

## Beyond Essentialism: Women's Ecological Agency and Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Kampung Adat Dukuh, Garut, West Java, Indonesia

**Gina Giftia Azmiana Delilah,<sup>1\*</sup>  
Neng Hannah,<sup>2</sup> Amadea Selma  
Agnia Elfath,<sup>3</sup> Nur Syakiran  
Akmal Ismail<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung – Indonesia; <sup>2</sup>Postgraduate Program, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung – Indonesia; <sup>3</sup>Department of Agribusiness Management, Vocational School, IPB University, Bogor – Indonesia; <sup>4</sup>College of Law, Government and International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia, Kedah, Malaysia

**\*Corresponding Author:**

Email: ginagiftia@uinsgd.ac.id -  
Cipadung, Cibiru, Bandung, West Java  
40614, Indonesia

**Abstract:** The global environmental crisis needs a critical reevaluation of traditional knowledge systems and gender dimensions in ecological management. This study examines the ecological role of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh, Garut, West Java, Indonesia, from a materialist ecofeminist perspective to deconstruct essentialist assumptions regarding women's "natural" closeness to nature. Utilizing qualitative ethnographic methods, this study highlights how women, often marginalized in Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), act as vital ecological mediators. Their practices, including ritual leadership and subsistence work, demonstrate that ecological agency is socially constructed rather than biologically inherent. This research positions indigenous women as active contributors, enhancing ecofeminist theory and informing gender-sensitive conservation strategies that recognize the socio-political aspects of women's labor.

**Keywords:** critical ecofeminism; Kampung Adat Dukuh; Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK); women's ecological agency

**Abstrak:** Krisis lingkungan global menuntut adanya evaluasi kritis terhadap sistem pengetahuan tradisional dan dimensi gender dalam pengelolaan ekologi. Penelitian ini mengkaji peran ekologis perempuan di Kampung Adat Dukuh, Garut, Jawa Barat, Indonesia, dari perspektif ekofeminisme materialis untuk mendekonstruksi asumsi-asumsi esensialistis mengenai kedekatan "alami" perempuan dengan alam. Dengan memanfaatkan metode etnografi kualitatif, penelitian ini menyoroti bagaimana perempuan, yang sering terpinggirkan dalam Pengetahuan Ekologi Tradisional (TEK), berperan sebagai mediator ekologi yang vital. Praktik-praktik mereka, termasuk kepemimpinan ritual dan pekerjaan subsisten, menunjukkan bahwa agensi ekologi merupakan konstruksi sosial, bukan bawaan biologis. Penelitian ini menempatkan perempuan adat sebagai kontributor aktif, memperkaya teori ekofeminis, dan memberikan masukan bagi strategi konservasi yang sensitif gender yang mengakui aspek-aspek sosio-politik dari kerja perempuan.

**Kata Kunci:** ekofeminisme kritis; Kampung Adat Dukuh; Pengetahuan Ekologi Tradisional (TEK); agensi ekologis perempuan

## A. Introduction

The global environmental crisis, particularly global warming and climate change, has positioned forest conservation and management as key strategies for mitigating carbon emissions.<sup>1</sup> Forests function as global carbon sinks, storing more than 200 billion tons of carbon, absorbing excess CO<sub>2</sub> through photosynthesis, and producing oxygen that sustains life. However, these ecological functions continue to be threatened by accelerating deforestation driven by land conversion for infrastructure, mining, agriculture, plantations, and settlement expansion. In the Indonesian context, Wahyuni notes that ongoing deforestation has positioned Indonesia as the world's third-largest contributor to global carbon emissions.<sup>2</sup> This condition indicates that the ecological crisis is not merely a technocratic failure, but is also fundamentally linked to dominant models of human–nature relations that often marginalize gendered ecological contributions. Scholarly debates increasingly suggest that indigenous knowledge systems, such as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), offer a vital departure from these dominant models by integrating ontological fluidity and spiritual ethics into resource management.<sup>3</sup>

Amid the dominance of technocratic approaches that tend to centralize solutions within the state and corporate sectors, the ecological experiences of indigenous communities offer alternative frameworks that are more holistic, relational, and sustainable. Kampung Adat Dukuh in Cikelet, Garut, West Java, represents an indigenous community that continues to uphold local wisdom in managing forests, land, and spatial organization. The Dukuh community's ecological knowledge system is institutionalized through customary rules (*pikukuh*), rituals, myths, and ceremonial practices. Nature is understood not as a passive entity, but as a living being endowed with spirit and deserving of respect, gratitude, and care. This kinship with nature represents a form of ecological resilience that challenges the neoliberal commodification of

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomas H. DeLuca and Jeff A. Hatten, "Conservation from the Bottom up: A Forestry Case Study," *Anthropocene* 45 (2024): 100423, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jancene.2023.100423>.

<sup>2</sup> Herpita Wahyuni and Suranto Suranto, "Dampak Deforestasi Hutan Skala Besar terhadap Pemanasan Global di Indonesia," *JiIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 6, no. 1 (2021): 148–62, <https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v6i1.10083>.

<sup>3</sup> Maria Tengö et al., "Connecting Diverse Knowledge Systems for Enhanced Ecosystem Governance: The Multiple Evidence Base Approach," *AMBIO* 43, no. 5 (2014): 579–91, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-014-0501-3>.

environmental assets.<sup>4</sup> This cosmological worldview cultivates an ethic of reciprocity that integrates morality, spirituality, and everyday practices, producing ecological harmony through collective adherence to ancestral values.

Although this customary ecological system has demonstrably contributed to forest conservation, previous academic studies reveal persistent gendered epistemic biases. Such biases are often rooted in a discursive masculinization of environmental authority, where institutionalized customary roles are prioritized, while the informal, daily ecological labor of women remains invisible and undertheorized.<sup>5</sup> Research by Hidayat,<sup>6</sup> Ansori,<sup>7</sup> Wargadinata,<sup>8</sup> and Suban Angin,<sup>9</sup> for instance, tends to position men as the central authorities in forest management. Such perspectives obscure women's contributions to environmental conservation, particularly through the management of medicinal plants, domestic rituals, and subsistence practices that sustain ecological continuity. By contrast, Santhyami and Sulistyawati's study,<sup>10</sup> which identified 137 species of medicinal plants used in traditional healers (*paraji*), demonstrates that women serve as primary custodians of sustainable ecological knowledge. This imbalance in representation indicates a significant knowledge gap that remains insufficiently addressed in the academic literature.

