



**LOCAL WOMEN'S AGENCY
IN PEACE BUILDING:
A Study on the Conflict of Iron Sand Mining
In East Java**

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Abstract: The local women as the agent in peace building are rare to be addressed in academic discourse. This paper seeks to analyse the roles played by local women in the conflict of iron sand mining in Wotgalih village, Lumajang regency, East Java Province. In the conflict situation, the women have already been as the backbone, carer and guard of the family replacing the roles of the men that do not function optimally. It is very clear how women played those roles by becoming farm laborers in watermelon field along Wotgalih Lumajang beach. In the post-conflict period, the women take an important role in fostering peace. They served as the spearhead for the reconciliation of the related parties.

Keywords: Local women, Agent, Conflict, Peace building.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v22i1.297>

Introduction

A CALL FOR REJECTION of local mining factory was written and spread publicly in a village. It was not only written on the banner along the road but also on the wooden planks enforced by the roadside, woven bamboo strands above the village entrance, and paint streaks on paved roads. The phenomenon of rejection of iron sand mining plan led to horizontal conflict between the pros and cons and the vertical conflict with the local government of Lumajang, East Java.

The conflict describes disputes or disagreements between two persons or groups. Some experts defined the conflict when two or more parties believe they have different goals or a struggle for

status, power and resources in which each party aims to drop other parties.¹ The way of thinking and acting to cut rivals who are potentials to preventing a person or a group to get what they want are often the sources of the conflict. The social political life of a society will face a conflict because the existing interest friction is often inevitable. The things to avoid in the conflict is violence, both physical and nonphysical because the consequences are destructive.

The issues concerning women's roles in the public sector are interesting discourses because the women's problems in the historical trajectory are not balanced social issues. In modern and democratic time, there is still a view which assumes that women are second-class and complementary citizens so that their work in the public sector is questionable. Women's involvement in the public sector is also inseparable from the economic demands of the family. Economic difficulties especially as the impact of the prolonged monetary crisis that happen in Indonesia has encouraged women to participate actively in overcoming family's economic problems by doing various jobs. With the inclusion of women into the public sector, it means that their role is no longer as wife and mother who is responsible for taking care of her children but also as worker.

The conflict occurred because some people feel that they do not get the benefit from the mine, but rather marginalized. Mining activities are also often assessed to have a negative impact on the surrounding environment, damaging flora, fauna, road and causing air pollution.² In other words, mines are destructive to the environment. In fact, a good living environment is a major need for the survival of living things, including humans, to support sustainable development for improving the welfare and quality of life of present and future generations.³ The damaged environment threatens the human's survival.

¹ Loui Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: Free Press, 1965).

² Asep Yunan Firdaus, *Mewujudkan Hak Veto Rakyat Atar Ruang Hidup* (Jakarta: WALHI, HUMA, KPA, SP, PBHI, KIARA, 2011).

³ Koesnadi Hardjasoepramti, *Hukum Perlindungan Lingkungan Konservasi Sumber Daya Alam Hayati dan Ekosistem* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1993).

East Java province has a potential of natural resources of mining products. One of them is located in the area of Meleman beach Wotgalih village, Lumajang regency. The regency has fertile plains flanked by three mountains namely Mount Semeru, Mount Bromo and Mount Lamongan. The region is one of the largest iron reserves potential in Indonesia with class C excavation material in the form of sand, stone, and coral. The regency has also the potential of class B excavation material in the form of iron sand, diamond and gold. Potential material class C and class B are predicted to come from the burst of active Mount Semeru, which brought by the river's water to the sea.⁴ The iron particles then become iron sands by the beach and one of them is on the edge of Meleman beach in Wotgalih village. The potential of class C and class B are increasing in line with the volcanic activity of Mount Semeru which actively releases material of approximately 1 million /year.

Administratively, Wotgalih village is bordered by the northern village of Krai, Tunjungrejo village to the east, Indian Ocean in the south, and Krajan village in the west.⁵ As it is on the coast of the Indonesian Ocean, Wotgalih village is a tourism village which has many characteristics of tourism objects. In addition, it also has advantages with abundance of iron sand mining resources stretching across Melanes beach. The regency thus has the largest iron reserve potential in Indonesia.⁶ This is inseparable from the existence of Mount Semeru which almost every day spewed cold lava through the big rivers to the southern sea of Java Island.⁷ These sand dunes are trying to be guarded by the people of Wotgalih from the investors who want to exploit, one of them is PT Antam (Aneka Tambang).

