

Challenging Masculinity: Analyzing the Aspects of Ecofeminism in Aceh's Female Forest Rangers

¹Karina Utami Dewi, ²Masitoh Nur Rohma, ³Husnul Ummahat Sabir

¹Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Indonesia, karina.dewi@uii.ac.id,

²Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Indonesia, masitoh.rohma@uii.ac.id,

³Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Politik, University of Belgrade, Serbia, husnulummahat@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This research discusses the issue of gender and environment in Southeast Asia and focuses on the case study of Female Forest Rangers or also known as Mpu Uteun in Aceh, Indonesia. It aims to answer the question: how do Female Forest Rangers in Aceh challenge masculinity and apply aspects of ecofeminism in protecting Aceh's Forest? Using Warren's approach of ecofeminism, the analysis of this research is divided into three parts. The first is masculinity and men's role in Aceh's environmental degradation, second is women and interconnection with nature, and third is ecofeminist philosophy in the case of Aceh's female forest rangers. This study found that first, perpetrators of deforestation are mostly men as it is one of their ways to make a livelihood, enforcing a masculinity perspective that men should be dominating in providing for their family, including dominating the environment. Second, the female forest rangers have strong interconnections with nature since all the categories of interconnectedness between women and nature according to Warren can be found in this case study. Lastly, this case study can be claimed as an example of ecofeminist philosophy because the three aspects of Warren's ecofeminist philosophy can be found in the research. These aspects are feminism; local and indigenous perspective; as well as nature, science, development, and technology.

Keywords: Ecofeminism, masculinity, Aceh, Indonesia, female forest rangers

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini membahas isu gender dan lingkungan di Asia Tenggara dengan fokus pada studi kasus penjaga hutan perempuan atau Mpu Uteun di Aceh, Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan: bagaimana penjaga hutan perempuan di Aceh menantang maskulinitas dan menerapkan aspek ekofeminisme dalam melindungi hutan Aceh? Dengan menggunakan pendekatan ekofeminisme Warren, analisis penelitian ini dibagi menjadi tiga bagian. Pertama, maskulinitas dan peran laki-laki dalam degradasi lingkungan di Aceh, kedua, perempuan dan interkoneksi dengan alam, dan ketiga, filosofi ekofeminisme dalam kasus penjaga hutan perempuan di Aceh. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa pertama, pelaku deforestasi sebagian besar adalah laki-laki karena hal tersebut merupakan salah satu cara mereka mencari nafkah, yang menegaskan perspektif maskulinitas bahwa laki-laki harus mendominasi dalam menafkahi keluarga, termasuk mendominasi lingkungan. Kedua, penjaga hutan perempuan memiliki keterkaitan yang kuat dengan alam karena semua kategori keterkaitan antara perempuan dan alam menurut Warren dapat ditemukan dalam studi kasus ini. Terakhir, studi kasus ini dapat diklaim sebagai contoh filosofi ekofeminis karena tiga aspek filosofi ekofeminis Warren dapat ditemukan dalam penelitian ini. Aspek-aspek tersebut adalah feminisme; perspektif lokal dan masyarakat adat; serta alam, ilmu pengetahuan, pembangunan, dan teknologi.

Kata Kunci: *Ekofeminisme, maskulinitas, Aceh, Indonesia, penjaga hutan perempuan*

Introduction

Female Forest Rangers, also called Mpu Uteun, in Aceh, Indonesia, is an interesting phenomenon to discuss. Traditionally, the profession of forest rangers is identical to masculinity and men seem to be the only part of the society who are allowed to do the job. However, in the case of Aceh's female Forest Rangers, these women decide to step in and guard the forest. This starts when an environmental disaster such as flood destroys their homes and community. Ironically, this is because of the exploitation of the forest which, mostly, is committed by men. In the case of Aceh's Female Forest Rangers, the fight to protect the forest is more challenging since Aceh is well-known as a conservative province in Indonesia and often limits women's movement or silences women's voices on behalf of the Islamic Law.¹ 10% of the tropical forest in the world is in Indonesia, and deforestation has always become an alarming issue in the country. This is still a problem despite the effort of the government to combat deforestation through a REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) Scheme.²

Mpu Uteun, translated into forest protectors, is a group of local women started patrolling the Leuser ecosystem in Aceh since February 2020.³ This group would patrol for days to protect the 251 hectares of forest and clean the upstream river clogged by trees to make sure the people of their village have access to clean water.⁴ Their existence as a female-led forest protector group provide a fresh perspective to an occupation that is traditionally held by men.^{5,6}

On the other hand, although there is no exact number yet, any illegal loggers or other culprits that endanger the forest's wildlife in Aceh caught by the authorities and published in the news are almost always men.⁷ Therefore, this research aims to explain the case study of Female Forest Rangers in Aceh from the Ecofeminism lens. As an approach, Ecofeminism highlights the connection between women and nature, and combines feminism and environmentalism. This approach argues that both domination of women as well as degradation of the environment are results of capitalism and patriarchy. In other words, ecofeminism challenges masculinity as both women and nature fight to end the domination of men. The authors raise a question on how Aceh's Female Forest Rangers challenge masculinity and apply aspects of ecofeminism in protecting Aceh's Forest?

Literature Review

Siscawati uses feminist political ecology to analyze the competition of forest domination and indigenous women struggle for their rights to access the forest. The context of the author's research is under the Ruling of Constitutional Court No. 35/PUU-X/2012 which accommodates indigenous

¹ Mohd Nor Mohd Roslan and Inayatillah, "Women's Marginalization from Public Spaces: The Case of Aceh," *Asian Women* 27, no. 4 (2011), <http://e-asianwomen.org/xml/00924/00924.pdf>.

² Matthew Linkie et al., "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Illegal Logging in Indonesia," *Conservation Biology* 28, no. 4 (August 2014): 1023–33.

³ Irham Hudaya Yunardi, "Empowered Rangers," *New Big 5* (blog), March 23, 2020, <https://www.newbig5.com/forest-protectors/>.

⁴ Hayati Nupus, "Feature: Female Rangers Serve as Nature Protectors on Indonesia's Mount Leuser-Xinhua," January 8, 2022, <https://english.news.cn/asiapacific/20220109/e7dd378a65c84b35b91a0c264a4957f0/c.html>.

