

Environmental Politics of Acehese Society: A Case Study of Post-Disaster from an Ecofeminist Perspective

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ABSTRACT: *This research analyzes the environmental politics of Acehese society through a case study of the 2025 Aceh floods from an ecofeminist perspective, highlighting the intersections of gender, patriarchal power, and ecosystem degradation. Floods triggered by deforestation and weak environmental policies have resulted in flooding that has impacted 18 districts in Aceh Indonesia. Women are the most vulnerable group due to the dual domestic burden and post-disaster structural violence. This study reveals the failure of disaster governance that ignores women's local knowledge and their advocacy in ecological restoration. A qualitative approach using policy document analysis, in-depth interviews with female environmental defenders in Aceh, and post-disaster participant observation revealed that government political communication tends to be top-down and androcentric, neglecting women's roles in post-disaster ecological risk mitigation. Ecofeminism offers transformational solutions through women's empowerment in natural resource management. An inclusive disaster governance policy that integrates ecofeminism strengthens gender-disaggregated data and serves as an advocacy platform for Acehese women for sustainable resilience.*

KEYWORDS – Aceh floods, ecofeminist, patriarchal, post disaster, politic

I. INTRODUCTION

Global ecosystem change is a major transformation in the structure and function of ecosystems worldwide, largely driven by climate change, a consequence of human activities such as greenhouse gas emissions, deforestation, and industrialization. In Indonesia, the expansion of the nascent environmental movement began in the 1980s, with the emergence of economic development, followed by an environmental crisis that became a global concern (Hadiz & Robinson, 2004; Lal, 2015; Nkonya et al., 2016). According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), these impacts will continue into the coming decades, threatening climate stability and food security without mitigation. Furthermore, Wahyudin (2020) to show the rise of liberalism, resulting in excessive environmental damage, has also fueled resistance from green politics

Ecosystem changes in Sumatra and Aceh, including increased flood risk due to upstream forest destruction, land conversion, and reduced soil absorption capacity, have led to extreme rainfall events, including flash floods and landslides. In the Aceh context, several analyses have emphasized that these disasters are not solely caused by weather, but rather by the accumulation of ecological damage in watersheds and steep slopes. In the major disaster in Aceh at the end of November 2025, experts assessed ecosystem damage. The Meteorology, Climatology, and Geophysical Agency (BMKG) assessed that cyclone 95B, which formed in the Strait of Malacca and developed into Tropical Cyclone Senyar, was the cause of extreme rainfall, flash floods, and landslides in Sumatra, particularly Aceh (Kompas, 2025). The impacts include not only reduced forest cover but also disruption of ecological functions such as water absorption, carbon storage, and watershed protection. Flood disasters not only cause physical damage but also leave deep psychological scars for survivors. In the upstream areas of watersheds (DAS), land clearing increases the risk of flash floods and landslides, especially during extreme rainfall.

In Indonesia, a vulnerable archipelagic nation, these changes exacerbate disasters such as floods and droughts, contributing to issues of climate resilience and post-disaster reconstruction in Aceh. Solutions include renewable energy transitions, reforestation, and community-based adaptation. Indonesia boasts the world's richest and most diverse coral reef species and potential. The implications for Indonesia, as a maritime nation, include the loss of coral reefs in three decades, threatening fisheries and coastal resilience following disasters since the 2004 Aceh tsunami. Climate change impacts marine ecosystems through a series of interconnected physicochemical mechanisms, disrupting the global biological balance.

Indonesia's 2022 G-20 presidency emphasized the importance of inclusive climate action and strengthened adaptation and mitigation policies to address the impacts of climate change worldwide (Bappenas, 2022). However, despite the opportunities available through current mitigation and adaptation actions, the funding gap for adaptation remains a significant challenge. If there's drastically increased funding for adaptation, as well as for loss and damage. Developing countries, for instance, will need \$127 billion annually by 2030 and \$295 billion annually by 2050 (WRI, 2022). Furthermore, recent Oxfam research shows that despite the need for humanitarian assistance, the global community has not adequately responded to the magnitude of that need. Funding for extreme weather events is eight times higher than it was 20 years ago, and over the past five years, nearly half of all requests have gone unmet. The total funding requirement for Aceh is IDR 153.25 trillion (2026–2028) to address damage in 18 districts/cities, exceeding the estimated IDR 51.7 trillion for the 2004 tsunami (TVRI, 2026). Challenges the scale of damage exceeds that of the 2004 tsunami (IDR 51.7 trillion), with 753 fatalities, 650 missing, and 2,600 injured; climate risk reduction is a priority (SindoNews, 2026).