The dimensions of conflict from managing natural resource such as mining and land conversion have a long estuary in the development approach. The target is the growth of development

⁴ Bappeda, "Renacana Tata Ruang Wilayah Kabupaten Lumajang Tahun 2011-2031" (Bappeda Lumajang, 2011).

⁵ Monograph data source from Wotgalih-Lumajang in 2016.

⁶ "Warga Berteriak, Pemerintah Bergeming," *Majalah Alfikr*, April 27, 2011, 56.

⁷ Bappeda, "Renacana Tata Ruang."

through a short exploitation such as mining. In this case, the competition will take place because capital accumulation is prioritized at the expense of the people's life. The conflicts on iron sand mining have increased and become sharp because there are pros and cons regarding the management of natural resources.

The people of Wotgalih village whom are mostly watermelon farmers run a coastal sand farming system. Chili, watermelon, and melon are the most famous natural product along the south coast of Lumajang. The farming system involves all family members with a very flexible division of jobs. The women and men are not strictly separated by sex. The women farmers in Wotgalih village are involved in every agricultural process, from land preparation to harvest. They do their functions in harmony with each other, through the division of dynamic work practices. The main family is involved in all agricultural activities. Within the scope of a village, the rhythm of social life is also closely related to how families run agriculture that promotes solidarity.⁸ Considering the phenomenon, when the investors come to do the mining then the conflict emerge. A number of people are divided into the pro and cons group about the iron mining. Therefore, it is important to investigate deeply about the gender dimension of the agents in building the peace between the pros and the cons. This paper thus focuses on the women's role in defending natural resource and advancing peace-building and conflict resolution over mining factory conflicts.

Gender in Peace Building

The term "peace building" has been used since 1970, according to Johan Galtung. It is a tool to promote sustainable peace values by targeting the root causes of the conflict and involving local capacity of conflict-affected countries.⁹ Peace building or post-conflict resolution is a process for building sustainable peace and preventing conflict through reconciliation,

⁸ Eric R. Wolf, *Petani: Suatu Tinjauan Antropologis* (Jakarta: Yayasan Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, 1983).

⁹ "Peacebuilding and The United Nations," *UN*, accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pbso/pbun.shtml>.

institutions and political and economic transformation.¹⁰ Peace-building is targeted to all levels of society. Therefore, peace building involves a lot of parties which is adapted to the conditions of each community to integrate those parties. The parties can be:

- a. International organizations. They can apply to the government to unite the local and governmental interests. In this case, they have power to build and transform existing structures.
- b. The volunteer institutions can provide supporting founding for peace-building projects. They can act as international donors, also serve as the executors of the strategies in peace building.
- c. NGOs. In some cases, they play a role in small-scale projects to strengthen the basic level of affected countries.
- d. Government, can be a subject as well as an object in peace building.
- e. Specialists such as lawyers, economists and teachers.
- f. Religious leaders. They can play an important role in rebuilding moral ethics. However, their role is questionable in some conflicts involving a particular religion.
- g. Academicians. They propose and analyse relevant theories.

Women's Movement and Peace Building

The relation of women's movement and the state is similar to the phenomenon of state relations and other social movements. Since the nationalism that became an embryo for the formation of the State in the colonial period, the experience of nationalism does not change the fundamental relationship between men and women in the macro context.¹¹ The presence of gender equality fighters (feminists) in the International Relations give many benefits. One of them is an idea of alternative solutions that may be more strategic, in the pursuit of world peace. This is in

¹⁰ John Hopkins, "Peacebuilding," *John Hopkins*, accessed March 13, 2017, <https://www.saisjhu.edu/content/peacebuilding>.

¹¹ Titiek Kartika, *Perempuan Lokal Vs Tambang PasirBesi Global* (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia, 2014), 37.

accordance with the work of Meghna Guhathakurta entitled *The Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord and After: Gendered Dimensions of Peace*.¹² It explains that the presence of women in conflict is often positioned as the ultimate defense in existing social structures in the society. In fact, women have the privilege of being called political innocents. For this privilege, the women have advantages regarding the opportunity to conduct negotiation in order to achieve peace among the disputing parties. Moreover, women who have experience in taking care family at home and society are considered to be able to apply their knowledge to end the conflict as well as diplomacy and reconciliation.

