

RELIGI

JURNAL STUDI AGAMA-AGAMA

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the discourse of eco-theology and women's participation in efforts to resolve the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village. The agrarian conflict in Wadas Village originated from a government policy, namely the Bener Dam National Strategic Project, in which Wadas Village was designated as a strategic area for the extraction of andesite stone for the dam. The conflict has been ongoing for a long time and has involved many people, especially women. During the conflict, women's presence and participation in responding to this policy took the form of a women's movement consisting of young women and mothers in Wadas Village, namely Wadon Wadas. This movement was launched to voice the concerns of the women of Wadas village regarding government policy and the establishment of an open-pit andesite quarry in Wadas village, which is considered to disrupt the stability of women's lives. This paper is a descriptive-analytical qualitative study with an approach based on religious studies, socio-political conflict, and ecofeminism. The theory used is Françoise d'Eaubonne's ecofeminism theory, which includes conservative, modern, and cultural ecofeminism. There are three issues discussed in this paper. First, the discourse of eco-theology and women's participation in agrarian conflicts in Wadas village was formed from resistance to government policies that destroy nature and the stability of the lives of the people of Wadas village. Second, women consider nature to be integral to women's lives and that nature is also a living creature created by God, just like humans and animals. Third, women's efforts to preserve nature include creating women's movements that are environmentally friendly, emphasizing equality among fellow human beings, and practicing and promoting religious teachings about the importance of protecting nature, which is considered part of faith.

Keywords: Agrarian Conflict, Discourse, Eco-Theology, Wadas, Women's Participation

Abstrak

Tulisan ini berupaya mengkaji diskursus ekoteologi dan partisipasi perempuan dalam upaya resolusi konflik agraria di Desa Wadas. Konflik agraria yang terjadi di Desa Wadas merupakan konflik yang mulanya berasal dari kebijakan pemerintah, yakni Proyek Strategis Nasional Bendungan Bener, di mana Desa Wadas dijadikan sebagai daerah yang strategis dalam pengambilan bahan

material bendungan berupa batu andesit. Konflik tersebut telah berlangsung sejak lama dan telah melibatkan banyak pihak, terutama perempuan. Selama konflik berlangsung, keberadaan dan partisipasi perempuan untuk menyikapi kebijakan tersebut dilakukan dengan mengusung gerakan perempuan yang terdiri dari remaja perempuan dan para ibu di desa Wadas, yakni *Wadon Wadas*. Gerakan ini diusung untuk menyuarakan kekhawatiran para perempuan Desa Wadas terhadap kebijakan pemerintah dan pengadaan tambang terbuka batu andesit (*quarry*) di desa Wadas yang dianggap dapat mengganggu stabilitas hidup perempuan. Tulisan ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang bersifat deskriptif-analitis dengan pendekatan studi agama, konflik sosio-politik, dan ekofeminisme. Teori yang digunakan ialah teori ekofeminisme Françoise d'Eaubonne yang meliputi ekofeminisme konservatif, modern, dan kultural. Terdapat tiga hal yang dibahas dalam tulisan ini. Pertama, diskursus ekoteologi dan partisipasi perempuan dalam konflik agraria di desa Wadas terbentuk dari adanya perlawanan terhadap kebijakan pemerintah yang merusak alam dan stabilitas hidup masyarakat Desa Wadas. Kedua, perempuan menganggap bahwa alam merupakan suatu kesatuan bagi kehidupan perempuan dan alam juga merupakan makhluk hidup ciptaan Tuhan, layaknya manusia dan hewan. Ketiga, langkah perempuan dalam upaya kelestarian alam ialah dengan membuat gerakan perempuan yang ramah terhadap lingkungan, mementingkan kesetaraan terhadap sesama manusia, serta mengamalkan dan menyuarakan ajaran agama tentang pentingnya menjaga alam yang dianggap sebagian dari iman.

Kata Kunci: Diskursus, Ekoteologi, Konflik Agraria, Partisipasi Perempuan, Wadas

INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of the Environment of the Republic of Indonesia (2008) reported that natural resources are being damaged and the environment is being polluted in several regions of Indonesia, including rural areas, rapidly, making it difficult to prevent and control the degradation of natural resources and the environment.¹ Rural areas, certainly, have natural resources in the form of land. The land itself is an agrarian resource that is important for people's lives. The existence of land has been a determining factor in production throughout history; it not only has economic value but also holds a variety of social values, including politics, religion, philosophy, social, and cultural values. Therefore, land has an important role in achieving the well-being and prosperity of citizens.²

Agrarian conflicts, like other conflicts even in socio-religious conflicts,³ are almost always labeled as something "masculine". In such conflicts, men often have more power in decision-making, but women are directed to perform merely supplementary tasks.

¹ Siti Khuzaimah, "Ancaman Kerusakan Ekosistem & Gangguan SRHR Perempuan: Kajian Produksi Air Minum dalam Kemasan di Paciran Lamongan", on Arianti Ina Restiani Hunga and Dewi Candraningrum, eds., *Ekofeminisme IV: Tanah, Air, Dan Rahim Rumah* (Salatiga: Parahita Press, 2016), 321.

² M. Wildan Humaidi, "Wadon Wadas; Resistensi Perempuan dalam Konflik Agraria Kebijakan Pembangunan Pertambangan Batu Andesit di Kabupaten Purworejo", *Palastren: Jurnal Studi Gender* 16, no. 1 (2023): 2.