⁵ Leuser Ecosystem Action Fund, "Women Lead Wildlife and Watershed Protection," Leuser Ecosystem Action Fund, accessed March 18, 2024, <https://www.leuserfund.org/projects/women-lead-wildlife-and-watershed-protection/>.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Alfath Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment," *The Jakarta Post*, December 17, 2020, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2020/12/17/indonesias-female-forest-guardians-fight-for-the-environment.html>.

society's rights in Indonesia. These regulations also recognize indigenous society as a legal subject of customary territory, but the indigenous women are still not getting full attention and acknowledgement. Not every marginalized society who has the rights to control their forest and being guaranteed by regulation automatically have the access to forest. Women must negotiate with their own community who has power and with the external actors such as the government and the corporations.⁸

The Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) program in Indonesia is a stimulus to reduce carbon emission from the forest sector. Indonesia, which has become the 5th largest emitter of greenhouse gasses in the world is dominated by forestry and land-use changing emission. Therefore, it is important and strategic to run REDD+. Arwida et al. discovered that REDD+ is potentially marginalized women rights and struggle in the forestry sector. It is not only women who live nor have access to forest, but also women in the policy-making context. It is supported by the gender blind of forestry regulation in Indonesia. The forestry sector in the government has also been dominated by men while women have a marginal role in decision-making. It makes the REDD+ result worse and risks women in general.⁹ Kurnadi also discovered that during 2007-2012, the REDD+ Ulu Masen in Aceh has failed due to the lack of cross-sector partnerships and conflict of interests among actors.¹⁰

Stoll did research in Aceh focusing on the Acehnese women who lived in the agricultural environment before and after conflict (Indonesian government and Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM)). The author's findings are, first, before the conflict in 1976, Acehnese women mostly worked in the agricultural sector. The conflict made them flee to another place, particularly a forest. They also experienced the loss of their family and relatives, mostly men. Second, the situation changed the way Acehnese live. Because of the crisis, they lost income and had to change their source of food from rice to sago or cassava. Third, women who work in the agricultural sector seek another job in the organizational sector, such as becoming a non-governmental organization (NGO) official. Women who work in the agricultural sector decreased because of the conflict. Most articles focus on the effect of the state's policy on specific women. It is explained in the case of Acehnese women and the struggle of women in Indonesia to their rights. Although women in the forest are protected by regulation, it is not a guarantee that the implementation is as good as the rules.¹¹

Gender is not central to the environmental movement's political agenda, as it is for the feminist movement. However, it is important to consider the role of gender in shaping social movement participation beyond movements that focus explicitly on gender. With this discourse, hegemonic masculinity is seen as anti-ecological, especially when identified with the stereotypical masculine professions held mostly by men. Images of loggers, miners, and fishers which are dominated by men represent the gender differences in environmental concern.¹² Similar points also stated by Pease who

⁸Mia Siscawati, "Pertarungan Penguasaan Hutan Dan Perjuangan Perempuan Adat" 33 (2014): 159–97.

⁹S.D. Arwida et al., "Gender Relevant Considerations for Developing REDD+ Indicators: Lessons Learned for Indonesia" (Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2017), <https://doi.org/10.17528/cifor/006398>.

¹⁰Andrea Prisca Kurnadi, "Kegagalan Implementasi REDD+ Ulu Masen Aceh," *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 12, no. 2 (2016): 91–132, <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v12i2.2648.91-132>.

¹¹Sylvia Stoll, "Women in Aceh: Conflict and Changing Agricultural Roles," in *Challenging Post-Conflict Environments*, ed. Alpaslan Özerdem and Rebecca Roberts (Routledge, 2012).

¹²Mark C. J. Stoddart and D. B. Tindall, "Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, And Environmental Movement Participation In British Columbia, Canada, 1998–2007: 'Women Always Clean Up The Mess,'" *Sociological Spectrum* 31, no. 3 (April 22, 2011): 342–68, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2011.557065>.

claimed that scholars agree that one of the causes of the current environmental crisis is hegemonic and destructive forms of masculinity.¹³

The articles by Siscawati, Arwida, Kurnadi, and Stoll showed that women are being empowered even though they were in disadvantaged situations. On the other hand, Stoddart and Tindall as well as Pease claimed that masculinity has a strong effect in the destruction of the environment, and therefore women need to challenge this masculinity to protect the environment. Reviewing these articles, we examine deeper on the Acehnese women's effort to protect their forest using ecofeminism and the interconnections of women and nature approach. We believe that our research will enlarge the board of knowledge talking about women challenging masculinity or domination of men in the forestry sector.

Methodology

In conducting this research, the data provided are collected from secondary resources such as literature, reports, previously published research on Mpu Uteun, as well as printed and online media. The data found is used to examine the concept of ecofeminism introduced by Karen Warren in explaining the role of women in the environment, and whether the theory effectively illuminates the case¹⁴, and the analysis will be divided into three parts.

First part argues about masculinity and its relations to the destruction of the environment in Aceh. Warren's discussion on ecofeminism mentioned the notion about masculinity introduced by Connell and claimed that men are seen as relatively lacking in their concern for the environment, because many men and male-gender roles traditionally are identical with hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women".¹⁵

The second part of the analysis focuses on Warren's explanation on types of women, other human Others, and nature interconnections. Warren divided these interconnections of women, other human Others, and nature into ten categories. These interconnections are 1.) historical; 2.) conceptual; 3.) empirical; 4.) socioeconomic; 5.) linguistic; 6.) symbolic, and literary; 7.) spiritual, and religious; 8.) epistemological; 9.) political; and 10.) ethical.¹⁶

The third part of the research analysis applies the approach of Ecofeminist Philosophy which discusses three overlapping areas of concern. First, feminism, and all the issues feminism raises concerning women and other human Others. Second, nature (the natural environment), science (especially scientific ecology), development, and technology. Third, local and indigenous perspectives. The ecofeminist philosophy is visualized in the diagram below.

¹³ Bob Pease, "Recreating Men's Relationship with Nature: Toward a Profeminist Environmentalism," *Men and Masculinities* 22, no. 1 (April 1, 2019): 113–23, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X18805566>.

¹⁴ Juliet Kaarbo and Ryan K. Beasley, "A Practical Guide to the Comparative Case Study Method in Political Psychology," *Political Psychology* 20, no. 2 (1999): 369–91.

¹⁵ R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Second (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

¹⁶ Karen J. Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000).

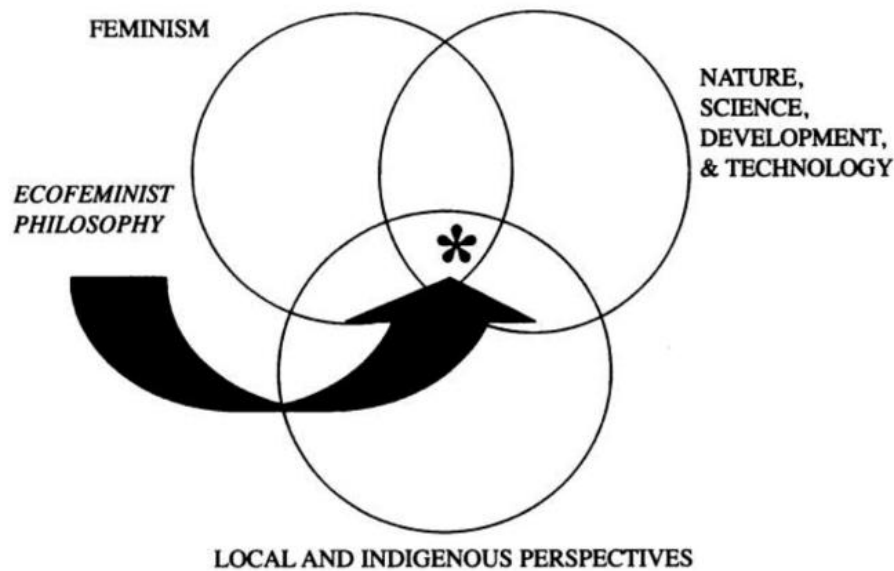


Figure 1. A Visualization of Ecofeminist Philosophy

Source: Warren (2000)

Warren highlighted three reasons on the important features of human domination and the interconnected systems. First, among other groups (white people, people of color, people of the global south), women suffer disproportionately higher risks and harms than men caused by environmental destruction. Second, female-gender roles often overlap with a particular environmental issue which is rarely experienced by male-gender roles. Third, some of the Western ideologies on the conception and domination of nature are based on male-gender bias.¹⁷

This research argues that masculinity, especially hegemonic masculinity, existed in the process of environmental destruction, especially in terms of deforestation committed by men in Aceh. Therefore, women in Aceh challenged this form of masculinity by forming the female forest guardian named Mpu Uteun, channeling their interconnection with nature. The case of Mpu Uteun as local villagers and a female group guarding the forest can be seen through the lens of ecofeminist philosophy, where there are three overlapping areas of concern namely feminism; nature, science, technology, development; and local and indigenous perspectives.

