

**WOMAN in Environment & Natural
Resources Management
Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia
(WALHI)**

I. Background

Gender justice is one of ten WALHI's values in its environmental movement. Many activities have been applied for mainstreaming the value in every WALHI's program. However, it still could not reach a maximum result, even though WALHI is now trying to internalize the value in all of its programs.

Recently, WALHI conducted several trainings in two degrees: first, training on gender sensitivity, and second, training on gender perspective social analysis. The trainings were attended by representation of National Executive and regional offices. They aimed to enable participants to apply gender justice value in their program activities and management, community organizing and facilitating, and as a perspective for solving the social and environmental problems.

However, those training could not give a significant change on how gender justice becomes a mainstream for WALHI's program. It was caused by the duty was given to individuals, without giving them a clear position in the

organizational structure. There is no policy in organization, which focus on the gender issue and there is no special budget allocation to support program on that.

Based on those situations, WALHI conducted a study on gender justice to analyze role and involvement of women on environment and natural resources management. The study is aimed to gain more inputs for WALHI's advocacy works and documenting gender mainstreaming processes, especially on promoting woman right and environment and natural resources management. This paper basically discuss about result of study.

I.1 Gender Justice on WALHI's View

Gender is talking about how the role, status, job of woman and man are divided socially by a group of community. Integrating gender justice and environment means that in one hand, we are talking about to what extent gender construction in such group of community has been fulfilled a justice constraint. On the other hand, back to the definition above, relationship between gender justice and environment means that we are talking about how we divide role, status, and job for man and woman in their relation to a justifiable source of livelihood (agrarian and natural resources).

WALHI conducted an integrated research in some districts in Indonesia, namely Mojokerto and Wonosobo in Central Java province for agricultural sector; Kotabaru of South Kalimantan Province and Bengkalis of Riau Province for coastal and marine sector; Soroako, South Sulawesi Province for mining sector; Porsea, North Sumatera Province for industry sector; and Bojong Bogor of West Java Province for urban sector. We found that the research become a lesson learn inspiring for woman both in rural and urban area to struggling their right on environment and source of life.

Discussion more deeply on gender construction in the such community which strongly influenced by culture, religion, role of capital and state, basically we also talk about to what extent gender construction caused some bias on certain issues:

1. Discrimination on control (power) and access (opportunity)
2. Differentiation of role of woman and man.
3. Discrimination of right
4. Discrimination of status/position.

In addition, gender justice can be seen from:

1. Marginalization
2. Sub-ordination
3. Overwhelmed of duties
4. Stereotyping (negative)¹

In the contex of WALHI's movement, gender justice value is placed as part of integral effort to endorse social movement for people's sovereignty on environment and natural resources management.

I.2. Woman and Environment

Environment is a place for man and women, animal, plant, water, air, sun and biotic and abiotic. Ecology also

¹ *Gender dan pengelolaan sumber daya alam: sebuah panduan analisis, Pikul 2001*

learns about relationship between human (man and woman) and environment.

Those terms also related to some national and international policies and regulations. In Indonesian Environmental Law Number 23/1997 emphasizes that every human has similar right on a good and healthy environment. Every human is obligated to conserve environmental function and protect environmental pollution and destruction.

In section number 14 of CEDAW (convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination against women) said that a "state parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families and state parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right"

In reality, there are still many problems in Indonesia in which women cannot reach a more appropriate right over environment, whether related to their socio-cultural or political will of

government. We will see more specific on how role of women as one important part of environment and natural resources, in both their understanding of context and access to gain their environment and natural resources rights.

Environment and women in Indonesia are a unity and a complementary. If one part is broken, another one will be weak. Woman is a first hand, which can access basic needs and natural resources in the life of their family. Woman has their own knowledge to save their sources of life. Their understanding on this knowledge usually is based on their experiences and characteristic.

For woman, source of water considers to become their "blood and breath". It is used for showering, cooking, laundering, cleaning the utensils, and all every duties which rarely done by man. Pollution of source of water for women similar to poisoning of their blood and inhalation, and it means that killing their life and livelihood.

Land, water, and forest are factors of production for women to maintain their life. Forest, land, and river are "market" for women, because in there, they can harvest their basic needs for family.

