

BIBLIOGRAFI

- Ackerman, P., & DuVall, J. (2006). The Right to Rise Up: People Power and the Virtues of Civic Disruption. *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 30(2), 33-42.
- Afrida, N. (2013). Aleta Baun: Environmental heroine from Molo. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/04/18/aleta-baun-environmental-heroine-molo.html>
- Aji, M. P., & Indrawan, J. (2019). Memahami Studi Perdamaian sebagai bagian dari Ilmu Hubungan Internasional. *Jurnal Pertahanan dan Bela Negara*, 9(3), pp. 65-66. DOI: 10.33172/jpbh.v9i3.637.
- Allison, J., E. (2017). Ecofeminism and Global Environmental Politics. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia International Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.158>
- Apriando, T., & Saturi, S. (2014). Tolak Tambang dan Pabrik Semen, Warga Rembang Diintimidasi TNI/Polri. *Mongabay*. Diakses pada 11 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2014/06/16/tolak-tambang-dan-pabrik-semen-warga-rembang-diintimidasi-tnipolri/>
- Apriando, T. (2015). Perempuan Rembang Merawat Mata Air Kendeng, in Candraningrum, D and Hunga, A.I.R. (eds.). *Ekofeminisme III: Tambang, Perubahan Iklim dan Memori Rahim*. Pp. 351-368.
- Arivia, G. (2018). Spiritual ecofeminism of indigenous women in Indonesia: A celebration of women's strength, power and virtue. *Competition and Cooperation in Social and Political Sciences—Adi & Achwan (Eds)*. Taylor & Francis Group, London, ISBN 978-1-138-62676-8.
- A27. (2017). Aksi Protes Kartini Rembang. *Pinter Politik*. Retrieved on February 10 2024, from <https://www.pinterpolitik.com/data-politik/aksi-protes-kartini-rembang/>
- Beer, M. A. (2021). Civil Resistance Tactics in the 21st Century. *ICNC Monograph Series*. P. 26.
- Benda, H. J., & Castles, L. (1969). THE SAMIN MOVEMENT. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 125(2), p. 211. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27861031>
- Bennett, J. (2017). A System of Logic: Ratiocinative and Inductive.
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. (2024). marble. Encyclopedia Britannica. Retrieved on February 19 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/science/marble-rock>



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Trifecta Nirkekerasan dalam Perlawanan Agraria Perempuan Adat di Indonesia: Studi Komparasi Masyarakat Adat Mollo dan Pegunungan Kendeng
NADIA AULIA PUTRI, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum, S.I.P., M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). *Custom*. Retrieved on July 10 2024, from <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/custom>

Cahyono, E. (2016). Konflik Agraria Masyarakat Hukum Adat atas Wilayahnya di Kawasan Hutan: Pengantar. *Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia*. ISBN: 978-602-74201-2-0.

Carlassare, E. (2000). Socialist and Cultural Ecofeminism: Allies in Resistance. *Ethics and the Environment*, 5(1), pp. 89–106. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27766057>

Chenoweth, E. (2019). Women's Participation and the Fate of Nonviolent Resistance Campaigns. *One Earth Future Report*. https://oneearthfuture.org/sites/default/files/documents/publications/Womens_Participation_on_Nonviolent_Campaigns_Digital_0.pdf

Chenoweth, E. (2020). The Future of Nonviolent Resistance. *Journal of Democracy*, 31(3), pp. 69-84.

Chenoweth, E. (2021). Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs To Know. *Oxford University Press*. Pp. 227-228.

Darby, M. (2014). Meet the weaver who stopped miners destroying her forest. *Climate Home News*. Retrieved on February 10 2024, from <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2014/08/08/meet-the-weaver-who-stopped-miners-destroying-her-forest/>

Dhewy, A. (2016). Gunretno: Ibu Bumi Wis Maringi, Ibu Bumi Dilarani, Ibu Bumi Kang Ngadili. *Jurnal Perempuan 91, Pedagogi Feminis*, 21(3), 217–230.

