

Protecting Nature: Religious Ecofeminism in Indigenous Women's Movements

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Abstract: This study aims to analyse the indigenous women's movement to protect nature using the perspective of religious ecofeminism. The Indigenous People Alliance of Indonesia (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara-AMAN) documented 13 cases of indigenous territory seizure, affecting 103,717 indigenous people and 251 hectares of indigenous territories. Consequently, the patterns of indigenous knowledge related to spirituality, as lived by indigenous women, prompt them to respond to the exploitation of nature. This research seeks to confirm the basic thesis of ecofeminism that links the domination of women and nature. The study employs qualitative methods, utilising text data from online media such as Twitter. The selection of data sources is based on the role of online media as a space for the representation of indigenous women and indigenous peoples. The main findings indicate that indigenous women have successfully positioned themselves at the forefront of nature protection through their movements. The indigenous women's movement to protect nature exemplifies a relationship based on indigenous understanding and knowledge, which is inseparable from the interpretation of nature itself. Equally important, the response of indigenous women reflects the interpretation of humans and nature as interdependent entities that provide sustenance, a concept known as religious ecofeminism. This concept embodies a cultural and religious understanding of the cosmology of life. The study contributes to raising awareness of the critical role of indigenous women in environmental conservation and demonstrates that their movements are grounded in religious ecofeminism values.

Keywords: Ecofeminism; indigenous knowledge; indigenous women; nature protection; religious ecofeminism.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis gerakan perempuan adat dalam melindungi alam dengan menggunakan perspektif ekofeminisme religius. Catatan Akhir Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) menunjukkan adanya 13 kasus perampasan wilayah adat yang berdampak pada 103.717 warga masyarakat adat dan 251 hektar wilayah adat. Oleh karena itu, pola-pola pengetahuan adat yang berkaitan dengan spiritualitas dan dihayati oleh perempuan adat mendorong mereka untuk merespons eksploitasi alam. Penelitian ini berusaha mengonfirmasi tesis dasar ekofeminisme yang mengaitkan dominasi terhadap perempuan dan alam. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah deskriptif kualitatif dengan menggunakan data teks dari media online, seperti Twitter. Pemilihan sumber data didasarkan pada media online yang merupakan bagian dari ruang representasi perempuan adat dan masyarakat adat. Temuan utama penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perempuan adat berhasil menjadi garda terdepan dalam melindungi alam melalui gerakan mereka. Gerakan perempuan adat untuk melindungi alam merupakan bentuk hubungan berdasarkan pemahaman dan pengetahuan adat yang tidak terpisahkan dari pemaknaan terhadap alam itu sendiri. Respons perempuan adat mencerminkan interpretasi manusia dan alam sebagai entitas yang saling bergantung dan memberikan penghidupan, yang dikenal dengan konsep ekofeminisme religius. Konsep ini mencerminkan cara pandang kultural dan religi tentang kosmologi kehidupan. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam memberikan kesadaran tentang pentingnya peran perempuan adat dalam menjaga lingkungan dan menunjukkan bahwa gerakan mereka didasarkan pada nilai-nilai ekofeminisme religius.

Kata Kunci: Ekofeminisme; pengetahuan adat; perempuan adat; perlindungan alam; ekofeminisme religius.

1. Introduction

Indigenous women and nature not only have a cultural relationship, but more than that, a relationship that shows that humans and nature coexist spiritually. Nature becomes the space where livelihood is created, as stated by indigenous women that “life and dead are in (nature: land). If it is extinct, life is finished” (Conversation, 2022). This space is part of collective rights where indigenous women can represent indigenous knowledge, religious life, work, and their role in society. Indigenous women’s representation becomes a relationship in which they can interact socially and spiritually. Social and spiritual relationships involve all relationships, whether class, race, religion, or gender.

Indigenous women place themselves as part of nature, which refers to an attitude of responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity. However, the destruction and exploitation of nature make indigenous women respond to this with various movements. The indigenous people of Amungme in Papua face both material and non-material disputes. These disputes relate to the values, religion, identity, and authority of indigenous peoples, who have rights to their land (Haba, 2010). The lack of awareness of indigenous women’s rights and the rights to nature makes both always vulnerable to such threats. The relationship between humans and nature itself, according to Ruether (2006), is said to carry hidden and open social hierarchies that are also related to religious belief.

