

Salasika

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in Sedulur Sikep: Political Economy of Grobogan Farmers
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Table of Content

Stigmatized Identity in The Myth of <i>Dewi Ontrowulan</i> Mutiara Andalas	1
The Magic of <i>Dukun Jani</i> and the Revival of Neo-Saminism in <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>: Political Economy of Grobogan Farmers Against the Cement Industry Dewi Candraningrum	15
An Early Childhood Sex Education Model: Deconstructing Symbolic Meanings of Sintren Dance based on Gender Perspectives Rangga Asmara & Widya Ratna Kusumaningrum	39
The Sustainability of Women's Leadership in <i>Maengket Makamberu</i> Performance Jultje Aneke Rattu	61
The Nature of Papuan Women Indigenous Entrepreneurship in Informal Agricultural Sector (A Case of Papuan Women Traders in Manokwari and Surrounding Areas of West Papua- Indonesia) Ludia T. Wambrauw, Sandra Martin, & Ramzi Addison	77

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The Magic of *Dukun Jani* and the Revival of Neo-Saminism in *Sedulur Sikep*: Political Economy of Grobogan Farmers Against the Cement Industry

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ABSTRACT

JMPPK (*Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng*/the Kendeng Mountains Community Care Network), which is coordinated by Gunretno, says that maintaining the ecology of Kendeng has to be achieved extra-territorially because the threats also come from outside the region. The cosmology rooted in Samin Surosentiko's teachings has gained a space for revival in Kendeng soil since cement corporations have demanded environmental permits to mine and build factories. The Kendeng Mountains are viewed differently by the state and the Sikep community, as an asset which can be mastered and exploited, and on the other side as a source of sacred water for the future of the grandchildren, either for or against cement. The resilience of the JMPPK and the Sedulur Sikep in consistently resisting cement factories across the Kendeng Mountains is growing increasingly strong, even though their opponents are state-owned and even foreign corporations from Germany and China, for example. The social evolution which predicted that these groups would go extinct have been invalidated by the arrival of a common enemy; mining corporations.

KEYWORDS: *JMPPK, Samin, Sedulur Sikep, Grobogan, farmers, cement industry*

INTRODUCTION

Maintaining the karst and biodiversity of the North Kendeng Mountains, which extend across five *kabupaten* in Central Java (Rembang, Blora, Pati, Kudus, and Grobogan) is not an easy task. A PT Semen Indonesia (PT SI) cement factory has been established on Bokong Rembang Mountain, and PT Semen Grobogan (PT SG) was planned to be opened in Kecamatan Tanggunharjo at the end of 2016. According to the Bupati of Grobogan, Sri Sumarni, as quoted

by Tribun Jateng on 2 September 2016, "in addition to pressure from the people, the establishment of a cement factory will absorb a lot of local jobs". She then went on to say that the authority to approve PT SG is not only in the hands of Grobogan Kabupaten Government but also in the hands of the Central Java Provincial Government. "This means that the Kabupaten Government just goes along with the Provincial Government policies and that of Governor Ganjar Pranowo. With the Central Government

planning a cement factory moratorium we will get together with the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) and prominent local figures to discuss the issue. However, if the building of the cement factory is cancelled it will be the community who loses out. The permissions are already in place, all that is left is to build it. On top of that, the people's desire for the factory to go ahead is strong," stated the Grobogan Bupati to *Tribun Jateng* (*Tribun Jateng*, 2016). PT SG plans to partner with China Triumph International Engineering Co Ltd (CTIEC) to invest 350 million US dollars (approximately Rp 3.5 trillion) as reported by *Suara Merdeka*, 2 September 2016 (Kejar Tren Permintaan, Bangun Pabrik Baru) and the *Jakarta Post*, 12 August 2011. According to the Indonesian Cement Association, due to the overproduction of cement, it is highly likely that cement produced from the Kendeng Mountains will be exported overseas.

JMPPK (*Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng* / the Kendeng Mountains Community Care Network), which is coordinated by Gunretno, says that maintaining the ecology of Kendeng has to be achieved extra-territorially because the threats also come from outside the region. A large share of PT Indocement's stocks are held by Heidelberg Cement from Germany and the largest shareholder in PT SG is from China. This overseas investment shows that efforts to maintain the ecology and karst of the Kendeng Mountains cannot be contained within the territorial borders of the *kabupaten* or the

province, because threats can appear in all five *kabupaten* along the Kendeng Mountains and from cement industries from different countries.