³ Roni Ismail, "Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan Integratif: Studi atas Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan Ambon", *Living Islam*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2020; 451-469; doi: <https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v3i2.2458>; Roni Ismail, Abidin Wakano, dan Genoveva Leasiwal, "Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan Berbasis Kearifan Lokal: Studi Pela Gandong di Ambon", *Living Islam*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Tahun 2022; 93-108. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v5i1.3012>

The presence of a hegemonic discourse of masculinity in agrarian conflicts means that the role of women in these conflicts is often overlooked.⁴ However, the role of women in Indonesia's distinctive communal rural life can be described as the linchpin—the least conspicuous yet most stable element in a changing social landscape. Social relations within the community, particularly those involving women, are strongly shaped by time-honored customs.⁵

Tradition is an entity that cannot be separated from unwritten rules—as legal scholars sometimes categorize them into civil, private, matrimonial, and succession law—which encompasses the diverse set of rules in each region, their origins, and the beliefs that have evolved over time and in response to changes within the relevant social groups. Such traditions affect women insofar as they relate to women's status as members of society rather than as individuals.⁶

The agrarian conflict that occurred in Wadas Village is a conflict between the community of Wadas Village, Bener Subdistrict, Purworejo Regency, Central Java, and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, which has been ongoing since 2015. The background to this conflict relates to the government's plan to open an open-pit andesite quarry in Wadas Village to supply raw materials for the construction of the Bener Dam, which is located in the same subdistrict as the village—specifically in Guntur Village. Based on the response from the local community, this stone mining could damage the village's environment.⁷

Emha Saiful Mujab, coordinator of the Wadas Village Affected Communities (Matadewa)—affectionately known as Gus Ipul—said that previously, the people of Wadas Village had been known for their friendliness and close-knit community spirit. According to Gus Ipul, 100 percent of the people in the village are Nahdliyin—that is, members of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). As is typical of the Nahdliyin, they enjoy building relationships by participating collectively in religious, social, and cultural activities. However, the emergence of opposing views within the community regarding the planned andesite mining project has spread further and led to a religious-social conflict. According

⁴ Mustabsyrotul Ummah Mustofa et al., "Resiliensi Perempuan Dalam Konflik Lingkungan Di Indonesia," *Journal of Political Issues* 5, no. 1 (2023): 55, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33019/jpi.v5i1.107>.

⁵ Agung Iranda et al., "Relasi Sosial Pemangku Adat Dengan Masyarakat di Hamparan Rawang, Kota Sungai Penuh," *Jurnal Psikologi Sains & Profesi* 9, no. 1 (2025): 40.

⁶ Cora Vreede-De Stuers, *Sejarah Perempuan Indonesia: Gerakan Dan Pencapaian* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2008), 9.

⁷ BBC News Indonesia, "Wadas – 'Gesekan' Antar Warga Desa, Kata Pemerintah, Namun Pegiat Menyebut 'Pembungkaman' Atas Penolakan Masyarakat," 9 February 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-60322206>; Fitria Chusna Farisa, "Awal Mula Warga Wadas Melawan, Tolak Tambang Batu Andesit Untuk Proyek Bendungan Bener," *Kompas*, 9 February 2022, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/02/09/17020441/awal-mula-warga-wadas-melawan-tolak-tambang-batu-andesit-untuk-proyek>.

to Wagimin, a resident of the Kaligendol hamlet in Wadas Village, those in favor and those opposed did not even greet one another at the time. In fact, religious, social, and cultural events in Wadas Village were organized and carried out separately by each side.⁸

Based on a report from suaramuhammadiyah.id, the government has not been able to resolve the issue fairly. There have been several instances of violations of fundamental (religious) principles, such as disregarding consensus, resorting to violence, and failing to provide fair and peaceful solutions.⁹ Considering these facts, this conflict has persisted for such a long time. Indeed, the conflict eventually involved religious organizations—namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah¹⁰—in the efforts by the people of Wadas Village, particularly the women, to oppose the government's plan to open an andesite mining operation in their village, which they believe will damage the environment.¹¹

According to Françoise d'Eaubonne's ecofeminist perspective, women's involvement in agrarian conflicts is not limited to working behind the scenes and providing moral support, but also involves forming a movement as a symbol of women's resistance to state and market policies. This statement can be broken down into three questions. First, how is the discourse on eco-theology and women's participation in the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village presented? Second, how does the agrarian conflict affect the women of Wadas? Third, how does the women of Wadas strive to preserve nature?

RESEARCH METHODS

This paper is qualitative research that seeks to examine the discourse about the involvement of religion, nature, and women in agrarian conflicts. The study is descriptive-analytical, using approaches based on the study of religion, ecofeminism, and sociopolitical conflict. Moreover, this paper uses critical feminist analysis to explore the extent of religion's role and women's participation regarding issues in Wadas Village, based on the existing discourse and by examining relevant sources such as triangulation methods, books, academic articles/journals, and websites.

⁸ Adhe, "Pro Kontra Warga Di Desa Wadas, Konflik Sosial Dan Agama Kian Meresahkan, Gus Ipul Panggil Tokoh NU," *Pojok Satu*, 15 February 2022, <https://pojoksatu.id/news/berita-nasional/2022/02/15/pro-kontra-warga-di-desa-wadas-konflik-sosial-dan-agama-kian-meresahkan-gus-ipul-panggil-tokoh-nu/>.

⁹ Farhad Najib Izzuddin, "Catatan Wadas Dalam Fikih Agraria," *Suara Muhammadiyah*, 6 May 2021, <https://suaramuhammadiyah.id/2021/05/06/catatan-wadas-dalam-fikih-agraria/>.

¹⁰ Siti Khuzaimah, "Warga Muhammadiyah Dan NU Di Lamongan Memandang Tradisi Tingkeban," *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 11, no. 2 (2015).

¹¹ Devi Putri Yuliasari, Dzunuwanus Ghulam Manar, and Supratiwi, "GERAKAN SOSIAL PEREMPUAN EKOFEINISME MENOLAK PERTAMBANGAN BATUAN ANDESIT UNTUK PEMBANGUNAN BENDUNGAN BENER, PURWOREJO (STUDI KASUS WADON WADAS 2018-2023)," *Journal of Politic and Government Studies* 14, no. 1 (2025): 412, <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jpgs/article/view/48813/32879>.

This paper uses the theory of ecofeminism proposed by Françoise d'Eaubonne. Françoise d'Eaubonne boldly and clearly asserts that the exploitation of women by men is reprehensible; however, women must also recognize their own destructive capacity toward the environment and the excessive exploitation they have inflicted upon natural resources. These are two distinct forms of awareness; they differ in appearance but are connected by a unique matrix: domination. More specifically, this refers to power over women and power over nature—or, in other words, male power over feminine and natural vulnerability. In the early 1970s, d'Eaubonne summarized this idea under the term “ecofeminism,” arguing that a public opinion movement must be formed to save both nature and women.¹²

Ecofeminism then appeared as both a theory and a movement, due to the strong connection between women and nature.¹³ When women witnessed the destruction of nature, they realized there was a very strong link between patriarchal repression of women and human domination of nature.¹⁴ Françoise d'Eaubonne believed that this destruction of nature was caused by human overpopulation. Human overpopulation leads to injustice against women, as they lack control over their own reproduction. Reproductive control is regulated by the patriarchal system, which pressures women to reproduce continuously.¹⁵

In this way, ecofeminism inherits a shared sensibility that existed before its emergence, just as ecological ideas predated Haeckel's formulations and feminist ideas predated the birth of the movement mentioned above. In fact, the ideas and historical context in which ecofeminism developed stem from the French feminist tradition of the second half of the 20th century. In the middle of the 20th century, Simone de Beauvoir emphasized that, in patriarchal logic, women and nature are connected because both appear as “the other” in relation to men¹⁶:

Men's activity in creating values has made existence itself a value; this activity has dominated the chaotic forces of life; it has conquered nature and women. We

¹² Luca Valera, “Françoise d'Eaubonne and Ecofeminism: Rediscovering the Link between Women and Nature,” on Douglas A. Vakoch and Sam Mickey, eds., *Women and Nature - Beyond Dualism in Gender, Body, and Environment* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 10.