The study of indigenous women and nature has been viewed from three perspectives. *Firstly*, land tenure and ownership discrimination against indigenous women is based on three forms of discrimination: gender, ethnicity, and economic class (Njieassam, 2019; Mullick, 2021; Lemke & Delormier, 2017). The study conducted by Njieassam (2019) looks at how indigenous women are devalued and treated as second-class human beings, as well as efforts to involve indigenous women in governance and decision-making processes. The implications are based on socio-economic resilience, which also aims to ensure land access for indigenous women. *Secondly*, studies that explore indigenous women’s spiritual and territory advocacy in defense of land and collective rights. In this case, the practice of spiritual advocacy is a form of expression of the law of origin, customary law, and truth-telling (Pastor & Santamaria, 2021; Gottardi, 2020; Nandi & Garg, 2017). *Third*, it examines the practice of rejection of thought and body, land and body, and the separation of life and non-life by indigenous women (Altamirano-Jiménez, 2021; Rius et al., 2011; O’Faircheallaigh, 2013). From these three trends, it appears that existing studies pay little attention to indigenous women’s movements to protect nature based on the perspective of religious ecofeminism.

The representation of the indigenous women’s movement to protect nature using the perspective of religious ecofeminism provides not only an ecological perspective but also a spiritual one by looking at how indigenous women are at the forefront of protecting nature, especially facing the climate crisis. In particular, this paper also analyses how the indigenous women’s movement to protect nature is based on the perspective of religious ecofeminism and the implications of this relationship. Mapping the indigenous women’s movement to protect nature allows the meaning of the relationship between indigenous women and nature, the indigenous women’s movement to protect nature, and the religious ecofeminism value of the movement to be understood. Thus, this paper focuses on the indigenous women’s movement to protect nature based on religious ecofeminism.

This paper is based on the argument that the movement of indigenous women to protect nature and how indigenous women interpret nature shows a form of relationship based on religious ecofeminism. Pastor & Santamaria (2021) stated that women contribute to spiritual and territorial advocacy to defend their land and collective rights. This contribution is a form of expression of the law of origin, customary law, and the disclosure of the truth about the form of relations they have. The indigenous women’s movement is a response to the injustice and exploitation of nature that is dominated conceptually, symbolically, and linguistically, which simultaneously causes a humanitarian crisis and an environmental crisis. Therefore, showing the indigenous women’s movement to protect

nature based on religious ecofeminism can provide awareness about the role of preserving the environment.

This study is a qualitative descriptive study, a systematic and actual description through the interpretation of facts, problems, attitudes, and relationships between phenomena represented by indigenous peoples, especially indigenous women. This study is not field research, so no data was obtained through interviews or direct observation. The type of data used is text data from reading online media Twitter on the internet using the keywords "indigenous women and nature". Furthermore, the obtained data through online media is then verified, analysed, and displayed in descriptions to be properly accounted for (Hutchinson, 2016). In presenting the content and meaning of the data that has been obtained, this study uses content or discourse analysis. According to Krispendoff (1993), this analysis can parse the text objectively and systematically, resulting in a simpler description of the data. Thus, through a series of processes, a description of the form of indigenous women's movement to protect nature and the meaning of indigenous women regarding nature can be found, which will then be drawn into a conclusion.

The inclusiveness inherent in online media such as Twitter encourages the dissemination of new views on accounts that advocate for the experiences of those who have been silenced. It is realised to assist the process of liberation from the dominance and hegemony attached to various forms of mainstream media content. Haider (2016) states that this media distributes information on specific topics to raise awareness of specific issues. Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN or Indigenous People Alliance of Indonesia), which includes AMAN Women, carry out productive work individually or in groups due to their experience. Indigenous women also used social media to advocate for their entities as the movement grew.

2. Indigenous Women's Interpretation of Nature

Evolving worldviews place anthropocentrism at the centre of the debate about humans and nature (Larocque, 2023). It represents the antithesis of thinking that demonstrates humans about nature. People categorise nature as a system of experience in which there is agreement on nature as separate and distinct from humans (Fortuna, Wróblewski, & Gorbaniuk, 2023). This separation is based on the principle of the dualism of nature and humans, the division between the abstract and the concrete, between theory and practice (Gerber, 1997). This view of the two entities is negated by the dualism and dichotomies that dominate, placing the earth as subordinate to human power. Furthermore, the placement of the word dualism influences science and religion, placing nature and humans differently. Most of the world's religions, for example, view nature as a theological system, consequently leading to the belief in the ultimate reality of God. In this case, various cases of natural destruction to the forced taking of indigenous peoples' land with all the exploitation experienced are manifestations of an ecological understanding that only prioritises human needs (Frigo & Ifanger, 2021).