Political aspects demonstrate structural violence, where national security is sacrificed for the sake of resource exploitation, fueling tensions between the central and regional governments and indigenous communities. Local political elites often have direct or indirect economic interests with plantation and mining companies, resulting in a permissive permit-granting process and lax or tolerated oversight. In law practices, enforcement prevents land violations and land use outside plantation zones from being firmly prosecuted but isn't working perfect. Nationally, approximately 25% of Indonesia's territory (approximately 48.3 million hectares) is experiencing severe land degradation, partly due to uncontrolled conversion of forests and agriculture, including for plantations (Wahyunto & Dariah, 2014).

Three areas, such as Aceh, North Sumatra, and West Sumatra part of Indonesia, are among the worst ecological disaster areas since the 2004 Aceh tsunami. These changes trigger extreme weather patterns globally, including high-intensity rainfall, which contributes to hydrometeorological disasters in various regions, including Southeast Asia. This disaster reached East Aceh, North Aceh, Bireun, Pidie Jaya, Nagan Raya, and the Krueng Beutong watershed, where forests were damaged and logs were washed away by floods. Systemically, the combination of local deforestation and the global climate crisis creates ecological vulnerabilities that are difficult to prevent without forest restoration and sustainable governance.

II. THE LOCAL CONTEXT OF ACEH: COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Green economy practices in a country are heavily influenced by political factors such as group interests, power dynamics, policy formulation, and the implementation of environmental regulations, which can form a framework for driving the economy.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the concept of a green economy began, it was seriously introduced into the national development agenda. The Indonesian government has issued various regulations and policies to encourage sustainable economic growth, including the implementation of a carbon tax, incentives for environmentally friendly industries, and greenhouse gas emission reduction programs. The Indonesian government has also begun implementing policies and regulations that support a green economy, such as environmental sustainability programs and tax incentives.

Post-conflict and the 2004 tsunami, reconstruction has failed to integrate sustainable environmental management. In various instances, Acehnese community politics and special autonomy (environmental Qanun) are pitted against extractive practices (palm oil and mining) that harm indigenous communities/villages, fueled by ecological injustice. Weak political policies regarding land oversight after the 2025 disaster in Aceh are reflected

in overlapping authorities, the lack of transparency in the allocation of relocation land, and the lack of effective public oversight mechanisms for regional and central government decisions. Civil society and media reports indicate a lack of transparency regarding the location, legal status, and ownership or recipients of relocation land, making it difficult for residents and oversight bodies to conduct social audits or demand accountability. In disaster areas, the process of providing temporary housing (huntara), land, and relocation proceeds without clear accountability standards, potentially exploiting it for local political interests or group interests in disaster management.

Despite major natural disasters such as floods and landslides in late 2025 in Aceh (including Aceh Tamiang, North Aceh, and Pidie Jaya), the Indonesian government, through the Task Force for the Acceleration of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (Satgas PRR), has shown significant progress as of April 2026. Ten of the 18 affected districts have gradually recovered, with site clearance progress reaching 92% and temporary housing construction reaching 91%. In many areas, public services such as bridges, health, education, and electricity infrastructure have also been nearly fully restored. More than 13,000 homes were severely damaged in Aceh Tamiang; clean water is limited, relying on drilled wells and emergency water. These are compounded by critical infrastructure and obstacles to access, slowing the pace of recovery in remote areas. Despite commitments from both central and regional governments to accelerate recovery, but it's not working optimally.