Women plant some basic needs including for food, cosmetics, and medicine. Beside, forest is traditionally considered as a sacral space, a place for traditional ceremonies, in where human communicate to their ancestors and the Almighty. Destruction of forest and land for women and family is a destruction of total life.

So far, destruction of environment has not taken into account yet especially from the women view point. Patriarchal culture has shifted woman sovereignty from food management into a vague view, which is not understood by men, and even women themselves. History of women informed that our ancestor have gathered seeds from forest, collecting, planting, and rising them. However, those wonderful history haven't told to us. As a result, the women do not aware that their sovereignty on food has been seized. The lost of food sovereignty from women was followed by the lost of food sovereignty for community. Natural food diversity for all people in the entire world, including Indonesian, has seized by "food as commodity". Human life, which really depends on the nature, shift to the dependency of market and "modern food".

In WALHI's study on gender and environmental justice, it is clear that

capital intervention become a main factor of the poverty process on women, which also become poorer with a patriarchy system in almost all part of the world. The study showed that many woman groups in the rural area have less information from outsiders.

I.3. Women in the Hand of Capitalism System

Economic development paradigm, which applied by Indonesian Government, views that natural resources is source of state income. It becomes new sources for natural resource exploitations and destruction of ecology. About 30% of Indonesian area has been allocated to the mining. Most of forest area has been converted to the big plantation, and marine resources have been given to the foreign and large scale investors.

Government policy to convert community land to become protected forest, from a heterogenic forest to become monogenic one, releasing permit to the forest harvesting, mining concession, have ended with many environmental problems in Indonesia. Instead, conflict occurs between people and the state, which should be responsible to its people. Conflicts also happen between people and

corporations and the government usually supports the corporations.

Capitalism and globalization bring a consumerism culture among the community, which has implication to the women's life, including those in the rural area. There are withdrawn from their characteristic roots on protecting environment and managing their natural resources.

Today, conflict on natural resources is increased in term of number. At the end of 2003, there were about 2,000 land conflicts related to the natural resources management. 143 of them are conflict on mining issue. Increasing of conflict on natural resources is also along with the increasing of number of cases which reported to the Woman National Committee. Since 2003, the committee received some important cases such as cases of pollution of mining corporation in Buyat Bay, criminalization of woman in SoE, clearing of coffee plant in Mangarai, integrated waste disposal place in Bojong, and reclaiming land by peasant in Pematang Siantar. Surely that intensity of conflicts will increase in the future and they will end with fewer results especially on recovery of the victims².

² Annual report of woman national commite, 2005

In those cases, women is not only a most vulnerable group but also neglected in the context of problem solving and recovery processes. In many cases, woman problems are not counted and paid more attention in natural resource conflicts.

It caused by (a) there is less sensitivity on seeing women problem in this issue. As a result, enforcement on women right on this issue always is avoided (b) Sub-ordination of woman problem, which usually seen it as a small one compare to the other natural resources problems. There is a belief that if we solve the problem on natural resources, it will also solve problem of women (c) women activists is believed as a partial, which only understand the violence of women and not understand on natural resources management issues.

WALHI tries to see a bundle of portrait of women in Indonesia. In Soroako - South Sulawesi, for example, women have been struggling with nickel mining corporation, namely PT. INCO. IN Porsea - North Sumatera, they were against pollution of a pulp corporation, PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (formerly known as PT. Inti Indo Rayon). In Mojokerto - East Java and Wonosobo - Central Java, the woman groups have been struggling

over their right to manage forest area against a government corporation, PT. Perhutani. Fisher women in Rampa, Kota Baru – South Kalimantan, are now against PT. Indocement, and in Bengkalis – Riau they have been fighting with fishing ground conflict for more than a decade.

All of those portrait of women become a step on documenting how women roles and their struggle over environment and natural resources. They are facing capitalism system, which used its allies (police and army), and always shows their violent practices, physically and psychologically especially for women right defenders.

In many cases, we always forget to involve women in political decision making processes in order to determine their own space of life. Hopefully, this study can inspire us to realizing gender justice and struggle of women right to the environment and source of life and livelihood.