The meaning of nature inhabited by humans is not only based on anthropocentrism but there are views of biocentrism and ecocentrism or deep ecology. Biocentrism is concerned with ethics towards living communities that deserve moral responsibility. Biocentrism seeks to recognise the intrinsic value of species, allowing the use of nature but not based on exploitation or domination (Stahel, 2020). Ecocentrism's representation limits human activity and an appropriate definition of nature, i.e., an ethic towards the entire ecological community, both living and non-living (Mosanya & Kwiatkowska, 2023). Ethical and reciprocal boundaries are part of what indigenous women understand as representing ecocentrism. Similarly, from the indigenous perspective, where ideas about nature oppose forms of unlimited exploitation of natural resources (Selemani, 2020). Ultimately, some risks are global as humans are exposed to the consequences. Thus, views based on anthropocentrism show how humans fail to take into account the natural world in which humans as a species live and thrive.

The meanings and experiences of indigenous peoples, especially indigenous women, in managing natural resources are created materially and intertwined with intimate relationships. As an interrelated entity, the meaning of nature is likened to a woman's body. Ecofeminists argue that the gender roles ascribed to women lead to their sensitivity and closeness to nature (Elhindi & AlTaher, 2023). On the

Twitter page @rumahAMAN¹, an indigenous woman named Yosepha Alomang stated, “Land is a mother who gives birth, raises, feeds, and nurtures. Philosophically, forests are identified as mothers who nurse their children. Mothers are women who are honoured for giving life.” Figure 1 shows her statement related to the nature.



Figure 1 Indigenous women

Her statement aligns with Siti Aisyah²'s statement. She is also an indigenous woman. She stated, “... the land is like our mother who raised us, from time to time and generation to generation.”

This perspective is very empowering in understanding how indigenous women perceive nature as their home and mothers who always feed and protect them. For indigenous women, what nature and the land provide in their lives is a representation of themselves that can also support and provide livelihoods. Indigenous women have experience and knowledge in caring for, maintaining, protecting, and providing what is needed. As stated by Mama Aleta Baun, an indigenous woman from Mollo, East Nusa Tenggara “rice, noel, afu masan a'tif neu monit mansion [stone like bone, earth like flesh, water like blood and forest like skin, lungs and hair].”

When there is exploitation of nature, it is closely related to the destruction of the human body itself (Khoiri, 2017). What Mama Aleta Baun stated shows that there has been a relationship with an attitude of responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity, which is the central concept of the relational paradigm, a synonym of interpersonal, which shows the interaction between two parties (Civitaresse, 2021). The relationship between indigenous women and nature shows that indigenous women view nature as a subject with a conscious mind, a sense of identity, and a meaning of self that indigenous women embed. Indigenous women and nature have different but inseparable subjectivities with their respective roles (Shiva, 2010).

By symbolising the earth as the body, soil as the flesh, water as the blood, forest as the veins and hair, and stone as the bones, it emphasizes the position of nature for women and life. She was born from the womb of a woman whose culture is closely related to nature itself, like indigenous women in many places, who make nature a source of life, providing various needs, ranging from water, vegetables, and medicines, to products that can be processed (Dalupe, 2020). When sources of life and natural knowledge are destroyed and exploited, indigenous women are the first to be affected. The source of livelihood is related to the forest or land, which, for indigenous women, are closely related to themselves. Njieassam (2019) stated that land is an important resource that functions as a means of

¹ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1368838981924777986>

² <https://twitter.com/PEREMPUANAMAN/status/1463803319810285569>

livelihood for survival. For her, indigenous women are the main subject in the production of livelihoods in indigenous communities, so access to land for indigenous women is important.

This relation is the essence of a relationship based on mutual recognition. If there is no recognition of indigenous women socially, the relationship means nothing and has no identity. Subjectivity is produced by the subject's position in a circuit of exchange, understood as a structure of mutual exchange (Pawlett-Jackson, 2019). In addition, Roger Frie & Rizzuto (1997) stated that inter-subject has a more general and inclusive meaning based on the relational context related to experiences at the developmental level of life. Additionally, the representation of inter-subject relations is useful in understanding multicultural identities (Wan, 2015). For indigenous women, this means recognition of themselves as subjects with rights. It emphasises the relationship created between herself and nature. It is also an inter-subjective relationship between humans and nature.