Furthermore, there are three theories proposed by feminists. The theories explain why women can play significant roles in peace building.¹³ The first theory, *men make war - women make peace*, generally assume that men are identical to war while women are identical to peace. The second theory, *victimization vs women's agency*, that generally oppose the claim that in a conflict the woman only acts as a victim, but in fact women can become active actors in the effort to resolve the conflict. The biological factors such as power cannot distinguish men and women, but the ability of socialization and life experience that make the difference between men and women. The third theory, *causes not consequences*, generally assume that community structure, militarization and capital are the causes of conflict, not the consequences of conflict. Relating to the theories, there are three significant role categories that can be done by women, i.e. women's actor, women's agenda, and women's perception. The first role category shows that women can play a fairly constructive role in peace-building efforts, although the role that can be played is limited to the informal scope. They can be actors who performs protest symbolically or as a community builder over the confines of the conflict.¹⁴

¹² Meghna Guhathakurta, *The Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) Accord and After: Gendered Dimensions of Peace* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2004), 3.

¹³ Ibid., 4–5.

¹⁴ Ibid., 207.

The second category shows that women also have an agenda for peace-building efforts. In general, women's agenda focuses on trauma caused by conflict. Thus, there is an attempt to counter trauma with the women's movement to fight for their rights that must be understood even within the international scope. The third role category, according to Guhathakurta, the incorporation of women's aspirations and perceptions in view of conflict and how women see their own involvement in a conflict is important. It is important because in conflict situations, what is often found is the view that various issues on women's rights are not a dominant issue, so there needs to be consistency and alternative steps for women to equate their perception and then bring gender equality into more solid forms.

The three role categories confirm that the women are not only as the victims but also as the agent of peace building. Furthermore, the pursuit of peace building can be done by women through protest actions even in the form of movements which aim to fight for women's rights.

The relations of woman's movements and State: A resistance

The relation of the women's movement and the State is similar to the phenomenon of state and other social movements.¹⁵ Since nationalism movement which becomes the embryo for establishing the state in the post-colonial period, the nationalism does not change the fundamental relationships between men and women in the macro context.¹⁶ The imbalance of a state relation and women's movement is relatively similar to the state nexus with the social movement. On the one hand, the same situation caused the development of feminism movement in Indonesia to run parallel with other movements, especially nationalism. Unfortunately, on the other hand, the study of the women's

¹⁵ Boudreau Vincent, "State Repression and Democracy Protest in the Three Southeast Asian Countries," in *Social Movement Identity, Culture and the State*, ed. David S. Mayer and Nasny Whitter Belinda Robnett (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 28.

¹⁶ The indigenous liberation from colonialism through nationalism movement does not automatically bring equity and equality to women's and men's positions in the context of state.

movement noted that there was a clash of ideologies between the nationalism of the new state and the ideology of the feminism-movement in the post-colonial era. The references to the women's movement in colonial period, both people and organizations, showed the movement's agenda against the unjust and oppressive feudalism system that is part of global issues. The demand voiced at the time was education which was in line with the mandate raised by the great narrative movement of liberal feminism.

The movement has a network of regional and international women's movements. It means that the Indonesian women's movement on the surface related to the global women's movement. Although not as many as the nationalist movements, the publication of the women's movement of urban learners and the middle class is widely circulated and read. The major issues of growing global feminism are women's rights to equality, property rights, women's ownership of rights in marriage, reproductive rights, economic exploitation, violent, and polygamy.¹⁷ The women's movements in various regions of Indonesia also brings the same relative issues. Meanwhile, another discrepancy is found when we do a literature search on the women's movement of classless, local contexts with different contents of the mainstream. The result of documentation is very lack or even difficult to find.¹⁸ The women's movement of the subaltern group has indeed taken the hidden path of resistance and through symbols, as predicted by Roggaband and Kladerman. The average women's movement is carry out by the women's community to survive, and the response to the unbearable reception. Referring to women's movement history, women are unconsciously engaged in activities which have nothing to do with the traditional women's imperatives, that only taking care to household. There are some women who become entrepreneurs, both in the field of economics and various other fields such as media and deliver their thoughts in public space.¹⁹

¹⁷ Susan Blackburn, *Perempuan dan Negara dalam Era Indonesia Modern* (Jakarta: Kalyanamitra, 2010).