Analysis

a. Masculinity and Men's Role in Aceh's Environmental Degradation

As a country that covers more than 10% of the tropical forest in the world, deforestation has always been an alarming issue in Indonesia. This issue includes Aceh as one of the areas which is prone to illegal logging activities resulting in deforestation. From 2008 to 2009, Fauna and Flora International established a network in Aceh that recorded and reported 190 forest offenses to the local law

¹⁷ Warren.

enforcements.¹⁸ By 2015, Koalisi Peduli Hutan Aceh (Aceh Forest Care Coalition or KPHA) discovered that there are 345 cases of illegal logging in Aceh.¹⁹ Although there is no exact number yet, any illegal loggers or other culprits that endanger the forest's wildlife in Aceh caught by the authorities and published in the news are almost always men.²⁰

One example took place in 2021. Officers from Gunung Leuser National Park Center (Balai Besar Taman Nasional Gunung Leuser) caught 6 male perpetrators of illegal loggings when they heard chainsaw and immediately investigated. However, the officers were attacked by a group of 50-60 people on their way after catching these perpetrators, and violence took place, resulting in the destruction of the officers' vehicle and attempt to release the perpetrators.²¹

The local citizens also mentioned that the forest is always associated with men, and that most of the culprits of illegal loggers, hunters of wild animals like Sumateran tigers or pangolins, are men. Not only that, but some of these men were also actually the husbands or family members of one of the guardians or Mpu Uteun who are locals to Damaran Baru village. Sumini, one of the members of Mpu Uteun was so angry when she found out the mountain was deforested and claimed that the forest has been destructed by men.²²

The data highlighting that the actors who commit and contribute to the destruction of the forest are men is in line with some claims that the cause of environmental crises are actions conducted by men. Several feminist critics have identified the methods in which masculinist ideas of objectivity and rationality have shaped men's perceptions in regards with nature. Feminist and profeminist scholars are also in agreement that the hegemonic and destructive forms of masculinity are the cause of today's environmental crisis.²³

There are clear links between patriarchal social structures and environmental crises and ecological destruction. Environmental crises arise from social, cultural, and political relations and institutions. These relations and institutions are male dominated and premised upon masculinist assumptions about the social and the natural world.²⁴

Relationships between gender and environmental politics are also not something new. Research has been done in the interpretation of hegemonic masculinity as a framework in explaining issues in environmental crises. There is also a recurring theme in ecofeminist theory claiming that women are more attuned to the dynamics of nature than men are, due to their social experience as mothers.²⁵

In the case of Aceh, the fact that the perpetrators of deforestation are mostly men because of the gender roles that exist that emphasize that men are the ones who make a livelihood, the leader of the

¹⁸ Matthew Linkie et al., "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Illegal Logging in Indonesia," *Conservation Biology* 28, no. 4 (August 2014): 1023–33.

¹⁹ Junaidi Hanafiah, "Tahun 2015, KPHA Temukan 345 Kasus Illegal Logging Di Aceh," *Mongabay*, November 18, 2015, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2015/11/18/tahun-2015-kpha-temukan-345-kasus-illegal-logging-di-aceh/>.

²⁰ Alfath Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment," *The Jakarta Post*, December 17, 2020, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2020/12/17/indonesias-female-forest-guardians-fight-for-the-environment.html>.

²¹ Indra Wijaya, "Tangkap Pelaku Illegal Logging, Petugas TNGI Diserang Massa Di Aceh Tamiang," *Aceh Journal National Network*, September 26, 2021, <https://www.ajnn.net/news/tangkap-pelaku-illegal-logging-petugas-tngi-diserang-massa-di-aceh-tamiang/index.html>.

²² Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment."

²³ Pease, "Recreating Men's Relationship with Nature."

²⁴ Pease.

²⁵ Stoddart and Tindall, "Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, And Environmental Movement Participation In British Columbia, Canada, 1998–2007: 'Women Always Clean Up The Mess.'"

household, while women are followers and only responsible for domestic lives. This is also in line with hegemonic masculinity of which there is a patriarchal mindset that legitimizes the domination of men and subordination of women.²⁶ In other words, many consider that they are only successful at being a masculine man when they are the one who makes money, making their family dependent on them, and therefore, they have a dominant position both within the household and the community.

As the forest provides so many economic potentials, there are males who think that their livelihood is dependent upon the use and abuse of nature, such as the forests, logs, fisheries, and minerals. This livelihood is also considered as traditionally masculine. While females, on the other hand, aside from being at the most vulnerable position, are also seen as more caring and nurturing, and therefore, seen as the ones who are always “cleaning up the mess” when it comes to responding to environmental destruction.²⁷

b. Women and Interconnections with Nature

The next part of this research analyzes the interconnection between women and nature, and based on this, all interconnections mentioned by Warren can be found in the case of Mpu Uteun as it is led by women who are angry about environmental destruction and want to take charge to take care and protect the forest.²⁸

First, historical, and typically causal, interconnection, highlights androcentrism (male-centeredness) or in general, anthropocentrism (human-centeredness), as the root of destruction of nature, because of the historical pervasiveness of patriarchal domination.²⁹ As previously pointed out, forests became the source of living and the biggest support system of Acehnese, especially before the 1976 conflict. Many things changed after the conflict, including the source of living of Acehnese. Women who usually use forest as their source of food for the house feel the struggle. Ironically, men, although it is not specifically Acehnese who live in or near forest, become the one who destroy the forest causing deforestation.³⁰

The patriarchal domination in the society can explain it. In the traditional values of Indonesian in general and Acehnese in specific, men have the obligation to fulfill the house living needs by being a labor or operate their capital (if they are fortunate to have access). This becomes the explanation why it is possible for some men to use forest as their source of income regardless of the destructive result. Anthropocentrism will sacrifice the preservation of nature for the benefit of humans. Patriarchal society supports anthropocentrism since it does not have any claim on natural resources sustainability.

Second, conceptual interconnection discusses the logic of domination and the oppressive conceptual framework as a moral basis which is used to justify the power and privilege of patriarchal domination to women, or to nature, and justify the superiority of the subordination.³¹ The domination of men to women is reflected in the obligation of men to support the household by doing jobs. It shows that economically men dominate women and leave women behind to get economic independence.

²⁶ Connell, *Masculinities*.

²⁷ Stoddart and Tindall, “Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, And Environmental Movement Participation In British Columbia, Canada, 1998–2007: ‘Women Always Clean Up The Mess.’”