3. Indigenous Women's Movement to Protect Nature

A social movement with various backgrounds has the goal of change. As happened in Mollo, NTT, the presence of marble mining on Mount Mutis has damaged the nature of the Mollo indigenous people. When nature is damaged, forests are damaged, and water sources are absent, it is women who are greatly disadvantaged. On this basis, there is a rejection and movement of mining activities. An indigenous woman named Mama Aleta Baun occupied marble mining sites, which is called "protesting while weaving" (Triyanto & Permata, 2018). In this case, the women were blocked until their land was returned, that "the living dead of the community have property rights"³. Similarly, the indigenous women of Kendeng, Pati Central Java, are struggling against the Cement Industry that threatens the karst area of the Kendeng mountain range (Chandraningrum, 2019; Hidayati, 2016). According to the indigenous people, their struggle is based on the argument that the cement industry will disrupt the groundwater basin that the community relies on (Asrawijaya, 2020).

At the same time, the Batin Beringin Sakai indigenous community⁴ in Bengkalis Regency Riau, residents who are mostly indigenous women with activities to grow sweet potatoes, chilies, corn, and others, experienced an invasion by a company that wanted to seize customary territory.



Figure 2 The struggle of Batin Beringin Sakai Indigenous women

Figure 2 shows the majority of them are women who confronted the company until violence occurred. Dispossession has occurred in the Batin Beringin Sakai customary territory since the New Order era. Until today, after the reformation period, dispossession continues to occur, so that violence becomes a threat to every dispossession carried out by the dispossessors. For indigenous peoples,

³ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1368838981924777986>

⁴ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1389546124294328329>

especially women, there is no turning back to defend the land and customary territories inherited from their ancestors. Movement, resistance, and struggle are the answers to every seizure carried out. Nandi & Garg (2017) also see forms of land and forest where teak plantations replaced natural forests. This shows the importance of indigenous women, people's organisations, and their struggle for natural resource justice. It is a concrete manifestation of the struggle of indigenous peoples in general in the face of rapid land grabbing, loss of forests due to conversion, exploitation of natural resources, to the granting of permits to corporations without the knowledge of indigenous peoples who enter indigenous territories.⁵

The indigenous women's movement shows their position as subjects with all their struggles and nature, in this case, as a subject with a role. Njieassam (2019) emphasises that land is an important resource that serves as a means of livelihood for survival. Therefore, Vandana Shiva's three important points in the non-violent approach, one of which is inter-subjective relations, is an approach that indigenous women agree with in seeing climate change and exploitation (Garrity-Bond, 2018). After all, people define their identities as they give meaning to other entities, where social behaviour occurs in relational contexts and is understood as a response to consciously constructed meanings (Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, Shteynberg, & Wan, 2010).

Indigenous women's activities are seen as a form of life production and productive relationships. They not only collect what is in nature but also make everything in nature grow. Indigenous women and land, as explained are two related entities, water, air, and land influence women's lives. Likewise, land has cultural and social value. As indigenous women's interpretation of nature shows, land is also a livelihood subject. They place the indigenous people's beliefs and traditions in an almost seamless relationship with their environment, land, and natural resources (Bandopadhyay and Pandey: 2020). Not only that, the activities of indigenous peoples are born in various forms, including belief systems, life systems, ideologies, social organisation, knowledge and technology, arts, morals, customary laws, customs, ceremonies, and languages. For this reason, indigenous women's movements and responses represent their relationship with nature.

4. Religious Ecofeminism as Basis of the Movement

Ecology and religion broadly define how individuals and groups represent their thoughts, feelings, and actions in response to the intersection of religion and spirituality with ecology, nature, and the environment. In line with this, spirituality refers to the longing for meaning through moral relationships between individuals, society, culture, religion, and the natural environment in which humans live. In this regard, indigenous beliefs known as indigenous religions define the relationship between humans and nature as a cosmological concept that the cosmos is occupied by different "persons" of human and non-human beings. Personhood is not identical to human beings but is perceived as extending beyond them. It is a capacity that may belong to the so-called "nature", an essential category in a hierarchical cosmology along with "culture" and "supernatural" (Maarif, 2019; Tafjord, 2013).

This belief by indigenous peoples is a form of relationship created between indigenous peoples and nature, which is the essence of a relationship based on mutual recognition, that what exists in the life of the universe is a subject that has a role (Shiva, 2010). The concept of mutual recognition does not only talk about human behaviour towards nature but also about the relationship between all life in the universe, namely among humans who impact nature and between humans and non-living things as a whole.