¹³ Fatimatus Zahro et al., “Analisis Ekofeminisme D'Eaubonne terhadap Perjuangan Perempuan dalam Novel Karya Dian Purnomo,” *Jurnal Riset Rumpun Ilmu Bahasa (JURRIBAH)* 4, no. 1 (2025): 81, <https://prin.or.id/index.php/JURRIBAH/article/view/4376/3430>.

¹⁴ Ni Nyoman Oktaria Asmarani, “Ekofeminisme Dalam Antroposen: Relevankah?,” *Balairung: Jurnal Multidisipliner Mahasiswa Indonesia* 1, no. 1 (2018): 131, <https://philpapers.org/rec/ASMEDA>.

¹⁵ Muhamad Sidik Pramono and Irene Ludji, “TAWARAN EKO FEMINISME UNTUK MENGATASI PELANGGARAN HAM YANG DIALAMI PEREMPUAN DALAM KONFLIK AGRARIA DI WADAS,” *Indonesian Journal of Gender Studies* 6, no. 2 (2025): 42, <https://jurnal.iaiponorogo.ac.id/index.php/ijougs/article/view/9790/4148>.

¹⁶ Douglas A. Vakoch and Sam Mickey, eds., *Women and Nature...*, 11.

must examine how this situation has been maintained and how it has evolved over time. What place has humanity created for that part of itself which, though included within it, is defined as “the other”? What rights have been granted to it? How do men define it?¹⁷

When this is truly the historical background of the ecofeminist tradition, it appears that the feminist element dominates the ecological one. Ecofeminism is not characterized as a “specific school of social ecology,” but rather because ecofeminism “confronts the fundamental dynamics of social domination within the context of patriarchy.” Otherwise, ecofeminism is a form of feminism that is specifically engaged in protecting nature. Consequently, “ecofeminists view women’s experiential knowledge as the primary source for an ecological vision of reality”: An ecological approach alone is insufficient to support a feminist revolution.¹⁸

Françoise d’Eaubonne emphasizes several key concepts in ecofeminism: women’s ecological consciousness, a critique of patriarchy and capitalism, and women’s active involvement in social and environmental movements.¹⁹ When a truly ecological approach helps feminism to recontextualize humans within their own environment and heal the rift between *Homo sapiens* and nature, then feminism enriches the ecological perspective through a more conscious and comprehensive consideration of humanity.²⁰

Below is the analytical framework of Françoise d’Eaubonne’s ecofeminist theory:



Figure 1. Analytical Framework of d’Eaubonne’s Ecofeminist Theory

Françoise d’Eaubonne’s analytical framework is often categorized into three interrelated dimensions. First, *Conservative Ecofeminism*. This perspective emphasizes

¹⁷ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), 98.

¹⁸ Fritjof Capra, *The Web of Life. A New Understanding of Living Systems* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), 9; Luca Valera, on Douglas A. Vakoch dan Sam Mickey, eds., *Women and Nature...*, 11.

¹⁹ Fatimatus Zahro et al., “Analisis Ekofeminisme D’Eaubonne...,” 86.

²⁰ Douglas A. Vakoch and Sam Mickey, eds., *Women and Nature...*, 11.

women’s traditional roles as caregivers and protectors of life. Women are viewed as having a close relationship with nature because of their responsibilities in sustaining families and communities. Second, *Modern Ecofeminism*. Modern ecofeminism highlights women’s rights, equality, and political participation. Environmental issues are approached through advocacy, policy engagement, and collective social action. Third, *Cultural Ecofeminism*. Cultural ecofeminism focuses on symbolic, spiritual, and cultural connections between women and nature. It emphasizes values such as care, interdependence, nurturing, and respect for life.

Based on this theoretical framework, the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village can be interpreted as more than a dispute over land and natural resources. It represents a contestation over the relationship between humans and nature, the role of religion in environmental stewardship, and women’s agency in resisting ecological degradation. The emergence of the *Wadon Wadas* movement demonstrates how women mobilize ecological awareness, religious values, and collective action to challenge extractive development practices.

Based on d’Eaubonne’s ecofeminist analytical framework, there is a correlation between the position of nature and women regarding the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village. Below is the analytical framework:

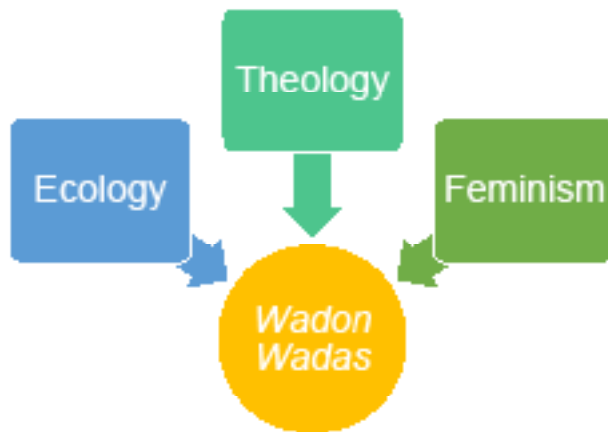


Figure 2. d’Eaubonne’s Ecofeminist Theoretical Framework:
The Context of Agrarian Conflict in Wadas Village

RELIGION, NATURE, AND WOMEN

In religious and cultural traditions, women are often regarded as “close to nature”; nature is viewed as feminine, and thus the natural world is symbolized as a mother figure.²¹ Nature is personified as a “woman,” a “noble maiden,” or “Mother Nature”; as a wise woman or as a queen who governs all things. Specifically, the most common