II. Woman's Voices, The Unheard Voices

II.1. Women in Mining Sector, A Case Study from Sorowako – South Sulawesi

"Our customary assets, which is placed on PT. INCO concession have been taken over and we are never given opportunity to have our right to rebuild our ancestor asset, which have been destroyed by political dispute. We lost everything now to continue for the next generation, which is now spreading over in the whole country," Naomi protest.

Dongi is one community in South Sulawesi. They are part of Karonsi'e tribes, which have been in Witamorini since 1870. Witamorini means peace and fertile land. During the time, the name Witamorini was changed to become Karonsi'e. Karonsi'e means main rice barn.

Karonsi'E community never experiences hunger and their rice barn is always full with rice in their whole life. This success is supported by fertile nature and their work hard. Beside, Karonsi'E is placed in the Verbeek Mountain, which contain of rich minerals. One of them is nickel, which is now in the hand of PT. INCO as a concession holder.

During Dutch colonialism, Karonsi'e and Mory tribes were against Dutch colonial. In 1880, they moved and spread to three area and built a new community, namely: Laawewu, Kaporesa, and Balo-balo. In 1910, Laawewu community

moved to a lower area called Solonsa and built a new community, which is named as Dongi. They are later known as community of Karonsi'e Dongi.

According to Karonsi'e Dongi custom, women were not allowed to become tribe's leader because they believe that women were weak at the moment when they need a strong leader facing a hard social struggle at the time. However, they are never discriminating man and woman in the access to natural resources. Before PT. INCO come, men and women in togetherness worked in the rice field and/or went to the forest looking for a rattan and resin of certain tree for lamp. Beside, Dongi's women also plaited *Pandanus* leaf to become mat, hat, and bag which were sold or bartered to fulfill their need for basic needs.

However, the ownership over natural resources is mostly dominated or named on behalf of men. It is influenced by religion and custom. Men gain 2/3 of inheritances while women 1/3 of them.

Actually, women have double role in the Dongi community. They should accompany men to go to the forest looking for rattan or work in the rice field. Later they should work for domestic job

such as providing food, laundering, and taking care of children.

In 1968, when central government opened up opportunity for foreign investor in Indonesia, PT. INCO was a multi-national corporation from Canada, proposed a contract with the government of Indonesia. Through its operation, PT. INCO occupied lands of Karonsi'e Dongi people. One of them is used as golf field, while rice field in the places named Kopatea and Pontadaa become housing for PT. INCO's staffs.

Customary forest and plantation field along with the plant tree such as sago, coconut, and *dammar* become concession area of PT. INCO. Rice field in the Valley of Buton Mountain of western side (Kuratelawa) was piled up with soil disposal from PT. INCO. Ruruano, Kopatea and Lembono (northern side of Buton Mountain) were changed to become golf playing field and camping area. The old cemetery of indigenous Dongi in Larowanga Lintumewure become mining area of PT. INCO. Some of cemetery in Kampung Baru become dormitory building of PT. INCO's staffs.

In order to get back their occupied village, they tried to ask sub-district government from 1976 to 1978. However they failed because the sub-

district leader of Nuha clearly said that he wanted to block those who were against government plan to gain income for development. He emphasize this statement to the community and he added that it is better for him to lost a village of people rather than he lost PT. INCO.

This statement became terror for community who struggle over their ancestors' land, in which the state under control of authoritarian regime and greedy. The most realistic place for them at the moment is at Wasuponda, Nuha Sub-district.

Women experienced bigger harm compare to men in term of their access to the natural resources. They lost their source of life, while men can gain job from the corporation, because women have a small probability than men.

The only probability was opened to women was called Proma/Program Magang (internship program). In this program, women are really exploited because for the first 3 months, they should work hard, doing everything the PT. INCO asked for. It will be added with the next three months contract and continued the next term. There were some examples of persons who have been working in the corporation for 4

years but still as on internship position. They did not earn salary because they considered not staff of PT. INCO. The only money they earn was a Rp. 10,000 a day for transportation.

Women gain many impacts from the attendance of PT. INCO. Some of their routine activities are disappeared because no more natural resources. No more rattans and *Pandanus* leaves and bamboos. The other important activities which have been lost were customary ceremony and mutual cooperation among them.

After a 30 years of PT. INCO in Sorowako, Dongi community still want to ask for their right with the remaining spirit they own. They want their custom and natural resources back.