This theory can be linked to the local political system theory (Almond & Powell) adapted for Aceh, where local parties have not fully bridged community aspirations post-MoU, as well as Johan Galtung's conflict theory on structural violence in political-environmental dynamics. Elinor Ostrom's socio-ecological systems (SES) approach is relevant, emphasizing the role of customary institutions (e.g., coastal) in collective management, avoiding the tragedy of the commons through the wise participation of Acehnese people in their relationship with nature. The failure of the Save Aceh's Land and Forests (2024) political campaign, which demanded that the elected governor prioritize agrarian reform and customary rights, has influenced the dynamics of the 2025-2030 regional elections.

2.1 GOVERNMENT POLICY VS. SOCIETY

The government plays a central role in formulating comprehensive flood mitigation policies. These policies are supported by firm, indiscriminate law enforcement against environmental damage, particularly those involved in deforestation and illegal mining. Massive deforestation is the primary driver of Aceh's loss of 39,687 hectares of forest cover by 2025 alone, out of a total remaining 3.5 million hectares (less than 3 million hectares are effectively functioning). Cumulatively (2016-2025), 1.4 million hectares of forest in Sumatra were lost due to 631 companies (mining, palm oil, HGU or Land Use Rights, hydropower, and geothermal), plus illegal logging and illegal land conversion. This damages upstream watersheds, reduces water absorption capacity, and weakens the landscape.

In the political ecology of Aceh, the legacy of illegal mining permits, palm oil HGUs, and forestry concessions held by 631 companies creates ecological vulnerability. A cross-regime analysis from Suharto to Prabowo reveals intergenerational deforestation and high-cost politics that prioritize capital over public safety. Demands include permit audits, the revocation of problematic concessions, the rehabilitation of watersheds, and a revision of the Regional Spatial Plan (RTRW) to protect vulnerable areas. During the administration of Governor Irwandi Yusuf in 2005, the Aceh government issued permits for the expansion of oil palm plantations covering thousands of hectares in protected forest areas. This sparked conflict with indigenous communities and NGOs due to the conversion of primary forest into monoculture, leading to deforestation, biodiversity loss, and agrarian conflicts with local farmers. WALHI Aceh highlights the contradictions in post-Helsinki peacekeeping environmental policies, where economic development clashes with the preservation of indigenous forest ecosystems. This conflict was exacerbated by the Aceh war, where the military facilitated access for illegal logging trucks, causing flooding, landslides, and chronic abrasion. Mining Moratorium and Aceh's Spatial Plan (Governor Zaini Abdullah's term, 2013-2014) sparked controversy because it was followed by Aceh's Spatial Plan, which freed up protected zones for mining and infrastructure.

Currently, the government is more focused on fiscal revenue and infrastructure development from plantations, rather than clarifying the legal status of land and resolving disputes with communities. Plantation

permit policies often fail to legally recognize customary claims and community rights, thus positioning indigenous communities as rightless cultivators despite having occupied and managed the land for years. This situation reinforces the perception that disaster management in Aceh is influenced by central and regional politics and electoral dynamics, resulting in land relocation policies responding to short-term political needs rather than long-term spatial equity and resilience.

Following the disasters in Aceh, particularly the flash floods of late 2025 to early 2026, there was a stark gap between government policy and the reality experienced by the community. The Acehnese and central governments tended to claim that conditions were under control, such as the revocation of the emergency response status in February 2026 and President Prabowo's rejection of international aid, citing adequate self-management. However, civil society and victims criticized these measures as hasty, marked by the raising of white flags in Pidie Jaya, North Aceh, and East Aceh as a symbol of despair over logistical delays. The interactions between the central, provincial, and corporate governments often led to conflict resolution being held hostage by political and economic interests, leaving Indigenous communities dependent on slow and impartial administrative processes. Civil society and coalitions in Aceh frequently asserted that government aid distribution was slow and uneven; vulnerable groups (women, renters, people with disabilities, and the elderly) tended to be disqualified by administrative requirements; and there was minimal community participation in program planning and oversight. The post-disaster "people helping people" movement in Aceh was evident through cross-regional solidarity, volunteer communities, and support from institutions distributing aid to flood and landslide victims. The term "people helping people" indicates that during disasters, support comes not only from the state but also from networks of citizens, communities, and donors across regions. This is evident in the work of volunteers who channel aid directly, hard to reach locations, including distributing aid.