²¹ Chatarina J.M. Halkes, *New Creation* (Kentucky: Wesminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 13.

portrayal is nature as a 'nurturing mother' and the earth that gives life, but also takes it back.²² Perceptions of nature have changed throughout history.²³ These changes began with the reverence of nature as transcending all that exists and human culture; nature was then reduced to a tool for humans; viewed as a mysterious force to be feared and either eliminated or controlled. All interpretations of nature reflect similar identifications with the essence of womanhood.²⁴

There is a saying that "nature is a feminist issue," which can be considered the slogan of ecofeminists. This slogan explains that trees, water, food production, animals, plants, toxins, and the domination of non-human nature are all feminist issues. By understanding these issues, ecofeminists can grasp the interconnections between the domination of women and other subordinated human groups (*Other human Others*), as well as the domination of non-human nature.²⁵ Environmental destruction is a women's issue, because women and children are the groups most severely affected. This is caused by interrelated factors, one of the most significant being poverty.²⁶

The importance of women's involvement in ecological issues has established ecofeminism as a paradigm and a movement for political environmental activism. Françoise d'Eaubonne views the relationship between women and non-women (another term for men) as fundamentally significant, capable of exerting a powerful influence within every culture—whether at the individual or social group level.²⁷ Furthermore, social change in the effort to preserve nature can only occur if women play a vital role in building a system that is more just and sustainable. Thus, this approach not only highlights the issues of environmental exploitation and the exploitation of women but also offers a solution by actively involving women in various ecological and social movements.²⁸

Discussing the mining conflict in Wadas Village not only sparks a debate about development but also addresses the use of natural resources, opening up space to understand the complex relationship between religion, nature, and women. For rural communities whose livelihoods depend on the land and surrounding natural resources, nature is not merely an economic object to be exploited, but also a living space that provides food, water, sustenance, and generational sustainability. In this context, the

²² Chatarina J.M. Halkes, *New Creation*, 20; Albertus Henry et al., "Perempuan Dan Ekologi," *Jurnal Perempuan* (Jakarta Selatan, 2002), 13–14.

²³ Chatarina J.M. Halkes, *New Creation*, 20; Vandana Shiva, *Bebas Dari Pembangunan* (Jakarta: YOI & KONPHALINDO, 1997), 106–11.

²⁴ Margaret Farley, "Feminist Theology and Bioethics", on Ann Loades, ed., *Feminist Theology: A Reader* (London: SPCK & W/JKP, 1990), 245; Albertus Henry et al., "Perempuan Dan Ekologi," 14.

²⁵ Chris J. Cuomo, *Feminism and Ecological Communities* (London: Routledge, 1998), 24.

²⁶ Ni Nyoman Oktaria Asmarani, "Ekofeminisme Dalam Antroposen: Relevankah?," 129.

²⁷ Françoise D'Eaubonne, *Le Féminisme ou La Mort* (London and New York: Verso Books, 1974), 10.

²⁸ Fatimatus Zahro et al., "Analisis Ekofeminisme D'Eaubonne...", 86.

mining conflict becomes more than just a matter of resource management; it touches on the social, cultural, and spiritual dimensions of the community.²⁹

The religion of the people of Wadas Village serves as a moral foundation that shapes their view of nature. Religious values, brought to life through religious study sessions, communal prayers, religious traditions, and various social practices, teach that humans have a responsibility to maintain the balance of life. Nature is understood as part of God's creation that must be cared for and used wisely. Thus, when discussions arise regarding mining that has the potential to alter the environmental landscape and the lives of the community, some residents interpret this not merely as an economic or political issue, but also as an ethical and religious one.³⁰

For the community living behind the hills of Wadas, religion is not merely a set of rituals performed at specific times. Religion is present in the way they treat their fellow human beings, respect nature—which sustains their lives—and give thanks for every blessing they receive. From dawn until dusk, the values of faith flow through the pulse of village life, forging a close bond between people, nature, and God in a daily existence that is simple yet deeply meaningful. In this context, women play a vital role, as they possess unique experiences in interacting with nature. In rural life, women are often involved in various activities that depend on natural resources, such as managing household needs, utilizing garden produce, accessing water sources, and caring for the family's health and food needs. This closeness gives women deep knowledge and experience regarding the environmental changes occurring around them. Therefore, when their living spaces face threats, women are not only the ones affected but also the ones with a vested interest in advocating for the sustainability of life.³¹

The relationship between women and nature in agrarian conflicts demonstrates that environmental issues cannot be separated from issues of social justice. The impacts of environmental change are often felt directly in women's daily lives, particularly because they bear a heavy responsibility for ensuring the well-being of their families. Concerns about dwindling water sources, the degradation of farmland, or the loss of living space are not merely ecological concerns, but rather relate to the future of families and communities. In such situations, women become active agents in building collective awareness regarding the importance of protecting the environment as the foundation of communal life.³² The

²⁹ The author conducted the observation on Sunday, August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

³⁰ The author conducted the observation on Sunday, August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

³¹ The author conducted the observation on Sunday, August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

³² The interview with A (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

environmental degradation occurring in Wadas Village ultimately impacts women's lives, particularly through violations of their right to safe drinking water. Thus, access to safe drinking water is crucial for household life and women's health, especially reproductive health.³³

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND THE ROLE OF WADON WADAS IN AGRARIAN CONFLICTS

During the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village, women have suffered the most. Sana Ullaili stated,

Sedikitnya, ada 117 perempuan yang disebut *Wadon Wadas* itu dan empat puluh anak-anak yang mengalami kekerasan secara psikologis. Situasi ini telah berdampak secara signifikan bagi kondisi psikologis warga, terutama perempuan dan anak yang pada saat ini mengalami situasi traumatik, mulai dari level 1, level 2, dan seterusnya atau akut.³⁴

These impacts have had a significant effect upon the survival of the natural environment and the stability of society. The following are some of the impacts that have emerged from agrarian conflicts:

First, air pollution has led to environmental degradation, which in turn has affected the daily lives of the community—particularly the women of Wadas Village—as they go about their routine daily tasks as homemakers. MW explained,

Semenjak truk *gede-gede* masuk ke sini, asapnya mengepul hitam, banyak debu yang masuk ke rumah. Saya itu nyapu lantai bisa sampai 4-6 kali sehari. *Lha*, bagaimana *wong* punya anak kecil, masih *mbrangkang*, *lendute* nempel di baju untuk *glosoran*. Biasanya kalau saya *momong* anak saya di jalan depan rumah, main-main di pekarangan. Sekarang, saya lebih banyak main sama anak di dalam rumah. Saya takut anak saya ketabrak.³⁵

³³ Perserikatan Solidaritas Perempuan, "*Amicus Curae* (Sahabat Pengadilan) Pada Perkara No. 68/G/2021/PTUN.SMG Di Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara," 2021, 17.