Women existence on the struggle over PT. INCO is meaningful and important, even though the movement among the group of women still separated each other. The movement of women in Dongi was begun by a woman during 2,000 who asked for a just health facility among the community from the corporation. Some people in the area gained more facility than the other. It became a triggered point for her to struggle against corporation.

Her name is Naomi Mananta. She rose struggle spirit of women in Dongi Karonsi'e to get back their source of life, which have occupied by PT. INCO. She asked for her colleagues of the other women in her community. They reclaimed their land and built house and stay there, even though they had to face police, terror and intimidation from corporation security persons. Their

II.2. Women in Agricultural and Plantation Sector, Case Studies from Mojokerto-east java and

People in Mojokerto – East Java is a community who have a strong culture and religion especially Islam and follower of Nahdatul Ulama (NU)³. Basically, NU gives more space for women to involve on their struggle for increasing their social status and dignity of life including on sustainable agriculture management.

Wonosobo, however, is a district in Central Java which has richer agricultural products. Plunjaran Village is one of 11 villages in Sub-district of Wadaslintang. In 1980, government provided a loan fund from Asian

houses were threat to be burn if they did not want to move from their own land.

They never stop to struggle against PT. INCO until now. They knew that PT. INCO has stolen their access to the natural resources and destroy their historical and customary sites. They aware that PT. INCO will ethnocide future generation of Karonsi'e tribe in Soroako.

Wonosobo-central java

Development Bank (ADB) to the peasants in the area.

Generally, Java is an island which has a strong feudalism back ground, in where most of landlords and elites have important role in their life and livelihood. Java culture is also well-known with a strong patriarchy system, which placed women to be always "obedient" to their husbands or father. Feudalism culture was strongly applied by the people who historically under control of kingdoms. Pramodya Ananta Toer, a famous book writer and man of letters, clearly describe it in his books: *Gadis Pantai*, *Larasati*, and *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*. In Javanese culture (Mojokerto and Wonosobo), most relation between men and women support an unbalanced gender situation. It is also getting worse

³ *NU is a largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia*

with misinterpretation and misunderstanding of religion.

Politically, women do not have an appropriate space yet to become a parliament member/representative, even though majority of voters in last election were women. For example, in Mojokerto District, of the 45 parliament members, only 2 of them are women. It gives impacts to the decision making processes especially on allocation of regional budget, which less gender sensitiveness. In Mojokerto, percentage of women population is 52% compare to men.

For peasants in Mojokerto and Wonosobo, natural resource especially land is a production mean which should be owned, beside the other needs which support agricultural plants for their life and livelihood. However, this ideal condition should be faced the contrast reality, which most of them do not have access to the land. Most of their lands are occupied by PT. Perhutani, a state corporation on industrial forest, which is given a full power to manage forest in Java. As a result, they can occupy people's land for forest management purposes in Java even though the lands have been used by the community from generation to generation. PT. Perhutani claims that their ancestor lands are state

land which used as industrial forest purposes, and PT. Perhutani is state company.

This policy has been marginalized landless peasant. They always say that we don't have any reason to name them as farmer because they do not have any land. Economic crisis influence the price of some commodities and social economic of many peasants in Indonesia, including the price of the fertilizer reaching the sky. As a result, they do not have enough money to purchase it.

Government policy related to PT. Perhutani have made Javanese's ancestor forest become production forest, which impact to the significant destruction of forest in Java. PT. Perhutani always prioritizes economical benefits rather than ecological one. Consequently, flood and landslide always happens and victimize people in Mojokerto. Many people dead and their agricultural land damaged. However, PT. Perhutani argued that it was only natural disaster because Mojokerto is a disaster-prone area, which is vulnerable to the flood and landslide.

The lack of land and threat to the continuity of life in the destructed forest area is a strong background to the

advocacy processes in Mojokerto. They then reclaimed their lands from PT. Perhutani due to the need of lands and lack of money they had. With facilitation of an NGO called Yayasan Peduli Indonesia, they backed to their ancestor land.

However, that effort has a large impediment from PT. Perhutani, which backed up by army and police. Recently, the Indonesian *Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia)*⁴ clearly state that reclaiming is consider *haram* (prohibited by Islamic value) for Muslim. PT. Perhutani used this strategy because they familiar with socio-cultural of community in Mojokerto which really have strong religious background and obedient to local *ulama*.