Ekawati, A. (2017). Aksi menyemen kaki di Jerman untuk petani Kendeng. *BBC*. Diakses pada 15 Februari 2024, dari <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia>

Erdianto, K. & Meiliana, D. (2018). Protes Kartini Kendeng dan Keberpihakan Pemerintah kepada Para Pemodal. *Kompas.com*. Diakses pada 10 Februari 2024, dari <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/02/13/07594501/protes-kartini-kendeng-dan-keberpihakan-pemerintah-kepada-para-pemodal?page=all>

Erdianto, K. (2017). Air Mata Petani Kendeng dan Prinsip "Sedulur Sikep" Menjaga Ibu Bumi. *Kompas*. Diakses pada 17 Februari 2024, dari <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/03/23/06450991/air.mata.petani.kendeng.dan.prinsip.sedulur.sikep.menjaga.ibu.bumi?page=all>

Fagetti. (2023). *Indonesia masuk daftar 10 negara importir marmer terbesar di dunia*. Fagetti. Diakses pada 19 Februari 2024 dari <https://www.fagetti.com/post/indonesia-masuk-daftar-10-negara-importir-marmer-terbesar-di-dunia-1>

Firdaus, F. (2016). Mollo: The bulbous house, the sacred mountain of Mutis, and “Mama” who against the marble quarries. *Medium*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://medium.com/@febrianafirdaus/mollo-the-bulbous-hose-the-sacred-mountain-of-mutis-and-heroine-repellent-mine-2ff8a62caaf5>

Firdaus, F. (2017). Aleta Baun, Mother of Mollo. *Medium*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://medium.com/@febrianafirdaus/aleta-baun-mother-of-mollo-f859e7532684>

Firdaus, F. (2020). Inside the weaving protest of West Timor. *Mongabay*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://news.mongabay.com/2020/11/inside-the-weaving-protests-of-west-timor/>

Firdaus, F. (2020). The women of Kendeng set their feet in cement to stop a mine in their lands. This is their story. *Mongabay*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://news.mongabay.com/2020/11/the-women-of-kendeng-set-their-feet-in-cement-to-stop-a-mine-in-their-lands-this-is-their-story/>

Gaard, G. (2014). Indigenous Women, Feminism, and the Environmental Humanities. *Resilience: A Journal of the Environmental Humanities*, 1(3). <https://doi.org/10.5250/resilience.1.3.00>

Gayati, M., D. (2016). DPR minta Semen Rembang beroperasi kembali 2017. *Antara News*. diakses pada 17 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/598736/dpr-minta-semen-rembang-beroperasi-kembali-2017>

Global Greengrants Fund. (2014). *Mama Aleta: one woman’s struggle to save Indonesia’s forests from mining*. GGF. Retrieved on February 10 2024, from <https://www.greengrants.org/2014/07/20/mama-aleta-one-womans-struggle-to-save-indonesias-forests-from-mining/#:~:text=With%20the%20support%20of%20tribal,away%20from%20their%20sacred%20mountain>

Hari, C. K. (2023). Kartini Kendeng's resistance movement for environmental preservation in the #KendengMelawan movement on social media. *Humaniora*, 14(2), 157-166. <https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v14i2.8777>

Husaini, di Solo (Wawancara, 1 Februari 2024).



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Trifecta Nirkekerasan dalam Perlawanan Agraria Perempuan Adat di Indonesia: Studi Komparasi Masyarakat Adat Mollo dan Pegunungan Kendeng
NADIA AULIA PUTRI, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum, S.I.P., M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Ihsanuddin. (2016). Tuntutannya Dikabulkan Jokowi, Ini Komentar Pihak "Kartini Kendeng". *Kompas*. Diakses pada 10 Februari 2024, dari <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/08/02/18572271/tuntutannya.dikabulkan.jokowi.ini.komentar.pihak.kartini.kendeng>

Ihsanuddin. (2017). Petani Kendeng Mengecor Kaki di Depan Istana, Apa Langkah Pemerintah? *Kompas*. Diakses pada 17 Februari 2024, dari <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/03/20/14242511/petani.kendeng.mengecor.kaki.di.depan.istana.apa.langkah.pemerintah>

International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. (n.d.). *Indigenous Peoples in Indonesia*. IWGIA. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://www.iwgia.org/en/indonesia.html>

Istanto, D. (2015). 9 Warga Pegunungan Kendeng Tabuh Lesung untuk Jokowi. *Satu Harapan*. Diakses pada 15 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.satuharapan.com/read-detail/read/9-warga-pegunungan-kendeng-tabuh-lesung-untuk-jokowi>

Khairunnisa, A. (2014). Polisi Lakukan Kekerasan Pada Warga Penolak Pabrik Semen Rembang. *KBR*. Diakses pada 23 Mei 2024, dari <https://kbr.id/berita/nasional/polisi-lakukan-kekerasan-pada-warga-penolak-pabrik-semen-rembang>