³⁴ Agung Sandy Lesmana and Stephanus Aranditio, "Trauma Berat Usai 30 Hari Pengepungan, Perempuan Dan Anak-Anak Desa Wadas Masih Ketakutan Lihat Aparat," *suara.com*, 2022, <https://www.suara.com/news/2022/03/15/121355/trauma-berat-usai-30-hari-pengepungan-perempuan-dan-anak-anak-desa-wadas-masih-ketakutan-lihat-aparat>.

³⁵ The interview with MW (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, February 22, 2023, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.



Picture 1. Air pollution caused by material extraction at the Bener Dam in Wadas Village.³⁶

Second, another impact caused by the arrival of the PSN and the opening of the quarry in Wadas Village is water pollution. The pollution, according to *Wadon Wadas*, has caused the river water—which was originally clear—to become polluted since the mining project began in Wadas Village, as evidenced by the water turning a milky color. S said,

Beberapa hari setelah truk-truk besar datang ke sini (Wadas), aliran air yang masuk ke rumah tidak jernih. Semakin lama semakin keruh. Lihat saja aliran air di sungai apalagi kalau hujan, seperti susu coklat. Kami yang setiap hari yang pertama kali melihat perubahan warna air yang masuk ke dalam bak, keruh, kami yang pertama kali membersihkan cucian piring dan perabot rumah tangga, kami yang pertama kali memandikan anak-anak (serta bayi) menggunakan air keruh. Bagaimana kami *gak* pengen memaki-maki. Sewaktu kegiatan di masjid saya lihat airnya juga keruh, untuk *wudhu*, untuk ngepel lantai. Kalau *gak* dipel, sudah berdebu, dipel tambah kotor.³⁷



Picture 2. Water pollution that is contaminating the river in the village of Wadas.³⁸

³⁶ Enjeli Wahyul Ma'wa Septia, Galih Akhdi Winata, and Tafrihatu Zaidan Al Akbari, "Sendat Tetes Air Wadas Dalam Jerat Tambang," *Balairungpress.com*, 2025, <https://www.balairungpress.com/2025/04/sendat-tetes-air-wadas-dalam-jerat-tambang/>.

³⁷ The interview with S (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, February 22, 2023, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

³⁸ Enjeli Wahyul Ma'wa Septia, Galih Akhdi Winata, dan Tafrihatu Zaidan Al Akbari, "Sendat Tetes Air..."

Third, when mining operations were carried out in Wadas Village, the Wadas forest (Alas Wadas)—which was once densely forested—has now been depleted because the government, as part of the project, sought to source materials for the Bener Dam from the natural resources of Wadas Village.



Picture 3. The barren landscape of Alas Wadas caused by andesite quarrying.³⁹

Then, the impact that emerged in Wadas Village when open-pit mining (quarrying) began was the occurrence of landslides—a phenomenon that had previously been rare or even nonexistent in the village. MW explained,

Itu katanya kalau hujan desa kita aman, coba dipikir, kalau pohon-pohon sudah ditebang dari atas, *hujane* lari ke mana? Pasti langsung *sok* ke bawah, *gak* ada yang nampung, apa gak banjir? Orang-orang *pinter* itu bisanya cuma mengira-ngira, tidak *gini*, tidak *gini*, tapi kami yang di sini tinggal tahu risikonya. Sementara, jalan diperbaiki, waktu hujan deras, itu tanah sebelah sana longsor. Musim hujan biasanya kami menikmati sambil duduk duduk di teras rumah, sekarang was-was terus.⁴⁰

³⁹ Arrijal Rachman, “Ganjar Ngebut Beresin Lahan Wadas Demi Proyek Besar Jokowi,” *CNBC Indonesia*, 2023.

⁴⁰ The interview with MW (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, February 22, 2023, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.



Picture 4. The documentation of the landslide in Wadas Village.⁴¹

Another impact caused by the PSN project in Wadas Village—which previously only occurred during heavy rains and did not result in significant flooding—is that, now that the government project has entered the village, the area is vulnerable to flooding, and floodwaters are now overflowing into several homes in *Wadon Wadas*. MW explained,

Hujan dari Kaligendol turun ke Winong, apa ya *gak* banjir? Aliran sungai deras sekali. Kadang-kadang anak-anak itu waktu hujan main di sungai. Mandi air hujan *rame-rame*. Kondisi penambangan ini membuat orang tua khawatir, tidak tenang kalau hujan anaknya tidak ada di dalam rumah. “saya khawatir anaknya terseret arus”. Belum lagi itu air sungainya coklat, ya itu bekas digali. Sawah-sawah bagian bawah setelah *tandur*, terendam. Melihat lahan yang biasanya sudah ditanam, dipupuk, *disiangi* rumputnya, kini jadi terganggu.⁴²

⁴¹ Davi Alvaro, “Tiga Dusun Di Desa Wadas Terdampak Longsor Dan Abrasi, Warga Ancam Demo Ke KIIC,” *mediaseruni.id*, 2025.

⁴² The interview with MW (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, February 22, 2023, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.



Picture 5. The phenomenon of flooding in Wadas Village during quarry mining operations.⁴³

Various impacts have been felt in the Wadas Village area caused by the PSN and the opening of an andesite quarry; these activities not only damage the natural environment but also affect the lives of the local community. Local residents—especially women—have lost their income, their health has been compromised, and they have experienced significant social upheaval due to the resulting conflict. Overall, the long-term impacts of the destruction of farmland and the loss of access to water for local communities could lead to more severe problems, such as the loss of various species of wildlife and a decline in food production.⁴⁴

Discrimination against women is inextricably linked to theological issues that also contribute to the ecological crisis. Mothers and adolescent girls in Wadas Village (Wadon Wadas) have suffered a harsh fate as their land was mined for materials for the Bener Dam National Strategic Project. Wadon Wadas is a story of women's struggle—a creation of God—to preserve nature amid agrarian conflict. Several agrarian studies, such as those conducted by Amin Tohari and Muhammad Ridha in the book titled “Pengembangan Kebijakan Agraria: untuk Keadilan Sosial, Kesejahteraan Masyarakat, dan Keberlanjutan Ekologis”⁴⁵ and other similar studies, can be said that the role of women is often overlooked in these discussions, even though they have a significant contribution to these issues.