All those problems are worsen by the development of dam in Wadaslintang in Wonosobo District, which funded by Asian Development Bank (ADB). This power supply project was actually aimed to provide electricity for Java and Bali islands. However, the project failed to provide electricity for Bali island, but it submerged some part of a village called Plunjaran, which is in contrast, nowadays does not have electricity. The people in the village still use traditional lamp during nighttime.

⁴ *Ulama is Moslem spiritual leader*

Poverty, which faced by community in the such district, is actually a structural one, which produced by government for interest of capital owners. The community sacrifice their village on behalf of development, which in reality has made them marginalized.

Beside, the impact of dam development, people are not easy to access information, because they should spend extra money for their basic needs and for transportation. They used to pay small boat to go to the village office. The destruction of forest caused limited of water and lack of income from their agricultural products. Public facilities in the village are also inappropriate. For example, minimum availability of drinking water caused women have extra hard work to have water.

Even though peasant in Wonosobo and Mojokerto are facing the hard problems, they do not stop struggling their right over the land and source of life. They believe that the struggle can be gained by uniting their spirit and movement collectively and conduct awareness and organizing among themselves. However, WALHI notes that community organizing processes that conducted in Mojokerto were mostly involving men

instead of balancing gender equality. In most of the meetings, women still become passive and additional participants.

During interviews and discussions with women and community organizers in the field, women have difficulty to discuss about women problem within them, even though they actually knew and understood all what have going on so far in their village. It means that they aware what have been done so far but they do not really understand what kind of strategy and step should they perform to solve the problem.

In Wonosobo, most of women knew how to involve in such organization as a media for them to be organized. Many activists argued that it is not a complete movement if the women have not involves on that. Women usually used some moment such as *pengajian*⁵, meeting in the rice field or traditional market for organizing themselves.

Begun with a people organization which has built previously, they then propose a more formal organization called PSDHBM. The organization is independent and become a media for peasant to struggle their right to

manage forest area in Wonosobo. Until 2003, the organization was mostly dominated by men. This situation urged women in Wonosobo to have an organization. They formed a preparation committee, consist of women activists, who have been actively working for peasant advocacy in Wonosobo.

The organization has several activities to strengthen mobilization of mass. They begin to form a small network in the village level, namely in Wadaslintang and Sigidang. They used to have gender training, organized by LAPPERA JOGJAKARTA, and education for women organization, organized by WALHI.

The aimed of the organization is to become pioneer of women struggle on forest management in Wonosobo. However, in the future, it is hoped also work for the other problems in Wonosobo, such as education, teen marriage, etc., not just specific on forest issue. It can be seen that model of women movement by forming an organization, in Wonosobo for example, is an good approach to rise women spirit and gathering their togetherness to support the issue which is raised by peasants.

⁵ *Pengajian* is a gathering to read Koran for Muslim.

II.3. Women and Industrial Pollution, A Case Study from Porsea – North Sumatera

Toba Samosir District is located in the low land area. It is surrounded by hills, which known as *Bukit Barisan*. That is why it is a landslide prone area. There is a well known lake in Toba Samosir District, called Danau Toba (Toba Lake). The lake becomes an economical and cultural asset for the people who stay surrounding the lake, even though recently their income from the lake decreased recently.

Toba Samosir District owns similar culture with the common Bataknese, who still applying their customary law. For Porsea people, custom is their heart of life. That is why there too many rituals which should be conduct in Porsea for example traditional ceremony for uprising the clan, marriage and death ceremonies. In Porsea, those who violate the customary law will have punishment. The punishment is vary from a light one to a heavier one such as chasing away the violator from the village.

Porsea community has a high tolerance between different religion and open to the other ethnic group such as Java. It can be seen from the intensity of ethnic

conflict between Porsea ethnic, who become majority and the other ethnic groups, who become minority ethnic. So far, there was no dispute between different ethnic groups in Porsea. They believe that diversity is colorful and colorful is beautiful.