¹⁸ Kartika, *Perempuan Lokal*, 37.

¹⁹ SB Wiryanti Sukamdani, *Megawati Anak Putra Sang Fajar* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2012), 5.

Women's Perspective on Mythology and Reality

The study of philosophical history explains that the age of mythology is the beginning of human history. Therefore, the discussion about women is also inseparable from the myths and historical facts which underlie them. Allegedly, there is relationship between male and female personalities in the era of mythology which in the reality cannot be proved by historical materialism. Beyond historical materialism, what interesting is that when men and women live in one clan. They face their alienation in the totem, in the environment they occupy. When one person separate from his/her community, he needs personal incarnation. At the same time, everyone tries to master a patch of land and crops. The man finds his identity on the things that belong to him. In this case, he had been defeated by these objects. Therefore, it is understandable that he puts them as important as his life. This is what causes the man on his property to have inherent relationship (identical with men). However, it cannot be explained through the equipment he possesses but understood through the overall behavior of men as the user of the tools and seen as the leader of the environment.²⁰

In the period of the Ancient Greeks, the elites placed the women as the prisoners confined within the palace. For the non-elites, women were considered a tradable commodity in the market. They regarded women as the source of disputes, wars, chaos and embarrassments. The history also records the fate of women in Japan as home prisoners. In China, Europe and Persia, women were like slaves who do not have any rights. In the uncivilized Arabic tradition, women were almost without right at all. The new-born baby girls were not allowed to life.²¹

When Islam came, the Qur'an gives a very special attention to women. One of the Qur'an missions is to uphold the dignity of women. Islam has taught equal rights for men and women in all aspects of life. Islam is religion which gives an egalitarian right between men and women. Men and women in Islam have the

²⁰ Mufidah Ch, *Paradigma Gender* (Malang: Bayume dia, 2014), 20.

²¹ Maria Ulfah, et.al., *Modul Analisis Gender* (Jakarta: Tim LKP2 PP Fatayat NU, 2003), 49.

same rights and status, although in some ways it implies differences in rights and duties solely because of natural, biological, and psychological considerations. Islam provides a firm claim that all human beings, without distinction of women and men, were created for a very important mission namely as *khalifa fil ardh* (the leader of the earth), at least a leader for himself. Therefore, women and men are expected to work together, *gotong-royong* (helping each other by working together) to realize a peaceful, happy and prosperous society or in Qur'anic term known as *baldatun thayyibatun warabbul ghaffur*.²² The function has been done by women activists with their respective capacities both in times of conflict, peaceful initiation, and even peacetime.

Socio-anthropological factors actually have a dominant role in creating a patriarchal paradigm, gender, sexist, and even attitudes that show misogynist. Misogynistic attitude is in the form of male indignation over the degree of existence that is equal to women. In historical context, these attitudes have existed since Islam emerged as a cultural reform movement. The rejection of Islam by Arabian was a decline on morality which is considered to eliminate the symbols of male power superiority.²³

Gender in Islam

Discussing gender issues, equality, Islamic renewal and women's rights, drives us to see a Muslim scholar who is also feminists, Asghar Ali Engineer. Aliyah Rashid Baswedan mentioned that we are still positioning women as the guilty party, because they consider as vandals in life. In fact, in the early creation story of man (genesis), Eve was positioned to be guilt for seducing Adam which make both of them thrown away from the Heaven. If so, how does Islam perceive such condition? What is the position of women in the perspective of development? In this context, Aliyah Rashid tries to explain women in the Islamic perspective. He started with an example in the story of Adam and

²² Musdah Mulia, *Kemuliaan Perempuan dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Megawati Institute, 2014), 48.

²³ Amina Wadud, *Wanita dalam al-Quran* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1994), 1–2.

Eve, where Eve was blamed for Adam. Yet on the contrary, Islam puts Adam as the guilty party. Aliyah refers to QS. al-A 'râf [7]: 20-22, "Then the devil tempts both. And swear to both, I am among those who tell both of you. And he (Satan) persuades them with deceit. "

Aliyah also mentions equal rights between the two (men and women) in QS. an-Nisâ ' [4]: 32, "Men have a part of what they earn and women also have a part of what they earn."