The religion then became a source of meaning that reinforced women's understanding of their struggles. The belief that humans are *khalifah fil ardh*—leader of the earth—

⁴³ Angga Haksoro Ardi, “Desa Wadas Purworejo Banjir, Air Meluap Dari Proyek Jalan Tambang Quarry,” suarajawatengah.id, 2023.

⁴⁴ Desilvia Putri Utami, “WADON WADAS MEMBELA HUTAN DESA DARI TAMBANG ANDESIT DI PURWOREJO: KUASA, AGENSI, DAN REPRESENTASI,” *Journal of Science and Social Research* 8, no. 1 (2025): 720, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.54314/jssr.v8i1.2519>.

⁴⁵ Amin Tohari et al., eds., *Pengembangan Kebijakan Agraria: Untuk Keadilan Sosial, Kesejahteraan Masyarakat, dan Keberlanjutan Ekologis* (Yogyakarta: STPN Press bekerja sama dengan Sajogyo Institute, 2010).

fostered an awareness that protecting nature is part of their spiritual responsibility. For some women, caring for the land, safeguarding water sources, and preserving environmental sustainability are understood as forms of devotion to God, manifested through concrete actions in their social lives. Thus, religion functions not only as an identity or a set of religious rituals but also as a source of ethics that guides their actions in the face of social and ecological changes.⁴⁶

Based on this discourse, the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village can be illustrated through a critical analytical perspective on the unfolding phenomenon.



Figure 3. Overview of the Agrarian Conflict in Wadas Village.

The andesite mining process in Wadas Village has clearly been extremely detrimental and disruptive to the livelihoods of the *Wadon Wadas*. From the start of land surveys, through the clashes between civilians and police, to the actual excavation of rocks from the earth's core. Every day and at all times, the Wadon Wadas community feels the direct impact. Most of them work as farmers, though some also serve as civil servants (ASN) in the government, teachers, and merchants, depending on their line of work. Additionally, they are members of the *Nahdliyin* community who uphold Islamic values rooted in the *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* tradition. Religious study sessions, *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *Muslimat NU*, and various other religious activities serve as spaces for the formation of their religious identity. Through these traditions, they learn that preserving life, maintaining the common good, and caring for God's creation are integral to the practice of their faith. The values of *tawassuth* (moderation), *tawazun* (balance), *tasamuh* (tolerance), and *i'tidal* (justice) are not only taught in religious forums but also practiced in daily social life. From this belief arises the awareness that protecting the land, water sources, and the environment is not merely an economic concern, but also a moral and religious responsibility.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The interview with A (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

⁴⁷ The results of interviews conducted by the author with various respondents on August 21, 2022, in

Furthermore, *Wadon Wadas* has received direct support and legal assistance from religious institutions in its efforts to address the agrarian conflict, namely the Islamic mass organizations (ormas) Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. NU has taken a religious approach to the conflict through the ritual of *mujahadah*, although this ritual has been practiced for a long time—even before the mining issue arose in Wadas Village. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah has carried out advocacy efforts not only through representatives from its central office but also through representatives from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including a women's NGO. Both NU and Muhammadiyah are working to advocate for the cause in their own ways. The following chart illustrates this.⁴⁸

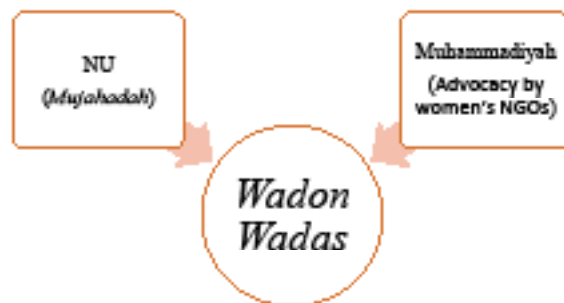


Figure 4. The Participation of Religious Institutions in Supporting the *Wadon Wadas* Movement.

At the same time, the women of Wadas Village are Indonesian citizens who have the right to receive protection, participate in public life, and express their aspirations as freely as possible in accordance with the provisions of laws regarding various state and market policies that may affect their lives. As citizens, they are not merely positioned as recipients of development policies but also as subjects with experiences, knowledge, and legitimate interests that deserve to be heard. In this capacity, the women of Wadas Village demonstrate how civic identity is not always realized through formal political spaces but can also emerge through active engagement in safeguarding their living spaces, building community solidarity, and fighting for a future they deem just for their families and future generations.

These three identities—as villagers, members of the NU mass organization, and Indonesian citizens—do not stand separately but are intertwined in the lives of the women of Wadas Village. From the village, they learn the meaning of nurturing life; from religious traditions, they gain a moral and spiritual foundation; and as citizens, they find a space to voice their rights and social responsibilities. Through the intersection of

Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

⁴⁸ Rumakso Setyadi, *Catatan Dari Wadas: Proses Penyelesaian Konflik Agraria Bendungan Bener* (Yogyakarta: Magnum Pustaka Utama bekera sama dengan Sentir Media, 2025), 214.

these three identities, the women of Wadas Village have developed a unique perspective on the relationship between humans, nature, religion, and the state.