Majority of Porseans are farmers. They have about 344,085 hectares land, which 24,806 of them are rice-fields. Planting rice usually conducts at the same time in every sub-district in Toba Samosir District. However, some sub-districts become centre of rice field in Toba Samosir namely Porsea, Lumbanjulu, Balige, and Silaen. Beside rice, they have the other agricultural products such as corn, cassava, and sweet potato. They use some dry land for the other product, vegetable, fruit trees, coffee and candlenut.

Some of them are work for small enterprises. They have about 1,907 units of household scale enterprises, which processing agricultural and forestry products. The total man powers can be absorbed are 2,700 persons and earns about production value about Rp. 5 billions. Beside agricultural-based enterprise, the people also have some kind of small industries such as souvenirs, textile, chemistry, and housing stuffs.

From the total of 2,053 enterprise units absorb 3,700 man powers.

Bataknese culture is also has strong patriarchy system. Men will always continue the clan (last name), however, the women is not. Even though Bataknese women is called *Boru ni Raja* (King's Sister), but in reality they have higher responsibility then men. From discussion and observation in some village, women are responsible for the continuity of their family life, from taking care of kids, working in the rice-field, taking care of fish ponds, management of family budgeting, and the other domestic jobs (cooking and laundering).

The culture has been continuously performing for a long time and they are conducting it as part of their ancestor culture. One contributor of gender imbalance is culture in Bataknese case. It can be seen from their rituals and traditional ceremony, which placed men higher than women. However, nowadays, there has been a shift from the formality/procedural custom, in which women can also compromised their view as part of family's point of view, which should be describe by the men during customary ceremony/forum.

In public space, role between men and women is egalitarian. They have similar

access to the similar resources and also similar right to the public facilities such as school, information, etc, so it is not rare in Toba Samosir, we can find a woman on debate with man in a certain discussion. Women are recognized and are heard their views on decision making processes.

Back to the Porsea, the people there began to have a problem when a corporation called PT. Inti Indorayon Utama (IIU)⁶ come there in 1983 as a foreign investor. The Medan based corporation is part of Garuda Mas Group, with the owner is Sukanto Tanoto. It began operation on industry and pulp production since 1989. A project located in Asahan River placed in a 178 hectares area including pulp and rayon, office, housing, seedling, and the other facilities.

From the beginning, many peoples have tried to oppose the plan of the PT. IIU project. First, PT. IIU took away people land for planting *Eucalyptus* area. *Eucalyptus* is product of pulp. The need of land to plant eucalyptus was the main problem on PT. IIU case and followed by its impact to the environmental destruction, which rise up conflict between surrounded

⁶ PT. IIU is now changed to become PT. Toba Pulp Lestari (PT. TPL).

community and PT. IIU. When the company is about to start, disasters always occur in Porsea. Asahan River pollution caused damages of gold fish pond and rice plant. The fish and rice failed to be harvested. The air also polluted with the bad smell from the pollution water of PT. IIU.

In addition, some animal husbandries owned by community such as duck, chicken, and water buffalo also died with water pollution. Usually they died after raining. They believe that PT. IIU dispose some chemical concentrates which made animals died.

One disaster to the other occurred in Porsea. Landslide tragedy in 1989 caused 13 people died in Bulu Silapae village and 5 people in Sianipar village. The disaster also damaged houses and agricultural fields. It also damaged chlorine tank of PT. IIU and displaced many peoples.

Beside decreasing environmental quality and agricultural and fishery products, PT. IIU also raise poverty for surrounding community as a result of decreasing of their income and increase of health problems. A research conducted by a Pastoral in Baige showed that since PT. IIU was opened, it increased the health problem of pregnant women and

decreasing of children intellectuality. From that moment, the struggle of Porsea community against PT. IIU was also begun. They never stop to oppose PT. IIU.

The struggle was begun with woman group from Sugapa, who want their customary land, which have been taken over by PT. IIU. The women got unfair and represive actions from army and police and they were arrested. The movement became radical when accumulation of many problems from PT. IIU couldn't be solved and end with lost of people's source of life. People want to restore their environmental quality and their right which have been taken away by PT. IIU for industrial development scheme. They want PT. IIU was totally closed and left Porsea.

