially research with the aim of developing theoretical aspects and having practical benefits. So, from the findings resulting from the literature study, researchers can group, collect and use various literature from the relevant topics being studied. Through literature study, the depth of research also becomes deeper and broader regarding the problem being studied. Researchers used this method to collect data in the form of research results from previous researchers regarding the emergence of *Wadon Wadas* in the resistance to andesite mining which is part of the National Strategic Project.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Formation Process Female Wadas as a Women's Resistance Movement

Wadon Wadas was formed at the end of 2020 with its roots in the Wadas Village Nature Care Community Movement (Empa Dewa) which at that time had also formed the Wadas Village Youth Movement (You Gods). *Wadon Wadas* generally consists of women from Wadas village who are no longer young. However, as the dynamics of the movement progressed, this did not limit the participation of young women in Wadas village who also joined Kawula Muda. Apart from taking care of the house, they also work in the fields and gardens they own. The garden is now a big bet because one of the locations of the garden and where they live is the location of the andesite mine which will be used for materials for the Bener Dam.

Wadon Wadas is an association initiated by Wadas residents, especially mothers. According to Sriyanah, one of the organizers of *Wadon Wadas*, this community was formed when residents started doing *mujahadah*. initially, Ana—her nickname, asked the local kyai when she and her husband came along *mujahadah* and whether women could take part in these activities. The kiai also gave a positive signal and gave his blessing to the women to participate in *mujahadah*. As time went on, more and more mothers and young women took part in the activities of *mujahadah* (Maharani, 2022b). Since then, as the number of mothers in *mujahadah* an, Ana also invited mothers to gather and help think about the future of their village. Thanks to this network, Ana and other Wadas residents were able to connect with the Yogyakarta Legal Aid institute (LBH) and Kinasih Women's Solidarity (SP Kinasih). This made it easier to create solidarity, especially among mothers who then joined *Wadon Wadas*.

Wadon Wadas consists of around 300 people spread across almost all Wadas villages consisting of children, students, mothers, and even simbah-simbah. *Wadon Wadas* is a liquid community that does not have a standard structure. According to Ana, in her interview at Koran Tempo, she stated that *Wadon Wadas* is a community initiative of residents which does not have a chairman, deputy or even secretary (Maharani, 2022). The name *Wadon Wadas* came from a proposal from LBH Yogyakarta, which from the start had been intensively assisting residents in Wadas village. The proposal was then welcomed and the mothers who often took part in *mujahadah* agreed with the name. Wadon, which means woman in Javanese, emphasized that *Wadon Wadas* was one of the entities that was the basis of resistance in Wadas village along with two other associations.

Through *Wadon Wadas*, the women involved in it often hold *mujahadah* which becomes a joint forum. *Mujahadahan* is carried out every week and rotates from one neighborhood to another. in this forum, the women discussed the current situation and the future of Wadas. Apart from these routine forums, Ana and other Wadas women often demonstrate peacefully at government offices with 500 other residents.

Sharing anxiety which is then contained within Female Wadas and Earthquake Dewa are an accumulation of various worries they have experienced over the last three years. According to Ana, since then, people have often visited people's homes claiming to be from mining companies with various offers. Apart from that, police often visit residents' homes and ask in an intimidating tone why residents refuse andesite mining (Utami et al., 2022)

Annoyed by the repeated visits, according to Ana, the residents agreed to expel anyone who claimed to be from the mining company or the police. When they come, the residents,

especially those who are members of the *Wadon Wadas*, beat their clappers as a sign of danger to the seven neighborhood groups that oppose mining. These traditional methods are the only option because access to telecommunications networks in Wadas village is still quite limited. During the last siege on February 8 2022, Ana was the only woman arrested by the police out of a total of 64 people. Ana is considered the main actor of *Wadon Wadas*, even though the community exists without a formal structure. Previously, on April 23 2021, Ngatinah, a member of *Wadon Wadas*, was also arrested by the police (Maharani & Nashr, 2022).

b. Form of Wadas Women's Resistance Action

From various national newspaper and online media sources, the planning for the construction of the Bener Dam using materials from Wadas received quite strong reactions, especially from *Wadon Wadas* which was at the forefront of the resistance. Since being formed at the end of 2020, the *Wadon Wadas* have carried out various activities. Starting from Mujahadah which is held every Wednesday and Sunday until they bring their daily activities to the posts on the village road until entering the forest. Various direct actions and symbolic actions color the various forms of resistance of Wadas citizens, including Wadas Women.

When holding rallies and making statements at various government offices such as in Purworejo, Yogyakarta and Semarang, *Wadon Wadas* joined the march with Gempa Dewa. Apart from that, as reported by Project Multatuli, it has already held performance *art* weaving baskets in the Semarang PTUN yard during the Wadas residents' lawsuit against the Governor of Central Java. This action is a symbol that the women's relationship is very close to nature which will become the planned mining location. Therefore, the government's plan not only destroys nature, but also destroys the lives of these residents (Muryanto, 2021).

in a joint press release with LBH Yogyakarta, the action which was carried out on Monday, August 9 2021, stated that "*Besek* or bags made from woven bamboo are a symbol of the union of Wadas women (who have nurturing and caring abilities) with the fertile Wadas Earth. This union is connected to the bamboo plant which is the basic material for making baskets. "For generations, the tradition of women weaving bamboo has existed so that it has become their identity, culture and the *Wadon Wadas* community." (Press Release, 2021).