Their life, which had seemed *ayem*, *guyub*, and *asri*, was disrupted and transformed following the Wadas mining conflict—a process that increasingly revealed how the relationships between religion, nature, and women are interdependent and inseparable. Nature serves as the living space that sustains life; religion provides the moral values to give meaning to and care for that life; while women act as agents who experience, feel, and respond to the changes occurring within their living space. From this experience, it becomes clear that environmental conflict is not merely a matter of resource management, but also a matter of how communities interpret life, justice, and responsibility toward fellow human beings, nature, and God. In the context of Wadas Village, these three elements converge in a struggle that highlights the importance of listening to the voices of local communities—especially women—in every process concerning the future of their living space.⁴⁹

ECOTHEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE OF WADON WADAS PARTICIPATION AS EFFORTS TO PRESERVE NATURE

The mining project in Wadas Village brought injustice and oppression that proved fatal for the *Wadon Wadas*. Gradually, as they came to realize this, the *Wadon Wadas* began to reflect on how they could defend their living space and cultivate a harmonious relationship with God and Nature.⁵⁰ Furthermore, drawing on d'Eaubonne's ecofeminist lens, women are regarded as vital contributors to the management and preservation of nature. Ecofeminism emphasizes the importance of access and opportunity for women in environmental conservation. This philosophy, which has since become deeply embedded in women with a feminist perspective, is hoped to drive the realization of a feminist and ecological future.⁵¹

Even so, the *Wadon Wadas* are not merely a symbol of resistance against natural resource extraction, but also demonstrate the role of women in decision-making across various aspects such as social, economic, and political spheres that can broadly influence society. Through collective action, they maintain a harmonious relationship between humans and the surrounding natural environment, while simultaneously strengthening

⁴⁹ The results of interviews conducted by the author with various respondents on August 21, 2022, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

⁵⁰ Nunuk P. Murniati, *Konseling Feminis* (Yogyakarta: Merapi Sembada Raya. 2025), 101-105.

⁵¹ Gustian Aditya Erlangga et al., "Resistance and the Struggle for Access: The Wadas Women's Movement Against Ecological Injustice in National Strategic Projects," *Journal of Etika Demokrasi* 9, no. 4 (2024): 631, <https://doi.org/10.26618/jed.v.>

the role of women in various social movements in Indonesia.⁵² The author has identified at least six activities that serve as “symbols of resistance” carried out by the *Wadon Wadas*. They are as follows:

First, the *Wadon Wadas* wrapped cloth (*stagen*) around trees as a symbol of resistance against the National Strategic Project (PSN) of the Bener Dam and the opening of an andesite rock quarry in Wadas Village.



Picture 6. The *Wadon Wadas* gathered to wrap cloth (*stagen*) around the trees of Wadas Village.⁵³

One of the interviewers, referred to as (S), stated that, “pada bulan Januari 2023, ibu-ibu melilitkan kain di pohon sebagai bentuk protes.”⁵⁴ In addition, another interviewee, referred to as (W), explained that:

Cucu saya sampai sekarang trauma, *mbak*, karena lihat bapaknya diinjak polisi. Masih ingat tragedi 23 April di Desa Wadas *gak? Masak nggak sih?* Yang warga *sholawatan*, di saat yang sama, terdapat banyak aparat datang di Desa Wadas itu *loh*, lalu ada beberapa warga dan pendampingnya ditangkap.⁵⁵

Second, the *Wadon Wadas* participated in mural activities held during an arts and literature festival⁵⁶, expressing their rejection of the quarry process and the National Strategic Project (PSN).

⁵² Devi Putri Yuliasari, Dzunuwanus Ghulam Manar, and Supratiwi, “GERAKAN SOSIAL PEREMPUAN...,” 418.

⁵³ “Aksi Lilitkan Kain Ke Pohon, Perempuan Wadon Wadas Tolak Tambang Andesit,” Konde.co, 2023.

⁵⁴ The interview with MW (pseudonym), a local resident of Wadas Village, February 22, 2023, in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, Central Java.

⁵⁵ Wawancara dengan W (Nama Samaran), masyarakat Desa Wadas, tanggal 22 Februari 2023, di Desa Wadas, Kabupaten Purworejo, Jawa Tengah.

⁵⁶ “Peringati Satu Tahun Perlawanan, Warga Wadas Gelar Pentas Seni Dan Dirikan Patung,” Harian Jogja, 2023.



Picture 7. Murals as one of the symbols of resistance of the *Wadon Wadas*.⁵⁷

Third, the *Wadon Wadas* conducted a *kendi* (clay pot) *ruwatan* ritual as a symbolic act of resistance aimed at safeguarding the 27 natural springs within Wadas Village, and at precluding the advancement of mining operations, which are perceived to pose a significant threat to the continued existence of water sources upon which women rely for access to clean water in meeting their daily domestic needs.



Picture 8. The *Ruwatan Kendi* ceremony carried out by the *Wadon Wadas* in front of the Central Java Governor's Office.⁵⁸

Fourth, the *Wadon Wadas* engage in a daily activity, namely weaving *bese*.⁵⁹ Although the weaving of *bese* has been practiced for a long time — even predating the emergence of the mining issue in Wadas Village — the *Wadon Wadas* continue to carry out this activity every day and at all times. When contextualized within the occurrence of the agrarian conflict, they have transformed this practice into a symbol of resistance, affirming that nature and women are two inherently interconnected things that cannot be contested, let alone by attempting to extract the natural resources of Wadas Village. The weaving

⁵⁷ Amal Nur Ngazis, “Kenapa Banyak Yang Tolak Penambangan Di Wadas, Olah Data Faktanya Begini Pantes,” Hops.id, 2022.

⁵⁸ Bayu Apriliano and Ardi Priyatno Utomo, “Bawa 27 Kendi Ke Kantor Ganjar, Ratusan Warga Wadas Gelar Ruwatan,” *Kompas*, 2022, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/06/06/224136778/bawa-27-kendi-ke-kantor-ganjar-ratusan-warga-wadas-gelar-ruwatan?page=all>.

⁵⁹ A box-shaped container with a lid made from woven bamboo, commonly used for carrying or storing food, and constitutes a traditional, environmentally friendly vessel.

of bamboo into baskets also serves as a symbol of ecofeminism, wherein women strive to protect nature.⁶⁰



Picture 9. The *Wadon Wadas* are weaving *beseke* as a symbol of resistance against the quarry mining operations.⁶¹

Fifth, another symbol of resistance carried out by the *Wadon Wadas* is the conduct of communal *mujahadah* together with the residents of Wadas Village who are members of the Wadas Village Nature Care Community Movement (*Gerakan Masyarakat Peduli Alam Desa Wadas*/GEMPADEWA), the Wadas Village Youth (*Kawula Muda Desa Wadas*/KAMUDEWA), and the Wadas Village Affected Community (*Masyarakat Terdampak Desa Wadas*/MATADEWA), held in various locations such as mosques, prayer halls, the homes of village elders, and even in the forest. This *mujahadah* is held on a weekly basis. During this religious activity, the women discuss the current situation and the future of Wadas Village.⁶² Furthermore, it is also regarded as one of the means of struggle against government policy (PSN) and mining operations within their village environment.⁶³

⁶⁰ Jun Firmansyah and Robingah, "Wadon Wadas: The Wadas Women's Movement Against the Quarry An Ecofeminism Study," *International Journal Multidisciplinary Science* 4, no. 2 (2025): 27.