This gap underscores the need for scholarly inquiry that foregrounds women's ecological contributions as subjects with agency rather than as

---

<sup>4</sup> Kyle Whyte, "Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene," *English Language Notes* 55, no. 1–2 (2017): 153–62, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00138282-55.1-2.153>.

<sup>5</sup> Seema Arora-Jonsson, "Forty Years of Gender Research and Environmental Policy: Where Do We Stand?," *Women's Studies International Forum* 47 (2014): 295–308, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.02.009>.

<sup>6</sup> Sopian Hidayat and Agus Hikmat, "Kajian Etnobotani Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Kabupaten Garut Jawa Barat," *Media Konservasi* 15, no. 3 (2010): 139–51.

<sup>7</sup> Fahmi Mohamad Ansori, Dadan Rusmana, and Ajid Hakim, "Kehidupan Keberagamaan Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Cikelet - Garut Jawa Barat," *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam* 17, no. 2 (2020): 221–32, <https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v17i2.10455>.

<sup>8</sup> Wildana Wargadinata and Iffat Maimunah, "Sufi Penjaga Hutan: Pencegahan Deforestasi melalui Gerakan Tasawuf" (LP2M UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang 2019).

<sup>9</sup> Ignasius Suban Angin and Sunimbar Sunimbar, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat dalam Menjaga Kelestarian Hutan dan Mengelola Mata Air di Desa Watowara, Kecamatan Titehena Kabupaten Flores Timur Nusa Tenggara Timur," *Geoedusains: Jurnal Pendidikan Geografi* 1, no. 1 (2020): 51–61, <https://doi.org/10.30872/geoedusains.v1i1.195>.

<sup>10</sup> Santhyami Santhyami and Endah Sulistyawati, "Medicinal Knowledge of Traditional Community in Kampung Dukuh, Garut Regency, West Java," *Al-Kaunyah: Jurnal Biologi* 14, no. 1 (2021): 162–83, <https://doi.org/10.15408/kaunyah.v14i1.16970>.

peripheral actors within customary systems. A critical ecofeminist framework offers a lens to examine the intersection of gendered power relations and ecological stewardship, highlighting women's lived experiences as legitimate sources of knowledge (the knowers).<sup>11</sup>

This study aims to examine the roles and positions of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh in sustaining the environment while exploring the Traditional Ecological Knowledge underpinning these practices. It further seeks to demonstrate how gender relations, spirituality, and customary value systems intersect to shape the moral ecology internalized and enacted in the everyday lives of the Kampung Adat Dukuh, thereby contributing to ecofeminist scholarship and community-based conservation studies.

Theoretically and empirically, this study contributes to the expansion of ecofeminist scholarship within the context of Indonesian indigenous communities by demonstrating that women's ecological agency is not the product of an essentialized "natural" affinity with nature, but rather emerges through specific socio-customary constructions within the domain of Traditional Ecological Knowledge. The novelty of this research lies in the systematic ecological mapping of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh who have been marginalized in the literature, as well as in the integration of ethnographic analysis with a critical ecofeminist perspective to provide a conceptual basis for a more inclusive and gender-sensitive customary-based conservation model.

## B. Method

This research employs a qualitative ethnographic approach through field observations, in-depth interviews, and participation in local rituals and everyday subsistence activities. Key informants include Sesepeuh Mama Uluk as the *kuncen* (custodian of customary law), Kang Yayan, Ma Ekom, and Bu Haji Aeng as female elders, Mutaqin as a palm sap farmer, and other women from Kampung Adat Dukuh, including Samsiah, Iip, Empat, and Mala. Participatory engagement in rituals such as *ngadamel* and subsistence practices enables the

---

<sup>11</sup> Nina Nurmila, "The Influence of Global Muslim Feminism on Indonesian Muslim Feminist Discourse," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 49, no. 1 (2011): 33–64, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2011.491.33-64>; Gina Giftia Azmiana Delilah, Diena Rauda Ramdania, and Busro Busro, "The Representation of Millennial Hijrah Image in Online Media: Gender and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis," *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 14, no. 1 (2021): 213–43, <https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v14i1.374>.

researcher to capture the symbolic, moral, and ecological dimensions not merely as abstract concepts, but as embodied practices and lived ethical orientations.

## C. Result and Discussion

### **Kampung Adat Dukuh and *Pikukuh Pitutur***

Kampung Dukuh is located in Ciroyom Village, Cikelet District, Garut Regency, West Java, at an elevation of approximately 390 meters above sea level. Covering about 13 hectares, the village comprises a customary forest and residential areas divided into two main zones: Dukuh Dalam and Dukuh Luar. Dukuh Dalam, known as *karamah* or the sacred zone, functions as the spiritual center of the community, where customary law is strictly upheld and consistently practiced. The settlement pattern in this area is characterized by terraced architecture (*sengkedan*), buildings oriented toward the Qibla, and the use of natural materials such as bamboo, wood, and palm fiber. The prohibition of industrial materials, including cement, glass, and asbestos, reflects the community's commitment to environmental ethics and inherited spiritual values.

The existence of Dukuh Luar demonstrates the community's selective adaptation to modern life through the use of electricity, mobile phones, and contemporary building materials. This adaptation occurs while maintaining traditional identity and collective moral values, ensuring that social and cosmological balance within the community remains intact. This pattern resembles that of the Baduy community, where the Outer Baduy accept limited modernity without losing the core of their traditions and customary rules.<sup>12</sup>

The social life of Kampung Dukuh is governed by ancestral teachings known as *pikukuh pitutur*. Etymologically, *pikukuh* refers to *papagon*, meaning binding customary rules, while *pitutur* derives from the word *tutur*, meaning speech or advice.<sup>13</sup> *Pikukuh pitutur* constitutes a normative system that guides community members to live in accordance with ancestral mandates, thereby

---

<sup>12</sup> Nur Setiawan, Rina Mardiana, and Soeryo Adiwibowo, "Adaptasi Masyarakat Baduy terhadap Pertumbuhan Penduduk dan Modernisasi: Studi Ekologi Budaya dan Ekospiritualitas di Desa Kanekes, Kabupaten Lebak, Banten," *Focus* 4, no. 2 (2023): 107-20, <https://doi.org/10.26593/focus.v4i2.7123>.