⁵ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1365272233116008455>



Figure 3 Marafenfen protects nature

Figure 3 above shows Marafenfen's effort to protect nature. For the Marafenfen Indigenous people, the Savannah, in their customary territory, is a place for them to carry out traditional rituals.⁶ But when the area was seized, it caused them to lose their sacred relationship with nature⁷.

In response to exploitation and deprivation, indigenous women do not remain silent but carry out a movement to protect nature, namely the ecofeminism movement. This movement by indigenous women is based on knowledge about nature and the beliefs that have been lived⁸. This is in line with the indigenous religious paradigm. This approach is not only seen as a non-human ecosystem health crisis, polluted water, contaminated skies, threatened climate change, deforestation, and species extinction, which are as important as all the realities that occur. But it is also seen as humanity's disconnection from its spiritual values (Duile, 2023). Based on this paradigm, indigenous peoples do not place humans and nature with hierarchical domination, nor do they place dualism between humans and nature that causes separation of humans from their environment. Therefore, it can be stated that the meanings, knowledge, and experiences of indigenous women responding to exploitation and land grabbing show the basis of a movement called religious ecofeminism.

It relates to the ecological spirituality of indigenous peoples, especially indigenous women who are stated to have an inter-subjective relationship with nature—a place where the relationship of spirituality is part of their daily life⁹. Maarif (2019) explains that "For indigenous peoples, forests, mountains, and land are "persons" that are interconnected in terms of beliefs and beliefs, where all entities are involved in an "inter-subject" relationship". Thus, every entity in the universe has a spiritual dimension that is manifested in the role of complementary interactions. In this sense, ecosystem healing should be the holistic healing of humans to each other in their ecosystem as a community of life. A common religious vision and ethical mandate will be essential to create an underlying spirit for establishing shared ways of living in society.

Ecofeminism, an approach that prioritises holistic and relational alternative thinking without the dichotomy of women and men, nature and culture, becomes an alternative in the context of women and nature when this dichotomy dominates (Almwajeh & Alshehab, 2020). In this context, religious ecofeminism shows that intrinsic values with other entities are built with ecological values in human

6 <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1438125257345228803>

7 <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1439952494973440005>

8 <https://twitter.com/perempuanaman?s=11&t=ZfOMmasNgVWbZ8ABxRcofA>

9 <https://twitter.com/PEREMPUANAMAN/status/1293044390202507265>

and natural interactions. Through specific contexts, ecofeminism is identified as a significant framework for understanding climate justice and a deep and just transition to harmony (Walters, 2022). It is a long-term commitment to analysing human-nature relations, paying attention to and understanding the religious and cultural experiences of those who face discrimination (Kings, 2017; Gaard, 2015).

5. Indigenous Women Empowered: A Response to the Climate Crisis

What happens to women and nature is not only rooted in the "innate" relationship between women and nature that many have come to accept. It is also embedded in structural and material inequalities (Bacon et al, 2022). Climate change is increasingly presented as a security issue; this "climate security" discourse arguably gives a greater sense of urgency to the already alarming climate crisis. Budgets for climate mitigation and adaptation measures, which often seek to control natural resources by assigning monetary values, continue to increase (Lamain, 2022). Ironically, climate policies themselves often contribute to socio-environmental conflicts, further marginalising land, water, and forest users, as described earlier. Therefore, indigenous women are involved and play a role in protecting nature and responding to climate change.

Indigenous women make farming an effort to protect nature, a response to the climate crisis. The Indigenous Women of Menteng Tualang Pusu Village, North Sumatra did this. They formed a group to build collective gardens. They turn dry land into gardens that become a food source for their indigenous people¹⁰. Their effort is reflected in Figure 4.



Figure 4 Indigenous women make farming

Similarly, Mata Sagu indigenous women in Maluku and other indigenous women conduct and organise activities such as gardening, traditional rituals, church worship, and local food training activities¹¹. It represents indigenous women being empowered and in harmony with their environment. Likewise, the Dayeq Jumetn Tuwayaahn Indigenous Community of East Kalimantan has made efforts for food sovereignty. This food sovereignty has implications for implementing rituals that indigenous people have carried out for generations. The effort is to use traditional knowledge such as *ngumeq ngentaahn*. A way of cultivating crops is by clearing forests to be used as fields. At the same time, relationships are built not only in the material realm but also in the spiritual realm. Such as *Beliatn Jerungan* (a ritual to treat the sick), *Pesengeket/Pesiwah* or *Tota Toroou* (a self and house purification

¹⁰ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1414920289490595849>

¹¹ <https://twitter.com/RumahAMAN/status/1486203624636424194>

ceremony), *Makaatn Laakng* (a ritual to feed the spirits that maintain the forest)¹², which in this case also involves the material dimension of nature (See Figure 5).