⁶¹ "Wadon Wados: Menganyam Perlawanan!," LBHYogyakarta.org, 2021.

⁶² Fullah Jumaynah and Valina Singkasubekti, "Framing Women's Politics 'Wadon Wadas' Against Mine Resistance National Strategy Project in Wadas Village Purworejo," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Pendidikan* 7, no. 4 (2023): 2915, <https://doi.org/10.58258/jisip.v7i1.5505/>

⁶³ Lusi Anasari and Dwi Harsono, "DINAMIKA KONFLIK PEMBANGUNAN BENDUNGAN BENER DI DESA WADAS KABUPATEN PURWOREJO," *JOURNAL OF PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH* 1, no. 4 (2023): 10.



Picture 10. The *Wadon Wadas*, gather with the community movements of Wadas Village, conducted a *mujahadah* at the Nurul Huda Mosque, Wadas Village.⁶⁴

Sixth, the community of Wadas Village, in this case the *Wadon Wadas*, organizes the *Merti Deso* tradition — a village cleansing tradition — which is carried out every month of *Safar*⁶⁵ in Wadas Village with the purpose of caring for and preserving the natural environment of the village as a means of sustaining the livelihood of its community, particularly women, who are notably the most influential figures in efforts to conserve the natural environment of Wadas Village and who serve as a symbol of resistance in the face of the National Strategic Project (PSN) and the opening of quarry mining operations. Furthermore, *Merti Deso* bears a close relationship with purification, intended to eliminate the negative effects arising from the imbalance of the universe.⁶⁶



Picture 11. *Merti Deso* organized by the *Wadon Wadas* at the Wadas Community “Tugu Perlawanan”.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ “Komitmen Komnas HAM Kawal Dan Tuntaskan Pelanggaran HAM Terhadap Warga Wadas,” LBHYogyakarta.org, 2021.

⁶⁵ Iqtamar Muhammad, “AGAMA SEBAGAI AGENSI PENYEIMBANG KEKUASAAN (Studi Terhadap Peran Lembaga Agama Dalam Konflik Agraria Di Wadas, Kabupaten Purworejo, Jawa Tengah),” *Thesis* (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2023), 75, <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/59169/>.

⁶⁶ Kuntowijoyo, *Budaya dan Masyarakat* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2006), 43.

⁶⁷ Jamal Abdun Nashr, “Warga Wadas Gelar Merti Deso, Berdoa Desanya Tetap Utuh Lestari,” *Tempo.co*, 2023.

Several phenomena of resistance that have emerged in Wadas Village demonstrate the active stance and agency of the *Wadon Wadas* as the foremost party in opposing the National Strategic Project (PSN) and the andesite stone mining operations in the area. By continuing to carry out their reproductive work while actively upholding their rights through resistance in the public sphere, their role as women of Wadas Village has proven successful in bringing about new change from within the patriarchal structure. The *Wadon Wadas* movement has since been intensified as a form of critique against the various forms of injustice and inequality experienced by women.⁶⁸

The primary objectives of this movement encompass efforts to protect their land and natural resources from exploitation, to preserve their way of life, and to ensure that their voices are heard in the decision-making processes that affect their community. By placing women's leadership at the center of the struggle, the movement not only contests the environmental threats posed by the dam, but also highlights the critical role of women in defending their community and natural environment. The application of Françoise d'Eaubonne's ecofeminist principles within the *Wadon Wadas* movement is clearly evident in its approach to resistance, which links environmental protection with women's empowerment. Ecofeminism, which advocates for the recognition of the intrinsic relationship between the exploitation of women and that of nature, provides the foundational framework for understanding the motivations and strategies of the *Wadon Wadas* activists.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

This study yields three findings. First, the discourse on ecotheology and women's participation in the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village is shaped by resistance against government policies that damage the natural environment and destabilize the livelihoods of the Wadas Village community. D'Eaubonne affirms that women hold a critically important role, as they exert considerable influence over the management of natural resources. The movement formed by women — comprising mothers and young people from a single village spanning different sub-village units, known as the *Wadon Wadas* — bears a close relationship with efforts toward environmental conservation through the handling of the agrarian conflict that has occurred. Such a movement necessarily requires support from religious institutions, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, in amplifying women's resistance against the policies of the Bener Dam National Strategic Project and the opening of an andesite stone quarry in Wadas Village.

⁶⁸ Desilvia Putri Utami, "WADON WADAS MEMBELA...", 722–23.

⁶⁹ Ane Permatasari and Rendi Eko Budi Setiawan, "The Governmental and Enviromental Policies: Ecofeminism Resistance in the Wadon Wadas Civil Society Movement," *POLITICON: Jurnal Ilmu Politik* 6, no. 2 (2024): 309, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15575/politicon.v6i2.37274>.

Furthermore, the involvement of religion and women in the agrarian conflict serves the purpose of ensuring that the stability of life for the Wadas Village community — particularly women — remains sustainable and enduring in the stewardship of the village environment. Through the ecotheological and participatory analysis of women presented in this work, it is hoped that a new dimension may be introduced to the study of religious studies and its relationship to women's participation in agrarian conflicts, particularly where such conflicts are deemed capable of causing excessive environmental degradation in everyday life, both in the domestic and public spheres.

Second, women regard nature as an integral unity of women's lives, and nature is also considered a living creation of God, akin to humans and animals. Third, women's steps toward environmental conservation involve establishing environmentally conscious women's movements, prioritizing equality among fellow human beings, as well as practicing and advocating religious teachings on the importance of preserving nature, which is regarded as an expression of faith.

Based on the foregoing exposition, through the analysis and elaboration of the discourse on ecotheology and women's participation in the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village, this study has not yet further explored the story of the Wadon Wadas movement in a comprehensive manner. As such, this research may serve as an initial step for future studies, given that the movement continues to this day. Therefore, this study may also be examined through alternative theoretical frameworks — for instance, in relation to women's positions in public governance or the ways in which humans fulfill their basic needs — so that the map of the agrarian conflict in Wadas Village may be understood more broadly.

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