<sup>13</sup> Ai Juju Rohaeni and Nia Emilda, "Pikukuh Pitutur Apes Lingsem bagi Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Kabupaten Garut," *Atrat, Jurnal Seni Rupa* 8, no. 3 (2020): 1-8, <https://jurnal.isbi.ac.id/index.php/atrat/article/view/1598>.

fostering harmony among humans, society, and nature. This principle is articulated in the customary expression “*Dukuh padumukan matuh, katurunan Kampung Dukuh keukeuh pengkuh sarta patuh sadaya piwuruk sepuh,*” which emphasizes the collective commitment of the community to uphold ancestral teachings.

The teachings of *pikukuh pitutur* encompass several core principles. First, *Apes lingsem*, which serves as the foundational life ethic of the Dukuh community, emphasizing simplicity, self-restraint, and harmonious relations with both humans and the natural environment, is practiced daily and aligns with Islamic values. Second, the customary regulation of territorial space assigns specific functions and uses aimed at conserving settlements and protected forests. These include *Tanah Larangan* (sacred land), *Tanah Tutupan* (protected forest), *Tanah Titipan/Awisan* (communal or customary land), *Tanah Garapan* (agricultural land), and *Tanah Cadangan* (reserved forest). Third, an egalitarian work ethic underscores the obligation to work and discourages idleness among both men and women, as reflected in the local maxim emphasizing shared responsibility in productive labor: “*ka lalaki ulah lesot gagang kored, ka istri ulah lesot ti gagang sapu*”.

*Pikukuh pitutur* is manifested through three core customary obligations (*tilu pacaduan*): *Pacaduan Kampung*, *Pacaduan Makom*, and *Pacaduan Leuweung*. These obligations regulate social conduct, sacred ritual practices, and forest conservation. A structural overview of these customary obligations is presented in Table 1.

The interrelation of *pikukuh pitutur*, the *pacaduan* system, and customary territorial zoning forms an integrated environmental management framework in which each zone is governed by specific functions and prohibitions designed to balance human needs and ecological sustainability. This system represents a form of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), in which environmental governance is embedded in moral values, ritual practices, and social norms. Comparable patterns are found in other indigenous communities, such as the Cerekang community, which organizes land use based on customary law, moral principles, and local cultural values.<sup>14</sup> Through this system, Kampung Dukuh successfully integrates spirituality, ecology, and social ethics into a coherent

---

<sup>14</sup> Andi Muhammad Akhmar et al., “Poured from the Sky: The Story of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Cérékang Forest Conservation,” *Forest and Society* 6, no. 2 (2022): 527–46, <https://doi.org/10.24259/fs.v6i2.15176>.

way of life. As an expression of local wisdom, *pikukuh pitutur* gives rise to traditions and customary taboos (*pamali*) that function as mechanisms of social regulation and environmental conservation.<sup>15</sup>

Table 1  
*Tilu Pacaduan* (The Three Core Customary Obligations)

Traditional Domain	Prohibitions / Obligations	Ecological Significance
<i>Pacaduan Kampung</i>	No commercial transactions, no electricity, simplicity, and equality in architectural forms	Mitigates overconsumption and maintains socio-environmental balance
<i>Pacaduan Makom</i>	Rules on ritual purity and modest dress in sacred spaces	Reinforces respect for sacred areas and the community’s moral order
<i>Pacaduan Leuweung</i>	Prohibition on tree cutting, disturbing water sources, or entering forbidden forests	Ensures biodiversity protection through strict regulation based on spiritual values

Ultimately, *pikukuh pitutur* operates not merely as a set of customary rules but as an ecological moral system that underscores interconnection, relationality, and balance between humans and nature. It provides the normative foundation for women’s ecological agency and their collective participation within the Kampung Adat Dukuh community, as discussed in the following section.

### Women and Ecological Agency in Kampung Dukuh

Women exercise a pivotal role in environmental stewardship, which is a central concern of ecofeminist studies examining the reciprocal relationship between gender and ecology. In Kampung Dukuh, this role is closely linked to customary regulations governing human–environment relations, particularly the forest areas that serve as the center of the community’s cosmology. Women not only uphold *pikukuh pitutur* (traditional moral guidance) but also help

<sup>15</sup> Sarita Albagli and Allan Yu Iwama, “Citizen Science and the Right to Research: Building Local Knowledge of Climate Change Impacts,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 9, no. 1 (2022): 39, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01040-8>.

maintain and transmit these values as part of their ecological and social responsibilities.

Women's ecological agency is primarily expressed through oral practices and role modeling. Orally, *pikukuh pitutur* is taught and reinforced through women's religious study groups led by female figures such as Ibu Wiwi and Ma Ekom. At the same time, intergenerational transmission occurs through daily practices in which parents consistently embody customary rules, serving as a form of intergenerational education. This mechanism reflects vertical cultural transmission, whereby values are inherited through participation, repeated practices, and the reinforcement of *pamali* (taboos), which highlight the ecological and social consequences of violating customary norms.