During the 2005-2026 Aceh floods and landslides, indigenous women suffered the brunt of their dependence on forests and ecosystems for water, food, and health. They also led local responses in evacuation centers, maintained family livelihoods, and demanded recognition of customary territories through the Indigenous Peoples Law Bill (RUU MHA).

After the 2004 tsunami, Acehnese women, including those from indigenous communities, became the backbone of their families after losing their spouses, managing economic, psychological, and social recovery through empowerment programs such as support groups, independent economic enterprises, and adaptation of matrilineal traditions that confer cultural authority at the village level. They were active in housing reconstruction and community resilience, despite the paradox of weakening their social standing due to external interventions that altered traditional gender dynamics. According Ahmady (2022) indigenous women in Aceh play a crucial role in post-disaster recovery, serving as community leaders, guardians of natural resources, and drivers of family resilience, despite often facing multiple vulnerabilities.

III. ECOFEMINISM; THE INTERSECTION OF POWER AND NATURE

Ecofeminism, at the intersection of gender and nature, emphasizes women's intrinsic relationship with the environment, not as essential but as a social construct that positions women and nature as vulnerable entities exploited by the logic of patriarchal domination. Warren (2000) introduced the logic of domination, where patriarchal norms legitimize the subordination of women and nature through socio-political institutions. Shiva (2005) highlights women as the guardians of traditional seeds whose exclusion threatens local wisdom. The feminist principles of ecofeminism reject the masculinist view that views nature as an investment asset, highlighting how women are most impacted through the loss of food sources and additional workloads, even though their knowledge is ignored in policy (Astuti, 2012; Candraningrum, 2014). The development of contemporary ecofeminism in Indonesia builds a theoretical foundation that integrates issues of gender, climate, and post-disaster reconstruction, particularly in Aceh after the 2004 tsunami, emphasizing the simultaneous liberation of women and nature as a solution to the ecological crisis. Based on the principle of rejecting masculine dominance that exploits both women and nature, replacing it with an organic paradigm and a collaborative human-nature connection, as well as gender equality.

In environmental views, ecofeminism is the result of structural domination, similar to gender oppression, where nature and women are exploited for economic gain. These are evident in the post-disaster reconstruction of

Aceh, where women faced multiple inequalities, climate vulnerability (floods and deforestation), and exclusion from decision-making. The Sumatra floods, were interpreted as a crisis of masculine values that ignored the ethics of care; ecofeminist solutions require women's participation in policies for socio-ecological justice.

From an ecofeminist perspective, women and nature are positioned as resources exploited by patriarchal and capitalist systems, where environmental exploitation runs parallel to gender subordination. This construction arises from social norms that assign women to nurturing roles such as childcare and household management, which often depend on natural resources like water, forests, and land.

In Indonesia, resistance has emerged through ecofeminist movements, such as Mama Aleta Baun in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT), who resisted marble mining, symbolizing the female body as a source of life, or Mollo women who weave at mining sites to reclaim the meaning of nature. This approach emphasizes the simultaneous liberation of women and nature, challenging the logic of masculine domination. For example, in Aceh, since 2019, women have managed 253 hectares of village forest in exchange for patrols. The Mpu Uteun (Forest Mothers) group represents materialist ecofeminism, combating patriarchy and deforestation through forest patrols, replanting, and documenting flora and fauna amidst a decline in forest cover of 10,610 hectares by 2024. This connects gender inequality with environmental degradation, expanding women's space from domestic use to nature conservation. The Leuser Women's Community (Komunitas Perempuan Peduli Leuser) implements social ecofeminism in the Leuser Ecosystem, preserving nature for its survival through direct involvement in environmental issues.