King, V. T. (1973). Some observations on the Samin movement of North-Central Java. Suggestions for the theoretical analysis of the dynamics of rural unrest. *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 129(4), pp. 457-481. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002714>

Korver, A. P. E. (1976). THE SAMIN MOVEMENT AND MILLENARISM. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, 132(2/3), pp. 249–266. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27863055>

Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria. (2024). Konflik Agraria di Indonesia Tertinggi dari Enam Negara Asia. *Siaran Pers KPA*. Diakses pada 10 Juli 2024, dari <https://www.kpa.or.id/2024/02/27/konflik-agraria-di-indonesia-tertinggi-dari-enam-negara-asia/>

Kusumaningrum, D., Handiani, D., S., & Aprilia, K., R. (2021). Perlawan Nirkekerasan: Buku Saku Aktivis. Damai Pangkal Damai. *Institute of International Studies*.

Kusumaningrum, D., Handiani, D., S., Petz, D., Stabell, K., P. (2024). Berpacu Dengan Waktu: Refleksi Perawaninan Nirkekerasan di Indonesia dan Dunia 2023. Damai Pangkal Damai.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Trifecta Nirkekerasan dalam Perlawanan Agraria Perempuan Adat di Indonesia: Studi Komparasi Masyarakat Adat Mollo dan Pegunungan Kendeng
NADIA AULIA PUTRI, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum, S.I.P., M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

IIS Monograph Series #5. *Institute of International Studies.*

- Lakey, G. (1972). A Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution. *Movement for a New Society.*
- La Via Campesina. (2006). *Agrarian Conflict and Violence: Agrarian Conditions in Indonesia.* La Via Campesina, International Peasant's Movement.
<https://viacampesina.org/en/agrarianconflict-and-violence/>
- Matondang, E. (2019). Agrarian Conflict and Disintegration: Challenges for Indonesia's National Security. *Jurnal Pertahanan & Bela Negara*, 9(3), p. 33.
- Merriman, H. (2010). The Trifecta of Civil Resistance: Unity, Planning, Discipline. *Open Democracy.* Retrieved on 24 June 2024, from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/trifecta-of-civil-resistance-unity-planning-discipline/>
- Moore, N. (2008). Eco/Feminism, Non-Violence, and the Future of Feminism. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 10(3), pp. 282-298. DOI:10.1080/14616740802185486.
- Nawiyanto., & Endrayadi, E. C. (2019). Women Against Cement: Environmental Activism in the Kendeng Mountain Range of Central Java Indonesia. *International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology (IJCET)*, 10(03), pp. 502–511.
- Nawiyanto., & Endrayadi, E. C. (2017). Kartini Kendeng vs Belenggu Semen. *Best Publisher.* Pp. 117-133.
- Niko, N. (2023). Indigenous women in Environmental Destruction Circles in Indonesia. *Green Network Asia.* Retrieved on July 10 2024, from <https://greennetwork.asia/featured/indigenous-women-in-environmental-destruction-circles-in-indonesia/>
- Popovic, S., Djinovic, S., Milivojevic, A., Merriman, H., & Marovic, I. (2007). CANVAS Core Curriculum: A Guide to Effective Nonviolent Struggle. *Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies (CANVAS).*
- Porta, D. D. (2008). Comparative analysis: case-oriented versus variable-oriented research. In D. D. Porta & M. Keating (Eds.), *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective.* Cambridge University Press.
- Pratiwi, P. S. (2017). Protes Semen Indonesia, Kartini Kendeng Aksi di Depan Istana. *CNN Indonesia.* Diakses pada 10 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170904121904-20-239268/protes-semen-indonesia-kartini-kendeng-aksi-di-depan-istana>



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Trifecta Nirkekerasan dalam Perlawanan Agraria Perempuan Adat di Indonesia: Studi Komparasi Masyarakat Adat Mollo dan Pegunungan Kendeng
NADIA AULIA PUTRI, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum, S.I.P., M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