The ecological transmission in Kampung Adat Dukuh extends beyond oral forms and was further reinforced when Bu Wiwi, daughter of *Kuncen* Mama Bani, took the initiative to transcribe it into written Sundanese Arabic. Today, this *pikukuh pitutur* is preserved in the manuscripts *Elmu Dukuh* (The Knowledge of Dukuh) and *Riwayat Kampung Dukuh* (The History of Kampung Dukuh). This transformation aligns with Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory, wherein the objectification of oral knowledge into text serves as a fundamental strategy for stabilizing community identity across generations.<sup>16</sup> This is further reinforced by Aleida Assmann's perspective on the "archive", suggesting that transcribing oral tradition transforms "living memory" into "stored memory", ensuring Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) remains accessible despite social shifts.<sup>17</sup>

In this context, the transcription of *pikukuh pitutur* serves as the structural preservation of what Berkes defines as a 'knowledge-practice-belief' complex.<sup>18</sup> By materializing these oral traditions into text, women in Kampung Adat Dukuh are not merely saving words; they are institutionalizing a cumulative body of knowledge that regulates the community's relationship with the sacred forest, ensuring that the interconnected levels of local knowledge, management systems, and worldviews remain an integrated whole.

---

<sup>16</sup> Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33 Assmann argues that writing is a way to "freeze" memory so that it is not subject to change, as in oral tradition.

<sup>17</sup> Aleida Assmann, "Canon and Archive," in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 97–107.

<sup>18</sup> Fikret Berkes, *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 12–13, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203123843>.

Women's involvement as producers of written knowledge affirms their agency within a previously male-dominated customary structure, and supports Santos' view that women play a central role in sustaining intergenerational knowledge continuity.<sup>19</sup> In the context of Kampung Adat Dukuh, Bu Wiwi's initiative demonstrates that women can act as central agents in customary and ecological conservation, even within a socially gender-hierarchical framework. This phenomenon reinforces the broader argument that contemporary Sundanese women exercise agency through an epistemological transformation, strategically negotiating gender, faith, and culture to claim authoritative spaces.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, formal authority to recite, interpret, and transmit these texts remains with male figures, namely the *kuncen* (spiritual leader), male *lawang*, and prospective *kuncen*. This pattern aligns with Fadrullah's findings on the Lampung Pepadun customary structure, in which men serve as guardians of spiritual authority and normative knowledge.<sup>21</sup> Women's contributions to producing customary texts exemplify an ecofeminist dynamic, whereby women gain access to previously restricted epistemic domains, while customary legitimacy structures maintain a masculine bias. This interplay shapes the unique pattern of ecological agency in Kampung Adat Dukuh, one that develops through ongoing negotiation within the limits of customary patriarchy.

Women's ecological agency is also manifested in their role as *lawang*, the spiritual leaders of female pilgrims within the sacred sites (*taneuh karamah*). Within the ethno-ecological landscape of Kampung Adat Dukuh, this role constitutes a specialized form of ecological labor that maintains "moral landscapes" through strict regulation of bodily conduct, behavior, and access. Although formal customary structures (*adat*) often place ritual authority in the hands of men, the *lawang* exemplifies a relational distribution of power embedded in consistent cultural work. This aligns with Honarpisheh's conceptualization of the "agency of the invisible," in which women in pilgrimage

---

<sup>19</sup> Ana G. Ramirez-Santos et al., "Gendered Traditional Agroecological Knowledge in Agri-Food Systems: A Systematic Review," *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 19, no. 1 (2023): 11, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-023-00576-6>.

<sup>20</sup> Gina Giftia Azmiana Delilah and Nina Nurmila, "Epistemological Transformation and Subversive Agency: Negotiating Gender, Faith, and Culture among Contemporary Sundanese Women," *Humanisma: Journal of Gender Studies* 9, no. 2 (2025): 171–91, <https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisma.v9i2.9496>.

<sup>21</sup> Iqbal Fadrullah and Firdaus Syam, "Kepala Adat sebagai Elite Sosial dan Politik: Manifestasi Hegemoni Nilai Adat dalam Praktik Kepemimpinan Tradisional," *Jurnal Ilmu dan Budaya* 45, no. 1 (2024): 41–49, <https://doi.org/10.47313/jidb.v45i1.3035>.

traditions function not as passive subjects but as active agents who meaningfully constitute sacred topographies through embodied practices. In this context, the *lawang* serves as a manager of the ritual atmosphere, navigating gendered socio-spatial divisions to shape pilgrims' sensory and spiritual experiences, thereby transforming structural constraints into a transformative space of female ecological governance.<sup>22</sup>

This agency is best understood through Saba Mahmood's reconceptualization of power, the *lawang's* authority is seen not as a resistance to patriarchal structures, but as a "capacity for action" enabled by their disciplined adherence to traditional norms.<sup>23</sup> This performative agency aligns with Rebecca Elmhirst's perspective on feminist political ecologies, emphasizing how gendered subjects negotiate environmental control through daily, embodied practices.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to pilgrimage activities, women participate in *ngadamel*, a ritual cleansing practice. This activity represents a central contribution of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh to maintaining ecological sustainability and the sanctity of customary spaces through a series of ecological tasks, such as *nyabut* (weeding), *ngarawu* (collecting fallen leaves), and *nyapu* (sweeping). All these practices are governed by *pacaduan*, which mandates ritual purity, the wearing of plain clothing and sarongs, and the absence of jewelry, footwear, or undergarments, as a sign of respect for the sanctity of the spiritual ecological space. These activities are typically led by female figures such as Ibu Haji Aeng and Nyi Dewi. Unmarried women are prohibited from participating in *ngadamel*, reflecting the construction of moral and spiritual maturity as a prerequisite for involvement. The ritual begins with recitations led by the *lawang*, as a prayer for divine protection and blessings. According to Ma Ekom, participants must avoid

---

<sup>22</sup> Donna Honarpišeh, "Women in Pilgrimage: Senses, Places, Embodiment, and Agency. Experiencing Ziyarat in Shiraz," *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* 6, no. 4 (2013): 383–410, <https://doi.org/10.1353/isl.2013.0037>.

<sup>23</sup> Saba Mahmood, "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival," *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202–36, <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2001.16.2.202> Mahmood argues that agency is a capacity for action shaped by particular relations of subordination, in which subjects attain authority through disciplined adherence to tradition.