Porsea community later formed an organization called SRB as a strategic way to organize and strengthen their communities, for campaigning and lobbying, networking and litigation supports. The community organization became very powerful strategy in Porsea even though there were some dynamics on it process. There was no specific strategy to organize women in SRB structure and strategic plan. Even though women can only have 'special' positions such secretary and treasure,

but in reality they involved in most of villages as "public relation" to the other communities.

In the Porsea case, there was no women group formed, but they involve in many meetings and discussion as well as on decision making processes. On action and demonstration, women played important roles and some of them placed in the front line whenever many of their man colleagues were arrested by military and police.

There is an interesting question for Bataknese women related to the radical advocacy work they performed, even though in the social organization they always been sub-ordinate by men. During discussions and interview, in Bataknese custom, women are responsible for the future generation. That is why they did whatever they could for the continuity of their future generation.

The braveness of *inang-inang* (ladies) is an accumulation of problems which threat the continuity of their life and livelihood. Rice-field, land, water are source of life, which really close with Bataknese women. Whenever rice-field and land do not give a good harvest, at the time also responsibilities of women are also increased. When Asahan river

was polluted by PT. IIU, the women are the most affected victims because they always use water from the river directly.

Cultural condition constructs women to be responsible on domestic job. In Bataknese women it also adds with some agricultural works, such as work in the agricultural land and rice filed. Those situations place them in the situation, which they should fight all activities that damaged their natural resources. The high dependency on source of life has made them to be in unity to fight the destruction of environment which burdened them.

The damage of source of life has impacted the decrease of source of family income. As a consequence, Bataknese women become responsible for their family even though in Batak culture, they are not responsible as a head of household. Culturally, children of Bataknese closed to their mother instead of father. So, the reason to fight PT. IIU is also for children purposes. In Bataknese culture, the continuity of life is on the hand of women, so they really the main point of continuity of the future generation.

In one of attractive actions against PT. IIU, women opened their cloths in public arena. There were too many opinions

related to the "too brave" action. Some said that it degrade dignity of Batakese women, while the other argued that they want to bargain their self respect with the sovereignty over resource of life. Some of the people in the action did not perform similar action because they feel shame to their husbands and relatives. However for those who did, their husband threat to be arrested if they did not take a more 'serious' risk. They were aware that it will impact on their children and themselves.

The other reason why too *inang-inang* also involve in fighting against PT. IJU was that men/husbands have already frustrated, and when the police and army did a repressive action to them, the situation got worse and impacted women. Some of the husbands were jailed. This difficult situation supported women to be ready for fighting.

Women in Porsea are aware that traditional market is a place for people to meet. It is common if such traditional market has one day in a week, when many people come to sale and to buy many things. At that time there a lot people and capital are spent and earned in the market. One of strategy which used by community was to boycott the market. As a result, the strategy gained supports from most of

the public, who want their struggle can fulfill their right to a better environment.

II.4. Women in Coastal and Marine Sector, A Case Study in Rampa and Bengkalis

Marine is a life for fisherfolks who depend their life from the sea. Communities in Rampa - South Kalimantan and Bengkalis - Riau Province are examples of those who live from the coastal and marine resources. However, the destruction of environment and exploitation of coastal have made the fisherfolks poor and apprehensive situation. In contrast, Indonesia has 17,507 islands, which place Indonesia as one of the country with the longest coastal/beach in the world. The vulnerability of fisherfolks is caused by the orientation of Indonesian development policies are land-bias. In Rampa, fisherfolks have a culture which situate many ethnic group gather in peacefully place without any horizontal conflict. They are including

Bajau and Banjar ethnic groups. Islam is their religion.

Along with the time, cultural shift also going on in Rampa, in which such community does not apply their traditional customary law anymore. Leader of the ethnic is only responsible to conduct traditional sea ceremony but he does not own power as a leader of community. The ceremony is a ritual to the ancestor and the owner of the sea for safety of community.

The fisherfolks culture in Rampa is quiet similar with the other places in Indonesia. A hard work and challenge culture, physiologically influence them to become a "hard" community. Since kid, they were introduced to the fisher culture. As a consequence, many of them enjoyed to go fish than to school.

In contrast, the women have opportunity to have a higher education than men. In fisherfolk culture, men have stronger physical body and more powerful than women in some case, so they should be practiced to help their father for fishing. If women really want to have education, they will ask for school, even though in some cases most of the "fisher-women" married during their teenagers.