²⁸ Asmunda, “Indonesia’s Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment.”

²⁹ Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

³⁰ Stoll, “Women in Aceh.”

³¹ Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

Since the traditional value will not let women control resources, men use the moral obligation to support the household financially to oppress women. It also happens to nature that men's activities to get their jobs done is to extract, furthermore, exploit mother nature. The control and access to economy cause men to dominate women and subordinate women's role in the household, also in the society or community.

The justification of men's superiority is inherited from patriarchy society. Therefore, women get less access to preserve nature, although men care less about the sustainability of the environment. Mpu Uteun also faces some difficulties doing their job to protect the forest. They get stigmatized by their own neighborhood (villagers), because they think women's role is not to do jobs outside the house. The members of Mpu Uteun must convince their family and society that this job is halal and will not sacrifice their time and support for the domestic role. The result is impressive. Now, men along with women are going together to the forest to get the job done. But, still, women do the dominant role to protect the forest.³²

The third type, empirical interconnection, highlights the empirical evidence with data that shows how women, people of color, the underclass, and children, are the most vulnerable to environmental destruction.³³ Women are basically being disadvantaged from environmental degradation. Women in Damaran Baru experienced a flood after forest in Burni Telong area was cut down by the illegal loggers. The effects are disastrous. The river is full, the water is cloudy and smells like sulfur. The wood from the upstream of the mountain has piled up, carried away by flash floods. It caused the displacement of some villagers to the safer place. Some houses are down, the coffee plantation and secondary crops (*palawija*) are affected badly. This disastrous event of course caused women's difficulty to run the kitchen and other domestic activities.³⁴

Fourth, socioeconomic interconnection discusses "maldevelopment" fostered by industrial capitalism, which sees all work that does not produce profits and capital as unproductive work. The neglect of nature's work "in renewing herself" and of women's work in producing sustenance in the form of basic, vital needs is an essential part of it.³⁵ It is not new that society has the male dominant perspective on seeing what 'work' is. Women in Damaran Baru, all of them have the responsibility to take care of the household by doing the domestic job when they become an adult. It is important to highlight that this domestic job is not paid and considered only as a moral obligation. Men have a lot of activities to get money outside the house, so reciprocally, women must accept their role inside the house.

The case study in Damaran Baru shows that it is not acceptable by society for women to go outside and protect the forest although men are not going to do so. The forest rangers face the stigma for doing this job because society doubts, they can do 'productive work'. The neglect of women's potential can cause the environmental degradation to become overwhelmingly bad. Without Mpu Uteun, Damaran Baru will still have disastrous consequences of the illegal logging.

The fifth type of interconnection is linguistic, which highlights a crucial role of language in

³²Alfath Asmunda, "Mpu Uteun, Kisah Perempuan-Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Di Damaran Baru Aceh," December 9, 2021, <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/mpu-uteun-kisah-perempuan-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-di-damaran-baru-aceh.html>.

³³Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

³⁴Tracy Yang and John Rieger, "The Women Defending Indonesia's Forests," *The Asia Foundation* (blog), March 8, 2023, <https://asiafoundation.org/2023/03/08/the-women-defending-indonesias-forests/>.

³⁵Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

terms of concept formation.³⁶ Mpu Uteun means forest rangers. The crucial role of the linguistic interpretation of Mpu Uteun is to accommodate all types of villagers to contribute to protecting the forest.³⁷ It is not specifically said that Mpu Uteun is only for women. This means that Mpu Uteun is inclusive and tries not to limit anyone based on their gender in protecting the environment.

Sixth is symbolic and literary interconnections, discusses the symbolic images of women and nonhuman nature, which then ethically justified the exploitation of the (female) earth.³⁸ Women are a symbol of nature. So, people tend to respond to nature in how they respond to women, badly and less importantly. According to this assumption, it is just so natural that humans exploit nature.

Seventh, spiritual and religious interconnections, examine the role that religious and sexual imagery play in the patriarchal tradition of various beliefs which established a pyramid of dominance and status, where women and nonhuman are often viewed as subordinate and inferior.³⁹ The religious interconnection of women in Damaran Baru can be seen from their domestic role. They believe that in Islam, women must stay inside and not do the 'productive work' outside, because it is a man's job. When Mpu Uteun starts their job in the forest, society mostly disagrees because it is a dangerous and male dominated world. Although Mpu Uteun became the first female forest ranger in Indonesia, they still give men the opportunity to support their activities in the forest.

Going to the forest with men, Mpu Uteun's activity were initially opposed by the villagers. The villagers said that if the patrol members which consist of men and women (opposite gender) go to the forest together, it would potentially lead to an immoral act which would violate Islamic sharia law. There was also argument from the local people that the forest is not women's business.⁴⁰ But Mpu Uteun argues that immorality can happen anywhere, even in a place of worship, if people have the intention, it will happen. From the story above, we can see that the religious value is being interpreted differently by Mpu Uteun and other villagers. The philosophical understanding of sharia law is important to support women's activities.⁴¹

Eighth, Epistemological interconnections concern knowledge, and that the way to see alternative perspectives of viewing an environmental problem is by listening to the ones at the bottom of social hierarchies.⁴² At first, Mpu Uteun faces difficulties in doing their job because they do not have the legal basis to manage and protect the forest.

Accompanied by the HAKA Foundation (Aceh Natural Forest and Environment), the people of Damaran Baru proposed a forest management permit to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry [KLHK] in June 2019. November 2019, KLHK granted a permit through the village forest scheme, and stated in Decree Number: SK.9343/MENLHK-PSKL/PKPS/PSL.0/11/2019, with a forest area of 251 hectares. Damaran Baru became the first village in Aceh where social forestry permits are granted to women's groups. The alternative perspective to solve this problem is coming from women or the community. The authorities finally hear and accept the voice from the bottom. The bottom-up policy is

³⁶Warren.

³⁷Asmunda, "Mpu Uteun, Kisah Perempuan-Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Di Damaran Baru Aceh."

³⁸Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

³⁹ Warren.

⁴⁰Asmunda, "Mpu Uteun, Kisah Perempuan-Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Di Damaran Baru Aceh."

⁴¹Caroline Kwok, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians," South China Morning Post, December 18, 2020, <https://www.scmp.com/video/asia/3114463/indonesias-female-forest-guardians-fight-illegal-poaching-logging-and-gender>.

⁴² Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

effective since it is extracted from the idea of the society, the women, a group staying in the lower hierarchy in the society.⁴³

Ninth is political interconnections, which highlights ecofeminism as a grassroots political movement encouraged by important pragmatic concerns. It includes issues of women's and environmental health, science, development and technology, the treatment of animals and peace, anti-nuclear, anti-militarism activism.⁴⁴ Mpu Uteun is a grassroots political movement consisting of female forest rangers in Aceh. The movement of Mpu Uteun is basically independent and organic. It comes from the awareness of local people to the environmental degradation which they suffer. Sumini, with other women in her village, thought that protecting the forest from the illegal loggers was the answer to prevent flooding from happening again.⁴⁵

Mpu Uteun of course uses non-violence methods to repel the illegal loggers who are men. Twice a month, the rangers would patrol the forest, sometimes for five straight days, searching for signs of illegal logging, poaching, and other environmental violations which they would report to government authority if found.⁴⁶ As we mentioned previously, Mpu Uteun at first did not have legal basis to do their activities. So, they proposed to get permission from the authority to manage the forest and the government granted their proposal, and finally earned the permit from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry.⁴⁷ The permit is the sign that political effect is the manifestation of grassroots activities from Mpu Uteun.