<sup>24</sup> Rebecca Elmhirst, "Introducing New Feminist Political Ecologies," *Geoforum* 42, no. 2 (2011): 129–32, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.006> Elmhirst emphasizes the importance of viewing "performativity" and "embodiment" as ways in which subjects negotiate power in dynamic ecological spaces.

physical exertion (*kesangan*, sweating) during *ngadamel* to maintain the purity of intention toward God.

Within the domestic sphere, respect for guests is an essential aspect of *pikukuh*, expressed through communal cooking to accommodate the numerous visitors to Kampung Dukuh. Men participate in lifting large cooking equipment, demonstrating a collaborative division of labor. This practice illustrates the interconnection between social ethics and ecological ethics, with harmony considered a foundation for cosmological order. These findings align with Passmore's argument that human interconnectedness with nature enhances psychological well-being and strengthens the quality of interpersonal relations, including familial relationships.<sup>25</sup>

Ecological sensitivity is also evident in the practice of tapping palm sap. For traditional communities, trees and the natural environment are essential to human survival; therefore, trees must be treated with care in accordance with customary traditions.<sup>26</sup> In Kampung Dukuh, the sugar palm (*Arenga pinnata*) is regarded as a living being endowed with a spirit, and the harmony of marital relationships is believed to influence the quality and yield of the sap. Mutaqin, one of the sap tappers, explained that domestic disharmony significantly reduces sap production. The treatment of the tree, personified as "female" through ritual greetings, verbal appeals, and the recitation of ritual formulas before and after tapping, reflects the internalization of ethical conduct toward nature. The sap is subsequently processed into palm sugar by the tapper's wife, illustrating a complementary, gender-based ecological division of labor. Table 2 describes the roles, forms of agency, and ecological contributions of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh.

These ritual and ecological activities demonstrate that *pikukuh pitutur* functions as an ecological ethic that regulates human-nature relations through harmony, propriety, and shared ritual practices. Women plays a key role in this system as practitioners of customary norms, guardians of sacred spaces, producers of knowledge, and managers of domestic resources. Their agency is not essentialist, but emerges through institutionalized social and cultural roles.

---

<sup>25</sup> Holli-Anne Passmore et al., "Creating Kinship with Nature and Boosting Well-being: Testing Two Novel Character Strengths-based Nature Connectedness Interventions," *Journal of Happiness Studies* 26, no. 5 (2025): 71, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-025-00900-9>.

<sup>26</sup> Ndidzulafhi I. Sinthumule, "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Its Role in Biodiversity Conservation: A Systematic Review," *Frontiers in Environmental Science* 11 (2023): 1-15, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fenvs.2023.1164900>.

Table 2  
Women's Socio-Customary Roles and Ecological Agency  
in Kampung Adat Dukuh

Socio-Customary Roles of Women	Forms of Agency	Ecological and Social Contributions
Oral transmission and exemplary <i>pikukuh pitutur</i>	<i>Oral-epistemic agency</i> through teaching, role modeling, and reminders of taboos	Maintaining the sustainability of ecological values through vertical cultural transmission mechanisms; strengthening adherence to customary ecological ethics
Production of written knowledge	Literary-epistemic agency that opens up new spaces for women in previously masculine-dominant knowledge structures	Stabilizing ecological knowledge through literacy, expanding indigenous resilience, and strengthening written memory-based conservation
<i>Lawang</i>	Performative agency-ritual through the management of access, bodies, and behavior of pilgrims and the enforcement of the boundaries of sacred space	Protecting the ecological and spiritual integrity of the <i>Taneuh Karamah</i> , strengthening the moral order of pilgrimage, and maintaining the sacredness of the space
<i>Ngadamel</i>	Ecological agency – ritual through clean body practices ( <i>pacaduan</i> ) and collective work discipline of adult women	Maintaining sacred spaces; maintaining the cleanliness and ecological regeneration of traditional spaces; strengthening women's moral maturity
Domestic-communal management	Relational-communal agency based on solidarity and management of family-community harmony	Strengthening the ethics of harmony as the basis of ecological and social order, and strengthening community cohesion
Processing palm sap into palm sugar	Ecological agency-complementary in husband-wife working relations that respect the sugar palm tree as a living entity	Supporting the sustainability of palm resources, maintaining ethical respect for trees, and ensuring the sustainability of the household's ecological economy
Guardian of customary ethics and morals	<i>Moral-cultural agency</i> in shaping ecological habitus	Forming a generation that understands ecological taboos; enforcing the boundaries of community ecological ethics

These empirical findings provide a basis for an ecofeminist interpretation, indicating that the relationship between women and nature in Kampung Dukuh should be understood as a social and historical construction rather than a

"natural closeness." The following section presents an ecofeminist analysis of this local configuration.

### **Critical Ecofeminism and Local Ecological Knowledge in Kampung Adat Dukuh**

Ecofeminism is commonly understood as a theoretical framework that highlighting the interconnections between the oppression of women and environmental degradation. Both are viewed as outcomes of intertwined systems of domination such as patriarchy, capitalist exploitation, and hierarchical dualism that privilege men over women and humans over nature. Scholars including Vandana Shiva,<sup>27</sup> Val Plumwood,<sup>28</sup> and Rosemary Radford Ruether<sup>29</sup> although differing in emphasis, have consistently argued that ecological crises are deeply embedded in gendered power relations, insofar as dominant paradigms that legitimize the exploitation of nature are structurally linked to those that marginalize women. Nevertheless, contemporary scholarly interventions necessitate a shift toward a materialist realist lens to circumvent the limitations of essentialist romanticism, thereby focusing on actual socio-ecological labor and vulnerabilities of indigenous communities.<sup>30</sup>

These perspectives, however, are not monolithic. Ecofeminist thought has developed into diverse strands, broadly categorized into two major streams: essentialist approaches, which emphasize an intrinsic biological connection between women and nature, and materialist structuralist approaches, which locate such connections within socio-economic and political systems of power. This distinction is critical because materialist approaches move the analytical focus from innate biological traits to the political contestation of nature and gendered labor within a given customary space.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development* (London: Zed Books, 1988), xiv, 48; Vandana Shiva, "Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India [Book Review]," *The Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* (London: Routledge, 1993), 19–40.