The tsunami devastated coastal ecosystems, killed over 167,000 people in Aceh (the majority of whom were women due to cultural factors), and triggered a reconstruction that promoted gender mainstreaming, albeit often paradoxically, reinforcing the stereotype of women victims while encouraging empowerment. The Acehese women's movement transitioned from the 2004 conflict politics to the post-2005 Helsinki Memorandum economic and social landscape, with groups like Inong Balee (widowed woman) formed after the tsunami for creative endeavors, participation in Musrenbang (Regional Development Planning Forum), and negotiations against patriarchy and neoliberalism in reconstruction.

3.1 EXPLORATION, WOMEN, AND DOUBLE OPPRESSION

The exploitation of natural resources in Aceh, such as mining and natural gas processing, has long been a source of conflict because the benefits flow primarily to foreign corporations and central elites, while local communities bear the environmental impacts, such as water pollution and the loss of agricultural land. From an ecofeminist perspective, this exploitation parallels the marginalization of women, who are exploited resources (Astuti, 2012). Acehese women, who are often responsible for managing household resources and food (such as collecting firewood or clean water), are most impacted by this ecosystem degradation. The role of feminist and environmental ethics is to expose and dismantle this dualism and reframe the underlying philosophical ideas (Darmawati, 2002; Oktavian, 2024). In the Acehese context, following the 2004 tsunami and reconstruction, women have been increasingly marginalized in environmental decision-making, despite being the primary survivors of the disaster.

Research shows that Acehese women still experience discrimination in social life, with traditional mindsets limiting their roles outside the domestic sphere. Post-conflict, women were discriminated against, while post-tsunami reconstruction weakened their position compared to pre-disaster. This contradicts the spirit of the 2005 Helsinki MoU, which promised women's empowerment, but the reality presents a paradox where women remain absent from environmental and political negotiations. Ecological exploitation marginalizes women as guardians of nature, while criminalization silences their voices in resistance. In post-special autonomy Aceh, this issue is relevant to large infrastructure projects (such as mining or solar power plants) that lack gender-responsive consultation. Mitigation efforts require an intersectional approach that strengthens women's voices in forums such as customary meetings, as well as mainstreaming gender policies in Environmental Impact Assessments (AMDAL). Without assessment analysis, multiple oppressions will continue to reproduce structural injustices in Aceh.

However, in Aceh, patriarchal norms, reinforced by sharia and customary law, still strongly relegate women to subordinate domestic roles, limiting political participation, education, and access to resources, leaving them most impacted by environmental degradation. These are due to the patriarchal construction that has created space for the oppression of nature and women (Dalupe, 2020). Their close relationship with the environment allows women's groups to be at the forefront of environmental conservation at the grassroots level (Soemiarno, 2008). Acehnese women have proven themselves as tenacious forest guardians, particularly through the Mpu Uteun group in Damaran Baru Village, Bener Meriah, which is the first all-female ranger team in Aceh. Inspired by the 2015 flash floods that devastated their village, this initiative initiated regular forest patrols to prevent encroachment and illegal logging in the Mount Burni Telong area, replant damaged forests, and dismantle poachers' snares. Their success was nationally recognized with the 2023 Kalpataru Award from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, and they successfully obtained a village forest permit for 251 hectares. Although Acehnese women work as forest rangers, this structure neglects their knowledge of climate policy, exacerbating gender-ecological inequities.

3.2 GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE

Gender mainstreaming in environmental governance in Aceh is a key strategy to ensure a gender equality perspective is integrated into policy, planning, implementation, and evaluation of environmental management. This aligns with global commitments, such as those implemented in the post-tsunami and conflict eras. Gender mainstreaming has been introduced into development programs, including urban development, infrastructure, and ecosystem rehabilitation. In Aceh, many environmental programs and post-tsunami reconstruction programs still use a gender-neutral framework and do not adequately address the differences in needs, burdens, and risks of men and women in the climate crisis and disasters (Astuti, 2012). Environmental planning processes often lack the technical capacity to conduct consistent gender analysis (e.g., sex-disaggregated data, participatory gender analysis), so gender mainstreaming is merely a supplementary reporting format. Gender mainstreaming is a holistic approach to gender equality in all environmental activities, from policy development and resource allocation to program monitoring.