Lastly, ethical interconnections which addresses an importance of a feminist ethical analysis and response with regards to the conceptualizations and treatment of women, other subordinated humans, animals, and nature.⁴⁸ Responding to the problem of the forestry sector in Indonesia is tricky or maybe difficult. It is proven that the regulation is gender blinded and the forestry sector is dominated by male decision makers and staff. So, it is important to use another perspective than the mainstream perspective to solve the problem in the forestry sector. Mpu Uteun is one proof that women might become powerful actors in tackling the crisis. However, women are still underrepresented in the policymaking and the implementation.

c. Ecofeminist philosophy in the case of Aceh's Female Forest Rangers

Warren's version of ecofeminist philosophy grows out and is responsive to three overlapping areas of concern. First, feminism, and all the issues feminism raises concerning women and other human Others. Second, nature (the natural environment), science (especially scientific ecology), development, and technology. Third, local and indigenous perspectives, as visualized in *Figure 1*. These three overlapping factors are important as input and solution to interconnecting women, other human others, and nature issues. This is done by exhibiting that any policies or practices that fall outside the

⁴³Junaidi Hanafiah, "Mpu Uteun, Ranger Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh," *Mongabay*, February 25, 2020, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2020/02/25/mpu-uteun-ranger-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-aceh/>.

⁴⁴Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

⁴⁵Zulkarnaini, "Spearheading Forest Protection by Women," *kompas.id*, December 29, 2020, <https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2020/12/29/spearheading-forest-protection-by-women>.

⁴⁶Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment."

⁴⁷Hanafiah, "Mpu Uteun, Ranger Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh."

⁴⁸Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

overlapping three areas demarcated by the asterisk will be *prima facie* ("other things being equal") inadequate or unacceptable from the ecofeminist philosophical perspective.⁴⁹

Feminism and Mpu Uteun the Female Forest Rangers

In discussing the protection of forest in Aceh and the role of women as forest rangers, the analysis will start from the first area in the diagram, which is feminism, and all the issues feminism raises concerning women and other human Others. For Aceh's Forest female rangers, the feminism is in their role in protecting the forest which at first occurred because of a realization that destruction of forest influenced their immediate lives.⁵⁰

The trauma of this disaster moved the people of Damaran Baru to change. Especially from women who want to move to protect the village so that the same incident does not happen again. They began to form 'rangers' forest guards. The group which is mostly attended by women is named Mpu Uteun. In the Gayo language, the dominant inhabitant of the region in the highlands of Aceh, Mpu Uteun means guardian of the forest.⁵¹

Deforestation and habitat loss have long been a problem across Southeast Asia, as one of the areas with most biodiverse nations in the world. There is also a stereotype that the forest has always been associated with men. As a founder of Mpu Uteun, Sumini stated that this group of rangers wanted to change this stereotype. They want to claim that the forest is also about women, who are enraged about environmental destruction and taking action to solve the issue. The group did not face an easy start, as they grappled with sexist stereotypes in ultra-conservative Aceh province. In addition, stopping the environmental destruction caused by illegal logging and land clearance for coffee plantation did not seem to be prioritized by the the authorities. Nevertheless, in 2019 the Ministry of Environment and Forestry gave a license to permit the group to preserve the village's forest. Mpu Uteun then began their activities such as replanting trees as well as patrolling to guard the forest from illegal loggers and hunters of endangered wildlife.⁵²

Another member of the ranger, Masdalina, stated that her willingness to become a ranger is coming from a hope to preserve the forest and its water supply especially to women in their village. She believes that the forest is an important source of daily needs for the villagers, especially water supply, and women, she said, need water three times more than a man would. The group is responsible for guarding the watershed from the river Wih Gile which is the water source for 6 other nearby villages, and 251 hectares of forest area under conservation.⁵³

The group also claimed that being involved in guarding the forest is more effective in stopping people from destroying the forest environment. Mpu Uteun is not exactly the first group to patrol and guard the forest, however, in the past these patrol groups exclusively consisted of only men. Oftentimes, confrontation with perpetrators resulted in tension and violence when both parties were men. The presence of these female rangers is considered to make it easier for forest rangers to do their job, illegal

⁴⁹Warren.

⁵⁰Windy Phagta, "Bener Meriah Aceh Dilanda Banjir Bandang, 462 Penduduk Mengungsi," *Liputan 6*, September 14, 2015, <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2316985/bener-meriah-aceh-dilanda-banjir-bandang-462-penduduk-mengungsi>.

⁵¹Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment."

⁵² Asmunda, "Mpu Uteun, Kisah Perempuan-Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Di Damaran Baru Aceh."

⁵³ Hasyim, "Bertemu Pembalak Liar hingga Pasang Tapal Batas," *Serambinews.com*, December 29, 2020, <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2020/12/29/bertemu-pembalak-liar-hingga-pasang-tapal-batas>.

logging actors and forest encroachers listen to the women and potential of confrontation turns into violence is almost nonexistent.⁵⁴

In Warren's concept of feminism within the ecofeminist philosophy, the role of Mpu Uteun is in line with all the issues feminism raises concerning women and other human Others. In this case, women's role is even more effective than men despite the traditional belief that men are more dominant and that women are subordinate. Instead, the hegemonic masculinity mostly owned by men would put the patrol group at risk and escalate any confrontation with illegal loggers and other offenders into violent conflict.

Pro-Ecofeminism Policy on Nature, Science, Development, and Technology

The next part of ecofeminist philosophy discusses nature (the natural environment), science (especially scientific ecology), development, and technology, as the second area in Warren's diagram. This needs to include local perspectives and expertise in the decision-making or to accommodate concerns brought by feminists and locals regarding the continued survival of certain communities. In addition, it needs to highlight policy or practice that accommodate ecological and environmental concerns about the destruction of the rainforest ecosystem.⁵⁵

In the case of forest female rangers of Aceh, development and technology in the village unfortunately fall outside the diagram of ecofeminist philosophy. Mainly because at first the government did not put the preservation of the forest as priority in their policy. Instead, the economy is one of the most important and developments and policies are mostly centered in this aspect. Especially during the period of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and development after thirty years of civil war and the devastating December 2004 tsunami, Aceh is facing sweeping changes in land use with deforestation levels have skyrocketed.⁵⁶

However, this does not mean that there is no concern whatsoever on environmental destruction in Aceh's forest. Following the flood that affected Damaran Baru in 2015 that ruined 29 houses, the community started to realize that something needs to change in the way they treat their environment.⁵⁷ When Mpu Uteun began their activities to protect the environment and prevent the flood to ever happen again, as mentioned previously, it was not an easy start. Aside from the fact that many people of Damaran Baru do not understand the function of the forest, they also began the activities without any permit from the government to manage the forest.⁵⁸

Seeing this as a problem, HAKA Foundation accompanied the group to propose a forest management permit to the Ministry of Environment and Forestry in June 2019. The proposal was accepted, and the permit was granted in November of the same year through the village forest scheme, and it makes Damaran Baru as the first village in Aceh where social forestry permits are granted to a women's group.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ BBC, "Kisah Para Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh: 'Kami Lebih Didengar Oleh Para Pembalak Liar,'" *BBC*, December 15, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/majalah-55300012>.