The value of equality in the holy book clearly indicates that Islam lifts up women's status. Whereas gender is different, it is not only about women or men only, nor about the concept of biological differences that they have. Gender is a different role of men and women who establish society with different cultural background and social structure in every region, tribe, country and religion. Therefore, the differences in the roles, attitudes, traits of men and women prevailing in one place are not necessarily the same and applied in the different places. If sex is a biological aspect then it determines specific gender or specific sex assignment which takes the form of a male and a female. So, gender is more than a trait inherent in socially and culturally constructed men and women, who then take the masculine form in men and the feminism form of women. In contrast to sex, gender is an unnatural social gender. Sex construct community itself through certain agreements which are later assumed and played by men and women, regardless as a matter to be made both for men and women themselves.²⁴

ts that gender is a set of attitudes, roles, responsibilities, functions, rights, and attitudes inherent in men and women due to the formation of the culture or environment of the community where the human being grows and is raised. Furthermore, gender is a concept that refers to the roles of men and women as the result of social construction who can change in accordance with the development and change of modern times.²⁵ Meanwhile, Nasaruddin Umar concluded that gender is a concept to find.

²⁴ Umi Sumbulah, *Spektrum Gender: Kilasan Inklusi Gender di Perguruan Tinggi* (Malang: UIN Malang Press, 2008), 7.

²⁵ Musdah Mulia, *Keadilan Kesetaraan Gender Perspektif Islam* (Jakarta: Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Gender, 2003), viii–ix.

The differences between men and women are in terms of socio-cultural.²⁶

From the definitions of gender, it can be concluded that gender is the place of men and women in terms of sociocultural, economic, political, and policy of a country, not in terms of gender or religious teachings. So, sex and gender are certainly not the same, because sex is a provision of the God which cannot be changed because it is a natural. The gender is made by the local community agreement that at any time can be changed.²⁷ Since a child is born in the world, the child can already be identified. If the child born has a penis called a boy and has a vaginal called a daughter. After the identity of a born child is known, then the community directly attribute to attach his or her gender identity. His parents begin to know the characteristics of their child according to the sex. If the child is boy, the parents will buy a toy car. if the child is a girl then her parents will buy her dolls.²⁸

People see that all tenderness and patience are the nature that live and taken by a woman. Girls who play shoot or climb trees are said to deviate. Similarly, the parents always caution the boys for not easy crying, despite being overwhelmed by sadness or pique of any weight. The boy's appearance must be courageous, strong, not easily cry baby, rational, and always have to be in front, because a boy will someday become a leader.²⁹ Once a child is born, at the same time he/she is given the task and also the gender assignment of their community's cultural environment. So, a gender burden's person depends on the cultural value which will develop in the community in which they live. In patrilineal and androcentric societies, from the beginning the gender burden of a boy is more dominant than a girl. These gender differences have given birth to differences in social roles in society.

²⁶ Nasaruddin Umar, *Argumen Kesetaraan Gender Perspektif Al-Qur'a* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001), 35.

²⁷ Anshori, "Penafsiran Ayat-Ayat Gender dalam Tafsir Al-Mishbah" (Dissertation, Program Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2006), 82.

²⁸ Mulia, *Keadilan Kesetaraan Gender*, 60.

²⁹ Ibid., 56.

Sometimes, the social roles are standardized by society, so there is no opportunity for women or men to change the roles.³⁰

In this case, we are able to see the Saudi Arabian traditions that limit the role of women only at home, so that all of their lives run out to serve their husbands as well as their children at home, even shopping to market by the men or a husband. Heavy workloads and many hours of work will be felt for women, if the husband fails to find a permanent job or is laid off from his regular job. So, the husband cannot run his role as a breadwinner, but the survival of a household must keep watch. This condition has forced many women, took over the duties and roles as well as the breadwinner. Unfortunately, the task is not the task over the responsibility because it remains a burden of work for wives or women.³¹

Women's Movement on Environment

Earth is the embodiment of "Mother Earth", this symbolization places the earth as a loving mercy. The God became a protector of earth contents including humans on it. Earth in the view of eastern cosmology is understood as the feminine principle in which the existence of a dialectical relationship and co-existence are complementary to each other. The relationship between creation and destruction, union and division become the dynamic cycle of the universe.³² *Kendeng* mountain is the uterus of the earth that human shelter under it. The women around the mountain are subjects who drive interaction with nature through their "domestic" work, cooking, washing, bathing their children, raising, irrigating rice fields, and farming. All of these can be done due to the supply of water stored in the karst of *Kendeng* mountain.