Apart from that, in the press release, Wadas residents—and of course *Wadon Wadas*—distributed 234 small baskets containing food to informal workers around PTUN Semarang. The small baskets containing food are processed from local food products that residents bring from their villages. Apart from that, the number of 234 pieces is a symbol of the repressive incident by the authorities which occurred on April 23 2021.

Apart from that, formal steps were taken to challenge police repressiveness and various violations that occurred to smooth the mining project in Wadas. On this occasion, the coalition reported allegations of violence, intimidation and criminalization of Wadas residents to the National Police Commission (Kopolnas), Komnas Perempuan, the Ombudsman, and the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK). Apart from that, they also reported the police to the Indonesian Police Headquarters (Hidayat & Maharani, 2022).

On the same occasion, Wadas residents together with a coalition of civil organizations from various related ministries and institutions explained various crucial issues regarding andesite mining in Wadas. Various ministries and institutions were visited, such as the Ministry of Environment and Forestry (KLHK), the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), and the Presidential Staff Office (KSP). On this occasion, the Executive Director of the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) Yogyakarta, who is also part of the coalition, explained the findings of a coalition of academics (Adyatama, 2022) which stated that PSN Bendungan Bener's reliable research used wrong methods. "Today, we toured the KLHK "Regarding the findings of a coalition of academics regarding alleged manipulation of data in PSN Bendungan Bener (environmental impact analysis) documents," said Halik as quoted by *Heart Time* (Hidayat & Maharani, 2022).

Apart from the ongoing struggle through litigation, various efforts have been made to hamper the land measurement process in Wadas village. Wadas residents continue to persist

to maintain their gardens. Apart from continuing to survive, various creativity emerged. Flags, banners, billboards and even murals have become quite common sights since Wadas residents rejected mining in their village. In front of the entrance to the Nurul Huda Mosque, a large picture of KH Hasyim Asyari, founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization, has the words "Farmers Are Helpers of the Country." The choice of image of this figure is certainly not a reason because the majority of Wadas residents are NU residents (Nuswantoro, 2021).

Apart from that, *Wadon Wadas* members also brought their activities to the guard posts. The posts which were originally patrol posts became struggle posts. Like what Tri Handayani or Wiji did when they took part in the vigil while making baskets after making brown sugar at home was finished (Muryanto, 2021). "We will not tire of protecting our village environment," he said as quoted by *Project Multatuli*. After various legal and solidarity efforts between residents were carried out, all elements of Wadas residents—Gempa Dewa, Kamu Dewa, *Wadon Wadas*—continued to make various efforts. On August 25 2022, Wadas residents voiced their rejection of andesite mining in their village in front of the State Palace of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta. *Wadon Wadas* together with Solidarity joined in the Kamisan silent action which has been going on for decades (Ramli, 2022).

Apart from that, together with LBH Yogyakarta, Wadas residents filed another lawsuit on November 15 2022. If previously it was submitted to the Semarang PTUN and rejected, this time the lawsuit was submitted to the Jakarta PTUN. The lawsuit questions letter number T-178/MB.04/DJB.M/2021 issued by the Director General of Minerals and Coal, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Through this letter, andesite mining in Wadas village can be carried out without a mining business permit (IUP). Julian Duwi Prasetia from LBH Yogyakarta assesses that the letter addressed to the Directorate General of Water Resources of the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing is contrary to the New Mineral and Stone Mining Law. According to him, there is not a single article that allows mining activities without an IUP (Hidayat et al., 2022).

c. **Framing Wadas Women's Collective Action in Rejecting Andesite Mining**

Snow & Benford (1998) offers a concept framing to explain collective action. Further explained by Snow and Benford (2000) *frame* collective action includes *First*, a set of beliefs and meanings that are action-oriented and aim to inspire and legitimize that action. *Second*, a form of campaign that has the aim of moving a group of masses. So, in this discussion we will refer to the main role of framing which is divided into three, namely; diagnostic framing, prognostic framing, and motivational framing.

Diagnostic framing is identifying the causes of problems that give rise to resistance. Snow and Benford explain that what is most often used by social movements is the injustice frame. In the case of the resistance carried out by *Wadon Wadas*, it shows the problem that their (women's) living space is being threatened or attacked. The clearest example is various campaigns both on social media and offline actions which are often shown to be feminist narratives; The injustice experienced by women is dealing with the destruction of nature, that nature is the same as the human body which cannot be harmed by any part of it and so on. Even to symbolic actions, there is a commitment to women's symbols.

In line with the dynamics that occurred in Wada village in the land conflict, the government demonstrated its power several times through violence through the police. After two acts of repression and massive terror intimidation with the presence of police in villages, *Wadon Wadas* developed a narrative against violence. This narrative of resistance to violence then broadened solidarity towards *Wadon Wadas*.