In response to the statement that the cement industry can absorb a lot of the local workforce, the reality is that AMDAL (environmental impact assessments) from a number of cement factories have stated that they need no more than 500 workers and that 400 of these workers are specialists and professionals, leaving only 100 laborers. Meanwhile around 1,000 to 2,000 people in each of the 19 villages in the five affected *kecamatan* are farmers. Farming of food crops is the largest source of livelihoods for people in Kabupaten Grobogan. Their question is who is this cement factory really for? The involvement of citizens in AMDAL has also come into question. The AMDAL for PT SG (see Appendix 12) outlines the results of questionnaires carried out in the 5 *kecamatan* (Gubug, Tegowanu, Karangrayung, Tanggunharjo and Kedungjati) with 10 to 30 respondents and minimal involvement of women: who believe that the threat of water shortages, damage to the karst system, and hazardous waste and dust, among others, is high at between 60 and 70 percent compared to 30 to 40 percent. The question that follows is whether this AMDAL is reliable. According to the AMDAL, the age of the mine will be 36-40 years from its establishment and it will impact 19 villages from 5 *kecamatan*. Once it is set up, the mine will be operational until 2056. Is it possible that the Kendeng Mountains in

Kabupaten Grobogan will be depleted? How could the karst, which acts as a water reservoir for millions of people in Grobogan, be restored if it is destroyed forever? What will the fate of the Demak-Semarang ground-water basin look like? And what about the impacts on the living spaces of the Grobogan people? Do the ancient Northern Kendeng Mountains not have a history which is worthy of protecting? Possible ecological disasters that may occur if the mine goes ahead include the destruction of the Kendeng Mountains ecosystem. The northern coastal region of Central Java, Semarang in particular, faces an annual problem of coastal flooding and seepage. If the southern side of the Kendeng Mountains is damaged the problem of flooding will escalate in the years to come and the economic costs for the *kabupaten* and provincial governments of Central Java will be extremely high. This ecological disaster cannot be separated from the economic disaster that will arise from it.

CAPITALISM AND THE EXTERNALIZATION OF SOCIETY

As far as it is observable by humans, history states that the biological age of the earth is 4.5 billion years. Viewing the human context based on the biological existence of the earth, the human civilization is new; yet it has resulted in damaging effects to the biosphere and biodiversity of flora and fauna. The evolution of life and the important processes of the earth's ecology are the main backrest of

human civilization. The earth is, in fact, the primary resource and main material base of the capitalist political economy, which has been provided free of charge. Motives, modes and practices have depended on changing the purpose of the earth from maintaining life to gaining a profit. The intensification, commodification and exploitation of the earth for the production of profit has caused it to become ill. The relationship between humans and the earth which was once sacred and full of rituals, has been accused of being irrational, occult, sorcery, pagan, and primitive, by modern human societies. The biological rationalization of the earth in its most arbitrary form is its termed as a 'resource'. The brutal exploitation of the earth has resulted in many environmental anomalies and because humans have been unable to interpret the efforts of the earth to maintain life, they refer to these events as 'disasters'. The economic costs of these disasters for the modern state cannot be considered normal or incidental, but as the extremely expensive costs of an unhealthy planet.

The Tawangharjo and Wirosari regions are threatened by the existence of cement factories. Those asking for approval are PT (name of PT unknown) in the south Tlatah region of Kendeng, while in the north lies Tambakromo where an Indosemen factory will be built (largest shares held by Heidelberg Cement Germany). I opposed it and was taken to the

Administrative Court of Semarang where I won. Then PT Indosemen made an appeal to the Administrative Court in Surabaya and won. I lost and finally appealed to the Supreme Court. Rembang citizens from the eastern Kendeng region have been protesting the cement factory since 2010. Sued at the first level in Semarang; lost, in Surabaya; lost, then took the case to the Supreme Court and on 5 October; won. Even though the cement factory was already 100% built. This problem has created tensions, but for the people here the main thing is that it is not built. If you want to make a stand, this is the right way. The woman beside me was Sukinah. Ibu Sukinah led the women in the resistance tents. She vowed not to go home if we had not won. She didn't go home for two and a half years, even though the tent was only 4km from her home. There were two villages which took turns occupying the tents. Thankfully, on 5 October the Supreme Court decided that we had won. For me, I don't need to explain to you my knowledge about limestone in detail. I'm sure you can feel it. At the moment I am here with my sisters and Mas Zaenal from LBH (Legal Aid) Semarang. People have come here from Semarang and other places who know about the permit which came out of this area, and they asked me:

"How did it happen brother? Why was a permit allowed to be passed?" As an outsider I didn't know whether the locals agreed or disagreed, so I visited the place.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

The motives, modes and practice of humans adapting their home is, in fact, what causes damage and endangers the ecosystem. In the biological history of the earth this case represents the cultural mal-adaptation of human history. The cultural mal-adaptation of humans has in recent times reached a massive scale at its peak, resulting in climate change which alters the new landscape of human's adaption of nature. At this stage, whether they want to or not, humans must start learning to adapt to unpredictable weather patterns. The worst affected are social structures whose professions are dependent on nature; or farmers. The ecological collapse of the earth's biological culture directly relates to social inequality. In almost all cases of ecological inequality, social inequality appears as either a cause or a consequence. The confiscation of farm land, the expropriation of forests, etc. are a disconnection and disarticulation from the most basic knowledges of pagan and primitive cultures, which teach that humans live both off and for the environment and that human beings could go extinct. Humans need to be truly sensitive to, in tune with, equal to, and have respect for their mother, their home, and the womb;

the earth. This requires a radical understanding, which is directly connected to the earth. Humans are the earth, and the earth is humans. If one or the other is not healthy, they will both be unhealthy.