The industrialization policies that have taken place since the New Order era indirectly have consequences borne by the people. The consequences of the policy can be seen from the increasing demand of land or land (which is generally controlled by the

³⁰ Umar, *Argumen Kesetaraan Gender*, 37.

³¹ Mulia, *Keadilan Kesetaraan Gender*, 62.

³² Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Survival in India* (London: Zed Books, 1988).

people without the mark of ownership according to the State law) is quite large as a place for investment. For that reason, the State needs to provide legal guarantees to facilitate the need for the land, which ultimately leads to land conflicts between the people vis-a-vis the State supported by its instruments, namely bureaucracy and security.³³ The New Order's ideological overruling practice was opposed by the people with a social movement that at the peak was a phenomenon of reform. Almost all the popular resistance action related to agrarian issues cannot be separated from the style of government in power. Various forms of action of the resistance movement and even rebellion were caused by the state policy that often makes the land as part of the politics and instrument of the ruler. In a normative way, regional development that tend to the way of industrialization becomes the backbone of the economy. However, the discontent about the agrarian issue remains unavoidable.

According to Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies, ecofeminism is a new term for the old idea that grew from various social movements; the women's movement, peace, and ecology at the late 1970s and early 1980s. The term ecofeminism was first used by Francoise D 'Eaubonne. It became popular when protests and activities against environmental destruction emerge that trigger ecological disasters. This terminology brought back by Shiva and Mies in the book *Ekofeminisme: Gerakan Perempuan dan Lingkungan* (Ecofeminism: Women and environment movement) as their critique of the current globalization process. The globalization pretends to behalf the name of modernization for the common good, but in practice it is a form of oppression based on human and natural resources capital accumulation. Certainly, in this kind of structure there is injustice, because it allows the North countries to dominate the South countries; men dominate women, and more looting of natural resources. Thus, there is an imbalance in the distribution of economic benefits of natural control. The modernized development and its progress are most responsible

³³ Mustain, *Petani VS Negara: Gerakan Sosial Petani Melawan Hegemoni Negara* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2007), 72.

factors for the current natural degradation which makes male dominance stronger.

Iron Sand Mining Conflict in Wotgalih Village

The conflict relates to mines plans in Wotgalih is not land conflict, but environmental conflict. Environmental conflicts can arise from differences of interests in environmental management and natural resources rooted in the greed to discrimination, injustice, and marginalization of the interests of others. Greed is one of the bad traits that can arise in human relationships by nature, as well as humans with other humans that lead to a conflict. The government policy about iron sand mining plan which was given to PT. Antam emerged pros and cons in Wotgalih people.³⁴ On the one hand, some citizens support the iron sand mining plan with consideration mining activities will be able to bring benefit to them. The potential of iron sand which extends along the coast of Meleman is considered capable of prospering the community and moving the wheels of the economy of local people. In addition, pro-mining companies believe that CSR gives the locals IDR 900,000 million per month and will be provided and managed directly by the community for infrastructure development, religious facilities, education, and health. However, the number of social actors presented in the event.³⁵ The actors who appear on the surface are:

First, the rejection of iron sand mining did not stop. There were several demonstrations at the Wotgalih village hall office, which made the head of Village Sunoto urged to declare the decline of the iron sand mining plan on the 8th of July 2010. Then on December 3rd, 2010 hundreds of residents staged a demonstration who aimed to dismissed the chairman of BPD (The representative board of village) named Juarnam who was one of the pro citizens against the mining and consider not to concern with community interest.³⁶

³⁴ "Minta Tinjau Ulang Izin PT Antam," *Radar Jember*, July 11, 2011, 29.

³⁵ "Antam Tidak Akan Menyerah," *Radar Jember*, July 28, 2011, 36.

³⁶ An interview with one of the village office administrators in Wotgalih Lumajang, 1 July 2017.

Secondly, the action of rejection from people in Wotgalih finally gained massive support from non-governmental organizations which concerned on the environment, such as Laskar Hijau, JATAM (*Mining Advocating Network*), WALHI (*The Environment Forum*), LBH (*Legal Aid Institute*) Surabaya, FORSAM (*The Forum for Human Rights Advocacy Studies*), and FOSWOT. Mining rejection activities which conduct by PT. ANTAM is not only a demonstration conducted by the community but also continues to the Court (Judicial Institution).