As have already mentioned above that for the community in fishery culture, hard work for men is already become part of the culture. So, if we are talking about fishermen, it should be men. The wife and sister usually work for processing and selling the fish soon after their husband/father arrive in the beach/harbor.

Long time ago, fishermen could be easier to have a more appropriate life. They do not have to spend many times in the boat. In just a short time, they could earn enough money because there were still too many fish to catch. However, it was not anymore. Nowadays, too many corporation and large scale fishermen, using a more modern fishing gear come here. It is similar to what happen to the fisherfolks in Rampa – South Kalimantan & in Bengkalis - Riau. In Rampa, they form an organization called INSAN (Ikatan Nelayan Saijaan/Sejati), while in Bengkalis, they called SNKB (Serikat Nelayan Kecamatan Bantan).

In Rampa, the vulnerability of fisherfolks began when PT. Indocement Tunggul Prakarsa (PT. ITP) in 2002. PT. ITP is a foreign investment dredging in the fishing ground of traditional fisherfolks of Rampa. They were marginalized and poor due to the decline of number fish

they can catch. Their fishing ground was also limited because PT. ITP also disposed solid waste through the ocean, which made the quality of ocean life decrease.

As a consequence, the economical problem burdened them, especially for women. They should find extra money to fulfill the decline of family input. Before, they can earn about Rp. 300,000 a day, but since the PT. ITP came, it was lucky if they can have about Rp. 50,000 a day.

Similar to Rampa, in Bengkalis, a long conflict between traditional fisherfolks against modern fishermen was opened. The modern fishermen used a modern net to catch fish called *kurau*. It was difficult for local fisherfolks to find *kurau* since the modern came. Government seemed to let the modern fishermen to fish in the similar fishing ground of local fisherfolks.

Based on that dispute, the local fisherfolks began to fight. The aim of their struggle was to return their source of life back. In Rampa, they want to have a dialog with PT. ITP to take away solid waste that they put in the ocean. They also want compensation for the lost caused by the waste. In Rampa, women supported their husband

preparing logistic whenever they want to have a mass demonstration.

In Bengkalis, women were in the front against *kurau* fishermen. They did monitor the condition of the sea and by using radio, they informed and talked each other to communicate. They also prepared food for their husband and relatives who want attend mass demonstration.

However, women were not in the structure of SNKB. But, in many meetings and community organizing processes, women always participate. They also involve in training and education on political, law and human right for women. The aim of the education is to share knowledge and understanding on women existence as an individual, as part of community and as a citizen, who has rights that should fulfill by the state.

As the result, the struggle over the capitalism in Rampa and Bengkalis gain success. In Rampa, PT. ITP agreed to take the solid waste away from the ocean, while in Bengkalis, government released a decree to prohibit *kurau* net to be operated in Bengkalis. They aware that those were a small succeed, because the bigger one is the struggle on sovereignty over coastal and marine

resources management, which is still a dream for them.

RECOMMENDATION

A long process of women struggle in Indonesia, especially to fight against capitalism and feudalism, deliver many processes of imbalance of social relation in the community, especially on environment and natural resources management. This situation support WALHI to continue its advocacy works to mainstream gender in its overall program.

WALHI aware that in its 27 years old, it is still needed a long processes to reach gender justice, which is one of its values. Many impediment and challenge were experienced to make sure that the value is not just a value, but should be applied in all activities of the organization. The value should make sure that value of humanity, which between men and women are similar on their right, similar to have access and control over environment and natural resource management. In internal of organization, program related to enhance gender issue is needed to be carefully maintained because some of the organization component has different interpretation of gender value. We hope that the study become a

foundation for the advocacy works on gender justice in the future.

WALHI also aware that it is needed to widening local, national and international networks to promote women right on environment and natural resources management. WALHI also knew that capitalism has destroyed women characteristic on managing environment and natural resources. The study is aimed to view women struggle based on their characteristic in many issues, and hope can inspire women in the other places which have similar experiences. We aware that the huge power for struggling women rights are always neglected by the state.

This recommendation has been manifested in WALHI's political decree, as it include in one resolution of WALHI's annual meeting in 2007, entitled mainstreaming gender justice in the organization.