These two conditions, from the threat of natural destruction in Wadas to the perceived threat of repression and intimidation, have led *Wadon Wadas* to become a society experiencing injustice. In addition to the threat of loss of natural resources and violence, the injustice faced is also the exclusion of women and Wadas residents from issuing mining permits. So, their voices are not heard. Apart from that, it also lost the legitimacy of the Purworejo Regional Regulation which discussed the 2011 RTRW which the local government

changed to Regional Regulation 10 RTRW 2021.

After finding the source of the problem, the next stage according to Benford and Snow (2000) is to determine who is responsible or what is to blame. Ganjar Pranowo is the figure most responsible in this conflict by *Wadon Wadas*. This cannot be separated from the Location Determination Permit (IPL) which Ganjar issued in 2018 and continues to issue extensions. SKIPL The last one is SK No. 590/20 of 2021 and is valid for up to 2 years. So around June 2023 it should no longer be valid, even though historically the Central Java government has always extended it.

in an effort to sue Ganjar Pranowo, *Wadon Wadas* together with the Gempa Dewa coalition sued Ganjar Pranowo at the Semarang State Administrative Court (PTUN) on July 16 2021. The lawsuit was filed right after the extension of the Governor's Decree regarding the latest IPL. However, the Semarang PTUN judge's decision 68/G/PU/2021/PTUN.SMG was to reject the lawsuit. However, resistance was still carried out and continued with an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Then at the prognostic framing stage, which is explained by Benford and Snow as offering possible solutions to problems. *Wadon Wadas* Together with all Wadas residents who reject mining are committed to one solution, only to revoke the IPL Decree of the Governor of Central Java and no mining activities are allowed in Wadas. Another prognostic to strengthen the Movement is to thoroughly investigate cases of violence that occurred in Wadas on April 23 2021 and February 8 2022. Although in the end, when this research process lasted until the end of 2022, the membership of *Wadon Wadas* was no longer complete among Wadas women in 7 RTs. However, this did not make the 4 RTs who were still committed to fighting give up and continue to fight until 2023.

"I am a fighter, losing or winning is not my business, because my job is to fight" is *Wadon Wadas'* motivational sentence that has emerged since the 2021 Semarang PTUN lawsuit against Ganjar was rejected. Apart from that, there is also the sentence "protecting nature, protecting the lives of future children and grandchildren". To this day, this sentence is still circulating on social media timelines. It can be said that this sentence is a type of vocabulary and jargon that has a motivating purpose. As Benford and Snow explain this as motivational framing. A reason is involved in the Movement to improve the situation. The existence of *Wadon Wadas* itself in this research was concluded to be a great motivator itself. Because the role of women and the campaigns built by *Wadon Wadas* have strengthened women's resistance to mining, which has previously been carried out in various land conflict areas.

The active role of Wadas women in the agrarian conflict that occurred has values that challenge the stereotype of women who are synonymous with passive domestic areas. However, from the domestic space, resistance emerged from women and was used as a form of resistance strategy. Plus, engagement Female Wadas shows the discursive development of political activity from women who oppose efforts to destroy the environment with a non-exploitative paradigm (Fitri and Akbar 2018).

Table 1: The Role of Framing in *Wadon Wadas* Collective Action

Framing Stages	Wadas Women's Collective Action
Problem Diagnosis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Threat of destruction of Wadas' nature and loss of natural resources that support the lives of Wadas residents. ● The government's arbitrariness continues to extend the IPL even though there is no local consent for mining activities.
Source of the Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo ● Government – state security apparatus (repressive actions and intimidation against Wadas residents).
Prognosis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Withdraw IPL ● Completely investigate cases of violence and human rights violations committed by police officers in Wadas on April 23 2021 and February 8 2022.
Motivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The task of fighting to protect nature is to protect life
Motivator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social, cultural and economic life in Wadas ● Consistency girls Wadas Which don't see how many consistently fight back

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion of the writing of the paper above, the author draws several conclusions as follows;

1. *Frame* injustice experienced by women in land issues framing main of the resistance of *Wadon Wadas* against andesite mining in the village

- Wadas. The injustice they face and what they are fighting for is maintaining the natural resources in Wadas village which are the key to the lives of Wadas residents which have been protected by their ancestors and are assets for their descendants. Apart from that, a manifestation of the injustice faced by *Wadon Wadas* is the government's neglect, in this case leading to the government of the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, who repeatedly issued the IPL despite various attempts to reject it.
2. The collective action carried out by *Wadon Wadas* is a manifestation of women's politics which is born from anxiety in the domestic space. The domestic space in the *Wadon Wadas* resistance is seen from the traditions of women in Wadas village who do not only depend on the need for water and natural resources. But there is also the need to develop skills through the production and buying and selling traditions of natural products in Wadas village which are then threatened with being lost along with mining in Wadas village. Apart from that, it is also related to social space, traditions of interaction and building collective work such as enlargement and so on.
 3. The consistency of resistance carried out by *Wadon Wadas* shows that the domestic space can be a way to break through stereotypes of women through forms of resistance action that depart from domestic traditions.

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