People's struggle to judiciary began with four villagers of Wotgalih who consider to do criminal acts of unloving behavior or beatings. The acts started a dispute over the iron sand mining plan of Wotgalih. The four men were H. Artiwan, Efendi, Muhiri and Sansuri whom were considered to fetch Hidayat who was alleged as a pro side on the mining plan. Hidayat was dragged and pulled off until his shirt was torn to the Wotgalih hall. The case continued to the Court. This riot was secured by Yosowilangun police officers. The trial was held for 10 times, and the four residents were sentenced to six months in prison and required to pay a fine of IDR 2,500 under the law chapter 335 paragraph 1 (1) KUHP (criminal law) junto article 175 paragraph 1 (1) of KUHP.

Unlike the opposition to an iron sand mining plan in Wotgalih, the supporters are more stable by not doing anarchy rallies like those of counter-mining parties. The pros towards mining were in stable condition because they feel that their position as a supporter of mining is much stronger by obtaining support from Lumajang regency. The regional government issued the extension of iron sand mining in Wotgalih village which conducted by PT. Antam. The mining and contract renewal plan conducted by PT. Antam in Wotgalih village gives an impact to the environment around the mines, both social environmental impact and physical environmental impact. The impact of physical environment can be seen as a result of the first mining activity in 1998, the number of large holes in which

three of them have the smallest diameter of 5 meters with a depth of approximately 15 meters.³⁷

The other impact of physical environment is in the form of road damages. The iron sand that has been separated with impurities is then transported by a local truck to the iron weighing place in Mulder village, to make it easier for the large trucks having transportation process. The roads in Wotgalih village is IIIA type, where the road can only be passed by a vehicle with a maximum load of 8 tons. However, local trucks carry iron sand with a load of 10 tons each day and this way damaging to the roads and Wotgalih environment.³⁸

Mining activities also exacerbated coastal abrasion. Mining activities around the coast will have an impact on coastal changes with the loss of sand dunes that serve as a shield of tsunami waves and intrusions to citizen wells. This condition increases the threats especially during tides and high waves that will make a coastal shapes change.³⁹ Viewed from the economic point of view, the mining industry in 1998 did not have a significant impact on the economic situation of Wotgalih people. This is because mining activities do not absorb much of the local workforce. Mining activities carry out by a machine commonly called a magnet separator. Each machine is run by four workers and one foreman. In fact, the wages of the workers (mostly local persons) were not sufficient for their families because workers were only paid IDR 300,000 per month if they work as foremen. As the hired workers, they are paid IDR 150,000 per month.⁴⁰ For the local government, the economic impact of regional income of IDR 1,2 billion per year. So economically, mining (especially in Wotgalih village) does not provide many benefits to the people, instead it brings losses and environmental damages.

Social conflicts within Wotgalih society are becoming widespread by issue of government policy on the planned

³⁷ "Memo, Bekas Tambang Sisakan Banyak Lubang Besar," December 30, 2010.

³⁸ An interview with Wotgalih village office administrator in his office on November 2017.

³⁹ "Rakyat tak Mau Jadi Korban," *Majalah Alfiqr*, April 27, 2011, 64.

⁴⁰ Interview with the head of Wotgalih village, 26th October 2017.

extension of iron sand mining by PT Antam, dated July 28th, 2010 based on letter No. 180.45/ 287/ 427.12/ 2010 regarding to the granting of Mining Authority of KW.09.PP.0290 area in Wotgalih village with an area of 504.4 Ha.⁴¹ Although the license to extend the iron sand mining contract has been issued by the Lumajang regional government, but mining activities have not been able to do, due to the massive public rejection resulting in the vacuum.

The issue of government policy creates disunity as well as pros and cons in society. The disharmony around society appears in the imposition of social sanction by those who support the mines by not being mired when one member of the pro family against mining died. Not only about that case, pro-mining families are also ostracized by not being allowed to buy staple goods at counter-stores of citizens who against mining. Given the impacts of the mining industry, it is argued that mining policy does not build peace at all but building environmental divisions and destruction to the society. Tension is ongoing and can lead to open conflict at times. Therefore, it is appropriate and wise for the government to reconsider all development policies that are not supporting life of people. The government needs to re-evaluate the mining policies that are more harmful to society (which is the goal and target of development) and the environment than the promised welfare.