<sup>29</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, "Ecofeminism: First and Third World Women," *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy* 18, no. 1 (1997): 33–45.

<sup>30</sup> Greta Gaard, "Ecofeminism Revisited: Rejecting Essentialism and Re-Placing Species in a Material Feminist Environmentalism," *Feminist Formations* 23, no. 2 (2011): 26–53, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2011.0017>.

<sup>31</sup> Sherilyn MacGregor, "A Stranger Silence Still: The Need for Feminist Social Research on Climate Change," *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 2\_suppl (2009): 124–40, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2010.01889.x>.

Essentialist ecofeminism regards women's closeness to nature as inherent, whether due to biological roles (such as menstruation or reproduction) or certain emotional capacities. This perspective is widely critiqued by scholars for its potential to reinforce gender stereotypes. For instance, Cecile Jackson<sup>32</sup> and Bina Agarwal<sup>33</sup> explicitly challenge the assumption of women's natural affinity with the environment, as it obscures the social, economic, and political realities that shape women's ecological experiences. In response, materialist ecofeminism and feminist political ecology seek to understand the relationships between women and nature contextually, taking into account space, history, customary rules, and labor division. Within this framework, women's ecological subjectivities are understood as performative outcomes of their continuous interaction with the landscape, rather than universal biological essence.<sup>34</sup>

The framework of critical ecofeminism is particularly relevant for analyzing ecological practices in Kampung Adat Dukuh, a Sundanese indigenous community with distinct cosmological systems, values, and ecological rules. Gendered ecological relations in Kampung Adat Dukuh demonstrate that women's roles in local knowledge, ritual, and environmental stewardship are not grounded in biology but are shaped by customary structures and community history. Women exercise ecological agency not because of "feminine nature," but because of their positions within knowledge systems, labor divisions, and institutionalized practices passed down through generations.

Women's roles as narrators and inheritors of *pikukuh pitutur* illustrate what Agarwal<sup>35</sup> terms embodied ecological knowledge. This knowledge is formed through lived experience, ecological labor, and customary learning through weekly study sessions and domestic rites. Women's closeness to ecological knowledge, in this case, is not natural but acquired through cultural pedagogy and social responsibility. Reading this role through an essentialist lens would obscure the complex social realities involved.

---

<sup>32</sup> Cecile Jackson, "Women/Nature or Gender/History? A Critique of Ecofeminist 'Development,'" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 20, no. 3 (1993): 389–418, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066159308438515>.

<sup>33</sup> Bina Agarwal, "The Gender and Environment Debate," in *Political Ecology* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2005), 209–34, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203982860-22>.

<sup>34</sup> Farhana Sultana, "Fluid Lives: Subjectivities, Gender and Water in Rural Bangladesh," *Gender, Place & Culture* 16, no. 4 (2009): 427–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690903003942>.

<sup>35</sup> Agarwal, "The Gender and Environment Debate," 209–34.

Within the materialist-structuralist ecofeminist framework, ecological preservation undertaken by women in Dukuh can be understood as socially and historically conditioned practices, in which relational knowledge, everyday experiences, and collective care emerge through customary norms and institutionalized labor divisions. Thus, women's roles in environmental sustainability are not the result of "ecological instinct" or innate spiritual capacities but are products of social, cultural, and customary structures that support the intergenerational reproduction of ecological knowledge.<sup>36</sup>

Women's contributions to the production of written knowledge through the transcription of *Elmu Dukuh* and *Riwayat Kampung Dukuh* reinforce their position as guardians of ecological values. Written in Sundanese Arabic script (*Pegon*), these manuscripts are not merely customary documents but serve as guides for ecological cosmology, regulating the use of sacred forests, respect for ancestors, and ecological moral conduct. From a materialist ecofeminist perspective, these activities reflect culturally grounded environmental care emerging from women's social positions as custodians of customary continuity, rather than from the assumption that women are inherently closer to nature.

Pilgrimage rituals also reveal significant gender dynamics. As *lawang*, women lead female pilgrimages to the sacred land (*taneuh karamah*), delineating sacred boundaries and ensuring the purity of ritual practices. It aligns with Carolyn Merchant's concept of cosmological ecology,<sup>37</sup> in which the environment is maintained through sacred rules and spiritual relations. However, interpreting these roles as evidence of women's innate closeness to nature would reproduce essentialist thinking critiqued by many scholars. Their ritual authority is the outcome of customary constructions that grant relational power to women within specific contexts.

The *ngadamel* practice, which includes clearing sacred areas, pulling grass, and organizing space according to *pacaduan*, represents tangible forms of women's ecological labor rooted in customary discipline and intergenerational learning. It reflects what Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, and Wangari describe in

---

<sup>36</sup> Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, 19–140; Andrea Nightingale, "The Nature of Gender: Work, Gender, and Environment," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 2 (2006): 165–185.

<sup>37</sup> Carolyn Merchant, *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World* Routledge, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005), 95–120.

feminist political ecology as gendered environmental labor, referring to women's engagement in landscape management through material, structured, and socially produced work.<sup>38</sup> This perspective aligns with Plumwood's critique<sup>39</sup> of ecological essentialism, rejecting the notion that women's closeness to nature is innate and emphasizing that historical, social, and institutional relations instead shape it. Contemporary feminist ecological studies, such as those by Nightingale<sup>40</sup> and Elmhirst,<sup>41</sup> further underscore that women's ecological practices cannot be reduced to biological attributes but are the result of power configurations, customary norms, and labor divisions that construct ecological competence performatively. Consequently, women's ecological labor in Kampung Adat Dukuh is best understood not as an innate expression of 'ecological instinct' but as an embodied competence that constitutes a sophisticated knowledge system produced, trained, and sanctioned through the community's socio-cultural and customary structures.

In domestic spheres, women process *nira* into palm sugar, cook for guests, and manage the flow of natural resources. These domestic activities cannot be considered private spaces separated from ecology, as women regulate the rhythm of family and community resource use. Structuralist ecofeminism views the domestic realm as a crucial locus of environmental management and as a space where women's ecological agency is enacted.