⁵⁵ Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

⁵⁶ Eye on Aceh, "Indonesia: Challenges of Forest Governance in Aceh" (Eye on Aceh, March 31, 2009), <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/indonesia-challenges-forest-governance-aceh>.

⁵⁷ Martha Warta Silaban, "Banjir Bandang Di Bener Meriah, Aceh, 29 Rumah Rusak," September 14, 2015, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/700364/banjir-bandang-di-bener-meriah-aceh-29-rumah-rusak>.

⁵⁸ Hanafiah, "Mpu Uteun, Ranger Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh."

⁵⁹ BBC, "Kisah Para Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh: 'Kami Lebih Didengar Oleh Para Pembalak Liar.'"

Syarkawi, The Regent of Bener Meriah, a region where Damaran Baru located, said that the flash floods that occurred in 2015 had provided an understanding to the community not to destroy the forest. The fact that the community took the initiative to protect the forest is probably a blessing in disguise, and that the women's initiative is something that can inspire women in other villages. He also emphasized the importance of forests and that protecting it will be beneficial in avoiding disaster.⁶⁰

Aside from that, back in 2007, to safeguard the forest, the government of Aceh implemented a logging moratorium in the province. It established an expert team to redesign the forest governance structure and develop an environmentally sensitive spatial land-use plan; delegating 2000 former combatants to work as forest rangers within all 23 Aceh districts; and initiating the international donor-funded Aceh Forest and Environment Project (AFEP) to support government and civil society partners in ensuring that post-tsunami reconstruction did not harm the environment.⁶¹

This shows the commitment of the government in protecting Aceh's Forest and natural environment. Although, in 2016, criticism from environmentalists showed that the regulation was not too effective as deforestation is still an alarming issue in Aceh. WALHI (Indonesian Forum for Living Environment) proposed a position paper to the provincial government to evaluate the regulation of moratorium, as natural disasters and conflict between wildlife and humans is in an alarming situation.⁶²

In line with Warren's argument, the decision of the government to give the permit to Mpu Uteun is a part of policy or practice that accommodates ecological and environmental concerns about the destruction of the rainforest ecosystem. Although it needs to be highlighted that there is so much more that the government can do, and had it been done earlier, the flood in 2015 probably would have been able to be avoided after all. Nonetheless, this step should not be ignored, and it should still count as part of the ecofeminist philosophy.

Local and Indigenous Perspectives in the Protection of Aceh's Forest

Lastly, about local and indigenous perspectives as the third area in Warren's diagram. "Local" perspectives may or may not be those of indigenous peoples in a community. Warren argued that the inclusion of local perspectives is intended to ensure that grassroots and citizen input be considered in the analysis of and solutions to environmental and gender issues.⁶³

Local and indigenous perspectives are important because only by listening to them that often being in the bottom of the hierarchies then it is possible to see alternative ways of understanding and solving environmental issues. Often local women foresters "on the bottom" have indigenous technical knowledge based on their hands-on, daily, lived experience as forest managers. This knowledge provides an invaluable perspective on what it is like to live the lives they live, information and perspectives not readily accessible to those who live outside the culture.⁶⁴

For the forest in Damaran Baru, the local communities are the people of the village, which Mpu Uteun is a part of. However, despite the group being dominated by women as the leaders to protect the forest, they also collaborate with men of the villages to have a further reach during their patrols. Not

⁶⁰ Hanafiah, "Mpu Uteun, Ranger Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh."

⁶¹ Linkie et al., "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Illegal Logging in Indonesia."

⁶² Greeners, "Elemen Masyarakat Sipil Desak Gubernur Aceh Evaluasi Moratorium Logging," February 20, 2016, <https://www.greeners.co/berita/elemen-masyarakat-sipil-desak-gubernur-aceh-evaluasi-moratorium-logging/>.

⁶³ Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

⁶⁴ Warren.

only that, some former poachers and loggers have also become volunteers with Mpu Uteun. One of them is Bustami. Before joining the rangers, he used to spend years hunting pangolins, a protected animal whose meat and scales are prized in traditional Chinese culture.⁶⁵

Bustami admitted that he made a lot of money from hunting the protected animals and seeing that his decision to join as volunteers as a part of paying back his mistakes in the past. At first, he was embarrassed that the group was led by women, seeing that most people of Aceh are still conservative with a patriarchal mindset. So many people in the local community also had the same perspective in the beginning. However, it changes slowly as the community realizes that protecting the forest and environment is everyone's responsibility, and that Mpu Uteun is an important part of the effort.⁶⁶

With the awareness from the local community to protect the environment, there is also a potential for economic activities along with the goal to conserve the forest. In 2021, the website of the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of Indonesia featured Damaran Baru village as an ecovillage.⁶⁷ An ecovillage is an intentional, traditional or urban community with active participation from the locals and focus in sustainability to regenerate social and natural environments.⁶⁸

Damaran Baru became the second village ever in Indonesia to be the ecovillage. The establishment of the ecovillage is made possible by the same scheme provided by the government that allows Mpu Uteun to manage their forest in 2019. This establishment is expected to be able to develop the economic condition of the local community in the village.⁶⁹

The data provided above is in line with Warren's point in local and indigenous perspectives. This includes the establishment of the ecovillage as well as the participation of men, and even the former illegal loggers and poachers, as volunteers in guarding the forest. This is a part of what Warren said as the inclusion of local perspectives which is intended to ensure that grassroots and citizen input be considered in the analysis of and solutions to environmental and gender issues.⁷⁰

It also provides perspectives of the locals as alternative ways of understanding and solving environmental issues. This is due to the local's position that allows them to own indigenous technical knowledge based on their hands-on, daily, lived experience as forest managers. This knowledge provides an invaluable perspective on what it is like to live the lives they live, information and perspectives not readily accessible to those who live outside the culture.⁷¹

The implementation of Warren's diagram in the case of Mpu Uteun as the guardian of the forest and one of the solutions to environmental and gender issues can be seen below.

⁶⁵ Acehnews.id, "Kisah Para Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh," Acehnews.id, December 18, 2020, <https://www.acehnews.id/news/kisah-para-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-aceh/index.html>.

⁶⁶ Asmunda, "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment."

⁶⁷ Kemenparekraf, "Desa Damaran Baru Eco Village," Kemenparekraf, 2021, <https://jadesta.kemenparekraf.go.id/desa/27530>.

⁶⁸ Global Ecovillage Network, *Global Ecovillage Network*, n.d., <https://ecovillage.org/projects/what-is-an-ecovillage/>.

⁶⁹ Warren, *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*.

⁷⁰ Warren.

⁷¹ Warren.