Figure 5 Food sovereignty endeavours of indigenous women

In understanding the struggle of indigenous women, it can be stated that their identity is intertwined and has a relationship with what is in nature, as is the meaning and basis of their movement. Initially, land became a space for labour and power dynamics based on coloniality and patriarchy (Pandya, 2023). The dimensions of this space change when indigenous women's practices occur. Indigenous women's knowledge provides important insights into the diversity of subjectivities that live in the landscape of life's cosmology. Although indigenous women's position, which is initially shaped by socio-economic identity and gender identity, influences their involvement in their work, it then shifts their subjectivity spatially and temporally to a form of agency. In this case, indigenous women's involvement in protecting nature and responding to the climate crisis means more than just being a subject of land governance. More than that, indigenous women's involvement also contributes to repositioning their social status to a different level, which creates a different subjectivity through a particular form of agency (Nightingale, 2018). In this case, the movement to protect nature is based on the meaning of nature and its beliefs.

Empowered indigenous women, in this case, also relates to Feminist political ecology is based on understanding gender as a social construction and understanding human relationships with the environment as a materially-based expression of gender (as well as other social categories such as class and ethnicity) (Kansanga *et al.*, 2019; Radel, 2009). As represented by its three originators, feminist political ecology has three critical themes (Sindhuja & Murugan, 2021): (1) Gendered knowledge, or how access to scientific and ecological knowledge is structured by gender. (2) Gendered environmental rights and responsibilities, including differential access by men and women to various legal and de facto claims to land and resources. (3) Gendered politics and grassroots activism, including examining women within and as leaders of environmental movements. Thus, in addition to a framework that brings a feminist perspective, feminist political ecology also refers to the insights of feminist cultural ecology, feminist geography, and feminist political economy (Gonda, 2019).

Women began redefining their identities through expressions of agency and forms of empowerment with collective action, emphasizing struggle, resistance, and cooperation (Piccardi, 2022). With the knowledge and religious experience of ecofeminism, as shown earlier, indigenous women can transcend the barriers of human-nature interactions that irresponsible parties dominate. Indigenous women's access and control can provide space for indigenous women to apply their knowledge in natural resource management. It shows gender equality regarding the role and position

¹² <https://twitter.com/PEREMPUANAMAN/status/1552201816019853313>

of women in responding to climate change (Indirastuti & Pratiwi, 2019). Women's interaction with nature, which functions as the guardian of food sovereignty, is produced with full consideration. Not only taking from nature but giving back ethically and reciprocally. Through this experience, indigenous women are responsible for participating in sustainable natural resource governance.

6. Conclusion

The movement of indigenous women to protect nature based on religious ecofeminist values shows the harmony of human and natural relations built with responsibility, ethics, and reciprocity. Indigenous women have an interpretation of nature by looking at themselves. This interpretation is based on the statement of indigenous women that nature is the body of women themselves, a form of life production and productive relationships. Then, their struggle to protect nature called the ecofeminism movement, is their concrete form of interpreting an inter-subjective relationship. At this point, ideas and activities by indigenous women are based on religious ecofeminism, a concept that sees women and nature as equal ecological spiritual relations. In this perspective, it emphasises the importance of equality in saving the environment by all parties because the destruction of nature has a direct relationship with the oppression of women. Therefore, solidarity between all parties is needed to realise a sustainable environment.

In understanding the struggle of indigenous women, it can be stated that their identity is intertwined and has a relationship with what is in nature, as is their knowledge and the basis of their movement. Indigenous women's knowledge provides important insights into the diversity of subjectivities that live in the cosmological landscape of life. Initially, the position of indigenous women, shaped by their socio-economic and gender identity, influenced their involvement in social life. However, looking at the women's movement to protect nature based on the knowledge and values of religious ecofeminism can provide space for women and all entities to assert their existence. Likewise, developing knowledge about the relationship between humans and nature is based on inter-subject relations. This paper is limited to text data sources, where the findings in this study are only based on literature discussions built up in articles and Twitter social media that discuss the relations between indigenous women and land. As a result, this study does not have the authority to draw empirical conclusions from field data, such as observations and interviews with direct participants. Therefore, further research is needed to see the perspectives of the parties involved in the meaning and movement of indigenous women and land, so that further research can be carried out more comprehensively.

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