- Rahman, M. L. (2016). Aksi 9 Kartini Pegunungan Kendeng semen kaki di depan Istana Merdeka. *Merdeka*. Diakses pada 18 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.merdeka.com/foto/peristiwa/692816/20160412193252-aksi-9-kartini-pegunungan-kendeng-semen-kaki-di-depan-istana-merdeka-001-isn.html>
- Ratnaningayu, D., & Siregar, R. (2009). Climate change impacts: voices from the villages. External pressures on community resource management in Molo, East Nusa Tenggara. *Down to Earth*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://www.downtoearth-indonesia.org/story/climate-change-impacts-voices-villages>
- Riri, T. (2017). Perwakilan Bengkulu Solidaritas Aksi Cor Kaki dengan Semen di Depan Istana Negara. *Redaksi Bengkulu*. Diakses pada 15 Februari 2024, dari <http://redaksibengkulu.co.id/headline/>
- Sajida. (n.d.). Ecofeminism as The Paradigm of Woman Movement for Environment Conservation in Indonesia. https://www.academia.edu/32430382/ECOFEMINISM_AS_THE_PARADIGM_OF_WOMAN_MOVEMENT_FOR_ENVIRONMENT_CONSERVATION_IN_INDONESIA
- Salman, A. (2007). Ecofeminist Movements - from the North to the South. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 46(4), pp. 853-864.
- Sarwono, A. (2023). Marmer, Material Mewah yang Tidak Hanya Menjadi Pelapis Lantai. Construction. Diakses pada 19 Februari 2024, dari <https://www.constructionplusasia.com/id/material-marmer/>
- Sasmito. (2017). Kasus Kendeng, YLBHI: Semakin Jokowi Lepas Tangan, Otoritasnya Bakal Tergerus. KBR. Diakses pada 17 Februari 2024, dari https://kbr.id/berita/nasional/kasus_kendeng_ylbhi_semakin_jokowi_lepas_tangan_otoritasnya_bakal_tergerus
- Setyaningrum. (2023). Mengenal Suku Samin, Sedulur Sikep yang Sempat Mengisolasi Diri. *Kompas.com*. Diakses pada 10 Februari 2024, dari <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2023/01/25/223925378/mengenal-suku-samin-sedulur-sikep-yang-sempat-mengisolasi-diri?page=all>
- SIG. (2021). Presentasi Kinerja Perusahaan Public Expose live 2021. PT Semen Indonesia (Persero) Tbk. <https://www.idx.co.id/StaticData/NewsAndAnnouncement/ANNOUNCEMENTSTOCK/>



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Trifecta Nirkekerasan dalam Perlawanan Agraria Perempuan Adat di Indonesia: Studi Komparasi Masyarakat Adat Mollo dan Pegunungan Kendeng
NADIA AULIA PUTRI, Dr. Diah Kusumaningrum, S.I.P., M.A.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2024 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

[From EREP/202109/642be47723_b1469df4c8.pdf](From_EREP/202109/642be47723_b1469df4c8.pdf)

Sinuko, D. (2016). Massa Pendukung Pabrik Semen Gelar Aksi di Kantor Ganjar. CNN Indonesia.

Diakses pada 23 Mei 2024, dari <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20161213143715-20-179266/massa-pendukung-pabrik-semen-gelar-aksi-di-kantor-ganjar>

Suherdjoko. (2017). Protests against Semen Indonesia Rembang factory continue. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved on February 10 2024, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/01/17/protest-against-semen-indonesias-rembang-factory-continues.html>

Susetyo, G. (2014). Solid as Rock: Mama Aleta, Guardian of Timor' Sacred Towers. *Indonesia expat*. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://indonesiaexpat.id/travel/solid-as-rock-mama-aleta-guardian-of-timors-sacred-towers/>

The Goldman Environmental Prize. (2013). *Aleta Baun*. 2013 Goldman Prize Winner. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://www.goldmanprize.org/recipient/aleta-baun/#recipient-bio>

Topsfield, J., & Rosa, A. (2016). Women of Rembang put their feet down to save farms from cement factory. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Retrieved on February 15 2024, from <https://www.smh.com.au/world/women-of-rembang-put-their-feet-down-to-save-farms-from-cement-factory-20160501-goj5q7.html>

Tran, D. (2019). Marble Mining in Indigenous Mollo Territory in West Timor, Indonesia. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from *Environmental Justice Atlas*. <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/marble-mining-in-indigenousmollo-territory-in-west-timor-indonesia>

Weber, T., & Burrowes, R. J. (1991). Nonviolence: An Introduction. Peace Dossier 27, Series No. 2. *Victorian Association of Peace Studies*.

Wibowo, K., S. (2016). Kubu Pro dan Kontra Pabrik Semen Rembang Demo Bersamaan. Berita Tempo. Retrieved on May 23 2024, from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/830723/kubu-pro-dan-kontra-pabrik-semen-rembang-demo-bersamaan>

Yi, B. L. (2017). An Indonesian environmentalist who diced with death hopes to inspire more women. Reuters. Retrieved on February 9 2024, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-environment-womenn/-idUSKBN16L14J/>