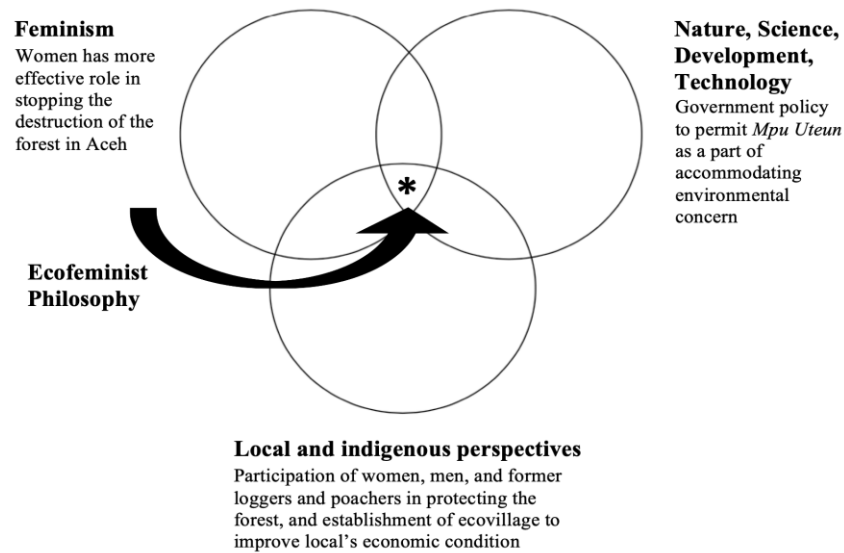


Figure 2. The implementation of Warren's Ecofeminist Philosophy to the case of Aceh's Mpu Uteun
Source: analyzed and processed from Warren (2000)

Warren stated that as feminism, ecofeminist philosophy is a commitment to criticize male bias and to develop a theory and practice that is not male-biased. As an environmentalist, it is a commitment to critique environmental policies and decision-making structures that continue the domination of women, other human Others, and nature, and to develop a theory and practice which do not perpetuate interlocking "isms of domination".⁷²

As three aspects occur in the case study of female forest rangers and the protection of the forest in Aceh, this research argues that the case study can be claimed as an example of ecofeminist philosophy. All three of the areas in the diagram, although with various levels of success, are discovered in the research and in line with what Warren explained in the theoretical framework.

This research also argues that the establishment of Mpu Uteun challenges masculinity in the traditional perspective of viewing the forest as resources for livelihood. While the perspective of masculinity often leads to the destruction of the environment when it comes to development and economic activities, Mpu Uteun shows that the forest as a livelihood should instead lead to the preservation of the forest as a source of sustainability for the local community. Although it is also important to note that in the case of nature, science, technology, and development, despite the government's policy in logging moratorium and permit for Mpu Uteun, the problem of deforestation in Aceh is still alarming.

Lastly, in the case of local and indigenous perspectives, the participation of so many actors from the community shows the local's significant contribution. The establishment of ecovillage also proves that there is an effort to improve economic conditions which are centered in the local needs. Nevertheless, it is too early to tell whether this is the best solution to provide a sustainable economic resource for the local community and the success of the establishment remains to be seen.

⁷²Warren.

Conclusion

Women and environment are two inseparable entities, as both experience domination but at the same time, women and nature can also synergize to create harmony.⁷³ This research aims to answer the question, how do Aceh's Female Forest Rangers protect Aceh's forest in the midst of the domination of male's role in the forest conservation sector? Using Warren's approach of ecofeminism with addition of Connell's concept of masculinity, the analysis of this research is divided into three parts. The first is masculinity and men's role in Aceh's environmental degradation, second is women and interconnection with nature, and third is ecofeminist philosophy in the case of Aceh's female forest rangers.

In the analysis of masculinity and men's role in Aceh's environmental degradation, it is discovered that the perpetrators of deforestation are mostly men because of the gender roles that exist that emphasize that men are the ones who make a livelihood. They are also considered as the leader of the household, while women are followers and only responsible for domestic lives. This is in line with hegemonic masculinity of which there is a patriarchal mindset that legitimizes the domination of men and subordination of women. In other words, many consider that they are only successful at being a masculine man when they are the one who makes money, making their family dependent on them, and therefore, they have a dominant position both within the household and the community.

In the analysis of women and interconnection with nature, this research discovers the interconnection mentioned by Warren includes all the indicators mentioned. It means that the interconnection of women with nature is strong. Women in Mpu Uteun are believed to be the one who has the strongest will and connection with the forest in Damaran Baru and the surrounding area.

Lastly, in the analysis about ecofeminist philosophy in the case of Aceh's female forest rangers. As the three aspects of ecofeminist philosophy occur in the case study of female forest rangers and the protection of the forest in Aceh, this research argues that the case study of Mpu Uteun can be claimed as an example of ecofeminist philosophy.

However, this argument is not without reservation. In the case of feminism, the women still face doubts from the community that has conservative point of view, proving that the patriarchal mindset which become a main issue in achieving the goal of feminism still exist. In the case of nature, science, technology, and development, despite the government's policy in logging moratorium and permit for Mpu Uteun, the problem of deforestation in Aceh is still alarming. Lastly, in the case of local and indigenous perspectives, the participation of so many actors from the community shows the local's significant contribution and the establishment of ecovillage also proves that there is an effort to improve economic conditions which are centered in the local needs still yet to be proven to be the best solution for the issue of deforestation.

⁷³Nurlianti Muzni and Prahastiwi Utari, "Bahasa Perempuan Merigi Sakti dan PT. CBS Bengkulu Tengah dalam konflik Lingkungan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 13, no. 2 (October 22, 2017): 159–70, <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v13i2.2609.159-170>.

References

Books

- Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. Second. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Stoll, Sylvia. "Women in Aceh: Conflict and Changing Agricultural Roles." In *Challenging Post-Conflict Environments*, edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Rebecca Roberts. Routledge, 2012.
- Warren, Karen J. *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.

Journals

- Arwida, S.D., C. Maharani, B. Sijapati Basnett, and A.L. Yang. "Gender Relevant Considerations for Developing REDD+ Indicators: Lessons Learned for Indonesia." Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2017. <https://doi.org/10.17528/cifor/006398>.
- Kaarbo, Juliet, and Ryan K. Beasley. "A Practical Guide to the Comparative Case Study Method in Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 20, no. 2 (1999): 369–91.
- Kurnadi, Andrea Prisca. "Kegagalan Implementasi REDD+ Ulu Masen Aceh." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 12, no. 2 (2016): 91–132. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v12i2.2648.91-132>.
- Linkie, Matthew, Sean Sloan, Rahmad Kasia, Dedi Kiswayadi, and Wahdi Azmi. "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Illegal Logging in Indonesia." *Conservation Biology* 28, no. 4 (August 2014): 1023–33.
- Muzni, Nurlianti, and Prahastiwi Utari. "Bahasa Perempuan Merigi Sakti dan PT. CBS Bengkulu Tengah dalam konflik Lingkungan." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 13, no. 2 (October 22, 2017): 159–70. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v13i2.2609.159-170>.
- Pease, Bob. "Recreating Men's Relationship with Nature: Toward a Profeminist Environmentalism." *Men and Masculinities* 22, no. 1 (April 1, 2019): 113–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X18805566>.
- Siscawati, Mia. "Pertarungan Penguasaan Hutan Dan Perjuangan Perempuan Adat" 33 (2014): 159–97.
- Stoddart, Mark C. J., and D. B. Tindall. "Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, And Environmental Movement Participation In British Columbia, Canada, 1998–2007: 'Women Always Clean Up The Mess.'" *Sociological Spectrum* 31, no. 3 (April 22, 2011): 342–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2011.557065>.