Meanwhile, men in the Dukuh community also uphold strong ecological ethics. During *nira* tapping rituals, men treat trees as living entities that must be coaxed and respected, demonstrating that ecological practices are not an exclusively female domain but part of a relational cosmology embraced by the entire community. These findings reinforce the critiques of anti-essentialist ecofeminist thinkers such as Janet Biehl,<sup>42</sup> Cecile Jackson,<sup>43</sup> Bina Agarwal,<sup>44</sup> and Val Plumwood,<sup>45</sup> who reject claims that women are inherently more ecological

---

<sup>38</sup> Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari, *Feminist Political Ecology Global Issues and Local Experience* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3–45.

<sup>39</sup> Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, 19–140.

<sup>40</sup> Nightingale, "The Nature of Gender: Work, Gender, and Environment"

<sup>41</sup> Elmhirst, "Introducing New Feminist Political Ecologies."

<sup>42</sup> Janet Biehl, *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics* (Boston: South End Press, 1991), 1–40.

<sup>43</sup> Jackson, "Women/Nature or Gender/History? A Critique of Ecofeminist 'Development'"

<sup>44</sup> Agarwal, "The Gender and Environment Debate," 209–34.

<sup>45</sup> Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, 19–140.

than men and emphasize that ecological actions are always shaped by social structures, power relations, and cultural practices, not biological nature.

Through a materialist-structuralist ecofeminist lens, the experiences of women in Kampung Adat Dukuh demonstrate that their closeness to nature is socially constructed, shaped by labor divisions, and guided by historically established customary rules. Women's ecological relations cannot be explained as essential or universal but are social constructions rooted in local cosmology and transgenerational practices. Thus, the local wisdom of Kampung Dukuh illustrates that ecological sustainability emerges from dynamic socio-cultural relations rather than essentialist assumptions about women's ecological roles.

#### **D. Conclusions**

This research demonstrates that ecological sustainability in Kampung Adat Dukuh is supported not only by customary systems but is also significantly shaped by women's ecological roles across the domestic, ritual, subsistence, and knowledge domains. Women are not passively positioned within customary structures; rather, they play a pivotal role in the reproduction of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) through the transmission of values, management of living spaces, and daily ritual practices that maintain a balanced relationship between humans and nature. These findings critique the tendency of previous research to center ecological authority solely on men and reveal persistent gender-based epistemic biases that have long obscured women's contributions in indigenous communities.

By employing a critical ecofeminist lens, this study argues that women's ecological roles in Kampung Adat Dukuh do not stem from an innate closeness to nature but are socio-customary constructions institutionalized through value systems, spirituality, and a gendered division of labor. Consequently, women's ecological labor in Kampung Adat Dukuh is best understood not as an innate expression of ecological instinct, but as a form of embodied competence that constitutes a sophisticated knowledge system produced, trained, and sanctioned through the community's socio-cultural and customary structures. These roles are relational and contextual, emerging from the interaction between customary rules, religious practices, and the collective needs of community sustainability. Thus, women are positioned as moral ecological guardians who preserve the forest not only ecologically, but also socially and culturally.

Theoretically, this study advances ecofeminism in the Indonesian context by providing ethnographic evidence of indigenous women as active subjects of ecological knowledge. This shift from oral tradition to the production of written manuscripts (*Elmu Dukuh*) marks a significant epistemic agency, affirming that women's involvement in customary structures is a dynamic negotiation of power and knowledge. Practically, this research offers a conceptual foundation for a more inclusive and gender-sensitive model of customary-based conservation. It suggests that future environmental governance must recognize women's ecological agency not as a biological attribute but as a disciplined intellectual authority vital to the resilience of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and global environmental sustainability.[s]

## References

- Agarwal, Bina. "The Gender and Environment Debate." In *Political Ecology*, 209–34. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2005. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203982860-22>.
- Akhmar, Andi Muhammad, Fathu Rahman, Supratman Supratman, Husain Hasyim, and M. Nawir. "Poured from the Sky: The Story of Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Cérékang Forest Conservation." *Forest and Society* 6, no. 2 (2022): 527–46. <https://doi.org/10.24259/fs.v6i2.15176>.
- Albagli, Sarita, and Allan Yu Iwama. "Citizen Science and the Right to Research: Building Local Knowledge of Climate Change Impacts." *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 9, no. 1 (2022): 39. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-022-01040-8>.
- Angin, Ignasius Suban, and Sunimbar Sunimbar. "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat dalam Menjaga Kelestarian Hutan dan Mengelola Mata Air di Desa Watowara, Kecamatan Titehena Kabupaten Flores Timur Nusa Tenggara Timur." *Geoedusains: Jurnal Pendidikan Geografi* 1, no. 1 (2020): 51–61. <https://doi.org/10.30872/geoedusains.v1i1.195>.
- Ansori, Fahmi Mohamad, Dadan Rusmana, and Ajid Hakim. "Kehidupan Keberagamaan Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Cikelet - Garut Jawa Barat." *Al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Ilmiah Peradaban Islam* 17, no. 2 (2020): 221–32. <https://doi.org/10.15575/al-tsaqafa.v17i2.10455>.
- Arora-Jonsson, Seema. "Forty Years of Gender Research and Environmental Policy: Where Do We Stand?" *Women's Studies International Forum* 47 (2014): 295–308. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.02.009>.
- Assmann, Aleida. "Canon and Archive." In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nunning, 97–107. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.