Social norms and gender role constructions in Aceh often limit women's participation in land, forest, and coastal management forums. Therefore, despite their strong local knowledge, they remain unrecognized as stakeholders. Compensation will not compensate for the generative and environmental damage suffered by the people (Shiva and Mies, 2005). The social construction of women and nature will increase their vulnerability when nature is ecologically exploited, marginalize women in decision-making, and criminalize resistance movements. Power structures are analyzed, highlighting the role of the state, corporations, local elites, and patriarchal norms in establishing policies that harm women and nature.

Key challenges include minimal government support, unequal access to employment, and a lack of gender integration in sustainable development governance. In Aceh, the presence of extensive forests and coastal ecosystems is a key contributor, while national policies strengthen the framework for climate-resilient development. Ecofeminist theory offers a lens for understanding how women and local communities are central actors in climate action. The overlap between the agendas of Islamic law, gender justice, and environmental governance creates a complex realm of interpretation: on the one hand, there is the potential for socio-economic affirmation for women, while on the other, there are normative risks that actually limit women's freedom and access.

Aceh's contribution to climate resilience lies at the intersection of local practices, national policies, and Indonesian ecofeminist theoretical perspectives. Profit-oriented environmental politics (mining permits near protected forests) sacrifice politically unrecognized women's care work, weakening the resilience of vulnerable groups in nature. Aceh's environmental politics after the 2025 floods reproduce gender-nature inequalities through structural dynamics that ignore the intersection of ecological vulnerability and patriarchal gender hierarchies, where women, as key actors in informal social and economic reproduction, bear the disproportionate burden of failed natural resource governance (Fahimah, 2017; Wulandari, 2025). In the context of climate change, ecofeminist research in Indonesia shows that rural women and indigenous communities in Aceh and other regions are key actors in local adaptation, although their contributions are rarely recognized in official policies (Schwilch et al., 2012; Mbow et al., 2019).

Sustainable development activities that can be undertaken include community empowerment in various development sectors (Dewi, 2011). This theory offers a foundation for developing truly gender-inclusive climate

resilience policies by strengthening women's customary institutions, ensuring their involvement in planning, and emphasizing a care and relational ethic, not just a carbon economy, as core principles.

VI. CONCLUSION

The 2025 Aceh floods, from an ecofeminist perspective, conclude that women are the most impacted yet least visible group in official disaster data. Violence against women and children increases during disasters. Ecologically, women in Aceh are victims of negligent governance that led to the floods, a manifestation of social injustice and systemic environmental policy failures. Theoretically, an ecofeminist framework reveals that environmental damage and women's oppression share common ontological roots: a patriarchal-capitalist system that simultaneously exploits both nature and women.

Women are also minimally involved in disaster management decision-making, despite being the most impacted and most active in community solidarity. The trauma of the Aceh conflict and the 2004 tsunami was further exacerbated by this new climate disaster, amplifying the community's emotional vulnerability. Local resilience, in the form of self-evacuation and community solidarity, served as a key buffer in the initial phase, particularly in isolated areas with limited access. However, this has not worked well, with policies expanding to permit issuance for mining and land expansion.

The findings of 2025, analyzed through an ecofeminist lens, show that women were the most disproportionately affected group, underrepresented in official disaster data. Structurally, women bore multidimensional physical, psychological, and domestic burdens, exacerbated by pre-disaster social vulnerabilities. Empirical findings indicate that gender-based violence during and after the disaster increased due to gender-insensitive tents, temporary shelters, and temporary housing. The 2025 Aceh flood was not simply a natural disaster but rather the result of an environmental political configuration that neglected the capacities of local communities, particularly women and vulnerable groups.

Therefore, the 2025 Aceh flood cannot be understood solely as an ecological disaster but also as a gender-equity disaster, where the absence of protection mechanisms for vulnerable groups reflects a systemic failure to guarantee the safety and human rights of all citizens.

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