Women's Agencies in Conflict and Peace building

It is not easy for women to involve in any situations. Women are often deemed incapable on performing public roles dominated by men. When women force the ability to show, instead of being appreciated, it is actually cornered in many ways. But when in exceptional circumstances the role becomes very crucial and is recognized as meaningful. It turns out that women give their energy in every phase of the conflict that happened. In the context of citizen resistance movement on various conflicts that occurred in Wotgalih.

⁴¹ "Minta Tinjau Ulang Izin PT Antam," 40.

Iron sand mining protest activity in Lumajang area, East Java, continues to be done by residents. In fact, thousands of citizens often do demonstration in Wotgalih office. The residents whom are disappointed with the attitude of the Lumajang regional office who never listen to their protests or aspirations, so the demonstrators damaged the fence of the office. The demonstration which demand revocation of iron sand mining executed by combination of community and people of Wotgalih in the office of Lumajang regency. The demonstrations never get support from government including material support. Some people even have to sell their chickens to get the funding doing the demonstration⁴² at Lumajang government office.

There are five patterns of women's movement in reconciliation and peace building:

1. Women as the backbone of family, careers, and family guardian. In conflict situations where men as the backbone of the family cannot do their job optimally, women present to replace it, or even become the main actor. It is very clear how women become family breadwinners by doing farm laborers on the water melon along Wotgalih beach.
2. Women as peacebuilders. After the conflict, women take an important role to foster peace. Women serve as the spearhead in terms of reconciliation of conflicting parties. In Wotgalih, women's discussion places such as traditional markets, religious activities/routine sermon in community, and death ceremony become effective meeting places. The intensity of their discussions will foster communication and gradually restore communication. The important thing in this woman's role is recognized by head of Wotgalih village, Mr. Lestari.
3. Women as Conflict Actors. In Wotgalih, a local organization called FOSWOT (Wotgalih Society Meeting Forum). In its development as to increase important coordination among citizens, FOSWOT changed into FOSWOT woman and youth. However, female roles need to follow every coordination which is made by FOSWOT. Women act as spokespeople for

⁴² Interview with a community leader in Wotgalih village, 24 September, 2017.

counter-mining groups. As Mrs. Susaeri from Wotgalih who was the spokes people when the action took place. Women also become the mass coordinator in various actions involving hundreds or even thousands of people in Wotgalihvillage. They are in charge in collecting the mass, funds, and food that they need during the action.

4. Women play a role in the trial process. This experience by Mrs. Sukesi who testified in the court for a stabbing case occurring in Wotgalih village. This woman's movement was very brave to attend the court, even she firmly gave testimony in the court.
5. Women's movements to avoid anarchist demo make them becoming the vanguard and an orator in several times of action/demonstration. About 9.000 Wotgalih residents or almost 90% of the residents participated in the demonstration. Religious teaching group which consist of women also participated in demonstration pioneered by Mrs. Susaeri (female actor) and colleagues. They even acted as orators in the action. There were around 80 cars coming to the demonstration which show that people in Wotgalih village refuse the sand mining.

Conclusion

The local women's roles in peacebuilding, specifically conflict study on Iron Sand Mining in Wotgalih village present three main points: *Women as family backbone, careers and family guardian*. In conflict situations in which men as family backbone cannot be responsible optimally, women present to replace it, or even become the main actor. It is very clear how women become the breadwinners of the family by being farm laborers on watermelon farming along Wotgalih beach. *Women as peacebuilders*; after conflict women take an important role to foster peace. Women serve as spearheads in terms of conflicting parties reconciliation. In Wotgalih, women's discussion places such as traditional markets, religious activities/routine sermon in the community, death ceremony become effective discussion places. Intensity of their discussions will foster communication and gradually restore communication. *Women as conflict actors in Wotgalih*; a

citizen organization which concern on iron sand mining FOSWOT (Wotgalih Society Meeting Forum). In its development as to increase the important coordination among citizens, FOSWOT changes into FOSWOT Woman and youth. The women also become the mass coordinator in various actions involving hundreds or even thousands of people in Wotgalih village. They are in charge in collecting the mass, funds, and food they need during the action. *Women play a role in the trial process*; this experience was described by Mrs. Sukesi who testified in court for a stabbing case occurring in Wotgalih village.

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