- Assmann, Jan, and John Czaplicka. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33.
- Berkes, Fikret. *Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management*. New York: Routledge, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203123843>.
- Biehl, Janet. *Rethinking Ecofeminist Politics*. Boston: South End Press, 1991.
- Delilah, Gina Giftia Azmiana, and Nina Nurmila. "Epistemological Transformation and Subversive Agency: Negotiating Gender, Faith, and Culture among Contemporary Sundanese Women." *Humanisma: Journal of Gender Studies* 9, no. 2 (2025): 171–91. <https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisma.v9i2.9496>.
- Delilah, Gina Giftia Azmiana, Diena Rauda Ramdania, and Busro Busro. "The Representation of Millennial Hijrah Image in Online Media: Gender and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis." *Jurnal Bimas Islam* 14, no. 1 (2021): 213–43. <https://doi.org/10.37302/jbi.v14i1.374>.
- DeLuca, Thomas H., and Jeff A. Hatten. "Conservation from the Bottom up: A Forestry Case Study." *Anthropocene* 45 (2024): 100423. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ancene.2023.100423>.
- Elmhirst, Rebecca. "Introducing New Feminist Political Ecologies." *Geoforum* 42, no. 2 (2011): 129–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2011.01.006>.
- Fadrullah, Iqbal, and Firdaus Syam. "Kepala Adat sebagai Elite Sosial dan Politik: Manifestasi Hegemoni Nilai Adat dalam Praktik Kepemimpinan Tradisional." *Jurnal Ilmu dan Budaya* 45, no. 1 (2024): 41–49. <https://doi.org/10.47313/jidb.v45i1.3035>.
- Gaard, Greta. "Ecofeminism Revisited: Rejecting Essentialism and Re-Placing Species in a Material Feminist Environmentalism." *Feminist Formations* 23, no. 2 (2011): 26–53. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2011.0017>.
- Hidayat, Sopian, and Agus Hikmat. "Kajian Etnobotani Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Kabupaten Garut Jawa Barat." *Media Konservasi* 15, no. 3 (2010): 139–51.
- Honarpisheh, Donna. "Women in Pilgrimage: Senses, Places, Embodiment, and Agency. Experiencing Ziyarat in Shiraz." *Journal of Shi'a Islamic Studies* 6, no. 4 (2013): 383–410. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jisl.2013.0037>.
- Jackson, Cecile. "Women/Nature or Gender/History? A Critique of Ecofeminist 'Development.'" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 20, no. 3 (1993): 389–418. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066159308438515>.
- MacGregor, Sherilyn. "A Stranger Silence Still: The Need for Feminist Social Research on Climate Change." *The Sociological Review* 57, no. 2\_suppl (2009): 124–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2010.01889.x>.
- Mahmood, Saba. "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival." *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202–36. <https://doi.org/10.1525/can.2001.16.2.202>.

- Merchant, Carolyn. *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World* Routledge. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Nightingale, Andrea. "The Nature of Gender: Work, Gender, and Environment." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 2 (2006).
- Nurmila, Nina. "The Influence of Global Muslim Feminism on Indonesian Muslim Feminist Discourse." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 49, no. 1 (2011): 33–64. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2011.491.33-64>.
- Passmore, Holli-Anne, Ryan Lumber, Ryan Niemiec, and Levi I Sofen. "Creating Kinship with Nature and Boosting Well-being: Testing Two Novel Character Strengths-Based Nature Connectedness Interventions." *Journal of Happiness Studies* 26, no. 5 (2025): 71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-025-00900-9>.
- Plumwood, Val. *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Ramirez-Santos, Ana G., Federica Ravera, Marta G Rivera-Ferre, and Mar Calvet-Nogués. "Gendered Traditional Agroecological Knowledge in Agri-Food Systems: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 19, no. 1 (2023): 11. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-023-00576-6>.
- Rocheleau, Dianne, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and Esther Wangari. *Feminist Political Ecology Global Issues and Local Experience*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Rohaeni, Ai Juju, and Nia Emilda. "Pikukuh Pitutur Apes Lingsem bagi Masyarakat Kampung Adat Dukuh Kabupaten Garut." *Atrat, Jurnal Seni Rupa* 8, no. 3 (2020): 1–8. <https://jurnal.isbi.ac.id/index.php/atrat/article/view/1598>.
- Ruether, Rosemary Radford. "Ecofeminism: First and Third World Women." *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy* 18, no. 1 (1997): 33–45.
- Santhyami, Santhyami, and Endah Sulistyawati. "Medicinal Knowledge of Traditional Community in Kampung Dukuh, Garut Regency, West Java." *Al-Kauniah: Jurnal Biologi* 14, no. 1 (2021): 162–83. <https://doi.org/10.15408/kauniah.v14i1.16970>.
- Setiawan, Nur, Rina Mardiana, and Soeryo Adiwibowo. "Adaptasi Masyarakat Baduy terhadap Pertumbuhan Penduduk dan Modernisasi: Studi Ekologi Budaya dan Ekospiritualitas di Desa Kanekes, Kabupaten Lebak, Banten." *Focus* 4, no. 2 (2023): 107–20. <https://doi.org/10.26593/focus.v4i2.7123>.
- Shiva, Vandana. *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development*. London: Zed Books, 1988.
- . "Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India [Book Review]." *The Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 2010.
- Sinthumule, Ndidzulafhi I. "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Its Role in Biodiversity Conservation: A Systematic Review." *Frontiers in Environmental Science* 11 (2023): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fenvs.2023.1164900>.

- Sultana, Farhana. "Fluid Lives: Subjectivities, Gender and Water in Rural Bangladesh." *Gender, Place & Culture* 16, no. 4 (2009): 427-44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690903003942>.
- Tengö, Maria, Eduardo S. Brondizio, Thomas Elmqvist, Pernilla Malmer, and Marja Spierenburg. "Connecting Diverse Knowledge Systems for Enhanced Ecosystem Governance: The Multiple Evidence Base Approach." *AMBIO* 43, no. 5 (2014): 579-91. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13280-014-0501-3>.
- Wahyuni, Herpita, and Suranto Suranto. "Dampak Deforestasi Hutan Skala Besar Terhadap Pemanasan Global di Indonesia." *JIIIP: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 6, no. 1 (2021): 148-62. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jiip.v6i1.10083>.
- Wargadinata, Wildana, and Iffat Maimunah. "Sufi Penjaga Hutan: Pencegahan Deforestasi melalui Gerakan Tasawuf." LP2M UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, 2019.
- Whyte, Kyle. "Indigenous Climate Change Studies: Indigenizing Futures, Decolonizing the Anthropocene." *English Language Notes* 55, no. 1-2 (2017): 153-62. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00138282-55.1-2.153>.

This page has been intentionally left blank.