Websites

- Acehnews.id. "Kisah Para Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh." Acehnews.id, December 18, 2020. <https://www.acehnews.id/news/kisah-para-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-aceh/index.html>.
- Arwida, S.D., C. Maharani, B. Sijapati Basnett, and A.L. Yang. "Gender Relevant Considerations for Developing REDD+ Indicators: Lessons Learned for Indonesia." Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), 2017. <https://doi.org/10.17528/cifor/006398>.

- Asmunda, Alfath. "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians Fight for the Environment." *The Jakarta Post*, December 17, 2020. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2020/12/17/indonesias-female-forest-guardians-fight-for-the-environment.html>.
- . "Mpu Uteun, Kisah Perempuan-Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Di Damaran Baru Aceh," December 9, 2021. <https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/mpu-uteun-kisah-perempuan-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-di-damaran-baru-aceh.html>.
- BBC. "Kisah Para Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh: 'Kami Lebih Didengar Oleh Para Pembalak Liar.'" *BBC*, December 15, 2020. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/majalah-55300012>.
- Connell, R. W. *Masculinities*. Second. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Eye on Aceh. "Indonesia: Challenges of Forest Governance in Aceh." *Eye on Aceh*, March 31, 2009. <https://reliefweb.int/report/indonesia/indonesia-challenges-forest-governance-aceh>.
- Global Ecovillage Network. *Global Ecovillage Network*, n.d. <https://ecovillage.org/projects/what-is-an-ecovillage/>.
- Greeners. "Elemen Masyarakat Sipil Desak Gubernur Aceh Evaluasi Moratorium Logging," February 20, 2016. <https://www.greeners.co/berita/elemen-masyarakat-sipil-desak-gubernur-aceh-evaluasi-moratorium-logging/>.
- Hanafiah, Junaidi. "Mpu Uteun, Ranger Perempuan Penjaga Hutan Aceh." *Mongabay*, February 25, 2020. <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2020/02/25/mpu-uteun-ranger-perempuan-penjaga-hutan-aceh/>.
- . "Tahun 2015, KPHA Temukan 345 Kasus Illegal Logging Di Aceh." *Mongabay*, November 18, 2015. <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2015/11/18/tahun-2015-kpha-temukan-345-kasus-illegal-logging-di-aceh/>.
- Hasyim. "Bertemu Pembalak Liar hingga Pasang Tapal Batas." *Serambinews.com*, December 29, 2020. <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2020/12/29/bertemu-pembalak-liar-hingga-pasang-tapal-batas>.
- Kaarbo, Juliet, and Ryan K. Beasley. "A Practical Guide to the Comparative Case Study Method in Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 20, no. 2 (1999): 369–91.
- Kememparekraf. "Desa Damaran Baru Eco Village." *Kememparekraf*, 2021. <https://jadesta.kememparekraf.go.id/desa/27530>.
- Kurnadi, Andrea Prisca. "Kegagalan Implementasi REDD+ Ulu Masen Aceh." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 12, no. 2 (2016): 91–132. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v12i2.2648.91-132>.
- Kwok, Caroline. "Indonesia's Female Forest Guardians." *South China Morning Post*, December 18, 2020. <https://www.scmp.com/video/asia/3114463/indonesias-female-forest-guardians-fight-illegal-poaching-logging-and-gender>.
- Leuser Ecosystem Action Fund. "Women Lead Wildlife and Watershed Protection." Leuser Ecosystem Action Fund. Accessed March 18, 2024. <https://www.leuserfund.org/projects/women-lead-wildlife-and-watershed-protection/>.
- Linkie, Matthew, Sean Sloan, Rahmad Kasia, Dedi Kiswayadi, and Wahdi Azmi. "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Illegal Logging in Indonesia." *Conservation Biology* 28, no. 4 (August 2014): 1023–33.
- Mohd Roslan, Mohd Nor, and Inayatillah. "Women's Marginalization from Public Spaces: The Case of Aceh." *Asian Women* 27, no. 4 (2011). <http://e-asianwomen.org/xml/00924/00924.pdf>.

- Muzni, Nurlianti, and Prahastiwi Utari. "Bahasa Perempuan Merigi Sakti dan PT. CBS Bengkulu Tengah dalam konflik Lingkungan." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 13, no. 2 (October 22, 2017): 159–70. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v13i2.2609.159-170>.
- Nupus, Hayati. "Feature: Female Rangers Serve as Nature Protectors on Indonesia's Mount Leuser-Xinhua," January 8, 2022. <https://english.news.cn/asiapacific/20220109/e7dd378a65c84b35b91a0c264a4957f0/c.html>.
- Pease, Bob. "Recreating Men's Relationship with Nature: Toward a Profeminist Environmentalism." *Men and Masculinities* 22, no. 1 (April 1, 2019): 113–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X18805566>.
- Phagta, Windy. "Bener Meriah Aceh Dilanda Banjir Bandang, 462 Penduduk Mengungsi." *Liputan 6*, September 14, 2015. <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/2316985/bener-meriah-aceh-dilanda-banjir-bandang-462-penduduk-mengungsi>.
- Silaban, Martha Warta. "Banjir Bandang Di Bener Meriah, Aceh, 29 Rumah Rusak," September 14, 2015. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/700364/banjir-bandang-di-bener-meriah-aceh-29-rumah-rusak>.
- Siscawati, Mia. "Pertarungan Penguasaan Hutan Dan Perjuangan Perempuan Adat" 33 (2014): 159–97.
- Stoddart, Mark C. J., and D. B. Tindall. "Ecofeminism, Hegemonic Masculinity, And Environmental Movement Participation In British Columbia, Canada, 1998–2007: 'Women Always Clean Up The Mess.'" *Sociological Spectrum* 31, no. 3 (April 22, 2011): 342–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732173.2011.557065>.
- Stoll, Sylvia. "Women in Aceh: Conflict and Changing Agricultural Roles." In *Challenging Post-Conflict Environments*, edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Rebecca Roberts. Routledge, 2012.
- Warren, Karen J. *Ecofeminist Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.
- Wijaya, Indra. "Tangkap Pelaku Illegal Logging, Petugas TNGL Diserang Massa Di Aceh Tamiang." *Aceh Journal National Network*, September 26, 2021. <https://www.ajnn.net/news/tangkap-pelaku-illegal-logging-petugas-tngl-diserang-massa-di-aceh-tamiang/index.html>.
- Yang, Tracy, and John Rieger. "The Women Defending Indonesia's Forests." *The Asia Foundation* (blog), March 8, 2023. <https://asiafoundation.org/2023/03/08/the-women-defending-indonesias-forests/>.
- Yunardi, Irham Hudaya. "Empowered Rangers." *New Big 5* (blog), March 23, 2020. <https://www.newbig5.com/forest-protectors/>.
- Zulkarnaini. "Spearheading Forest Protection by Women." *kompas.id*, December 29, 2020. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2020/12/29/spearheading-forest-protection-by-women>.