Although there has been an AMDAL here, it hasn't happened over there. The people are aware that if the limestone is mined, what will happen to their water source? That's in Tawangharjo and Wirosari. Apart from acting as a sponge for water, it also needs to be understood that the limestone has other functions – before we still had many trees, really fresh air, and a blue sky—now that the trees have died, the thing that makes the sky clean and the air fresh is the limestone which absorbs carbon dioxide two times stronger than plants. These days many people are sick. They go to hospital and buy oxygen, while the oxygen source which is close to home is being destroyed and we don't understand it. Because of this I think it is really important to educate people about the function of the limestone. In terms of the karst, a lot of us believe that they are only mining the top part, meaning we don't have to worry because the water source comes from below, so it is safe. However, that is not the reality. Because there are no trees at the top, when it is dry the sponge will seep into that section. The hills will be mined by the cement factory. It's of no use, they said, so why is it rejected. If calculated cubically, it has already generated money. That is how they see it. However, we need to

understand that if these hills don't exist we will have to buy water because there will be no water source. Then how much money will we have to spend on water? We cannot live without water. So it is important that we protect our water source. From the stone that you think is not useful the corn on top of the mountains in Grobogan in fact grows, and here it is the same. If the peak of the mountain is not productive, they will realize that from the mountains they also get corn. And the price of corn is already high. Because of that, it really needs to be explained clearly so that we can picture the process of the water from the top right down to the bottom.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

In his book *Neben uns die Sintflut: Die Externalisierungsgesellschaft und ihr Preis* published by Hansler Berlin (2016), Stephan Lessenich, a sociologist and professor from the University of Munich, examines the side effects of global capitalism on a process that he calls *die Externalisierungsgesellschaft* ('society of externalization'), or the dependency of the system on external resources (excavated materials, water, crops, and even human resources through the chain of migration) while at the same time exporting waste to other locations. The carrying out of this long process of receiving resources and disposing of waste is the most dangerous chain in the history of human civilization and the history of the earth. The

conversion of productive land into mining land, for instance, to fulfill the needs of certain countries using resources from others, the trade of humans in the form of cheap migrant workers from one country to another, or the export of rubbish, waste and harmful toxins from powerful countries to those with weaker democracies and law enforcement. Lessenich sees this to mean that ecological inequality is equal to social inequality. The relationship between the two can manifest in both causes and effects. 'The society of externalization' in the capitalist system has over time given birth to many instances of violence, social injustice, and ecological destruction. Lessenich questions how a community or country can live off another community or country, while simultaneously depriving them of their right to life without knowing each other at all. The incredibly high price of social economic structures is paid with ecological destruction and the increasingly deteriorating carrying capacity of the planet. He sees this process of externalization as the mobilization of the most brutal monopoly of the earth, which has resulted in human civilization itself becoming more and more vulnerable.

To reiterate: the point here is not to downplay or trivialize the social inequalities that exist to varying levels within every country in the world. There is poverty in Germany, just as there are rich people in Ethiopia. Comparisons of the living conditions in the overall wealthy societies of the global north—

which have, on average, higher living standards, broader lifestyle choices and larger resource consumption—and the living conditions in on-average much poorer societies, including the countries from the global south which have fewer opportunities and produce fewer emissions, should not overlook the internal inequalities that exist on both sides of the spectrum. It should however take a sensitized approach, one side of which is reflected in Piketty's much-lauded and widely discussed discourse on *Capital in the 21st Century*. Piketty argues that in the wealthiest countries of the world there are rich, whose wealth is continually increasing and—much in contrast to the prevailing ideology of performance— whose position and maintenance of power cannot be attributed to their own efforts, however to the exploitation of inherited capital. What the French economist's study fails to address is the fact that on the world scale a similar structure has been established (Lessenich, 2016, p. 21).

Feminism and/or ecological movements not only avoid polite conversation with global economic politics. They also reject the commodification of the green movement in all aspects. However, the wider public can sometimes be easily deceived into believing that a particular advertisement, or a particular project, is the intention of the green political movement. The highjacking of the green movement and the process of discounting its visions on a certain scale could

endanger the movement itself. Simply stating that gender equality can make everything equal and can save everything is also included in the politics of discounting, which can be reluctant in the face of ecological injustice as a breeding ground for migratory illnesses and human trade. The introduction of the intersectional approach has restored the interconnectivity between the issues of ecological injustice and the social politics of democracy.

In the 80s an African-American feminist, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, introduced the concept of *intersectionality* to the repertoire of feminist theory to help understand the intersections of power, domination, oppression and discrimination which are characterized by gender, race, class, sexual orientation, religion, castes, age, and other dimensions of identity which stimulate their interactions between each other. This theory argues that all of these elements are inter-related and that they are not autonomous of one another, but influence each other and become an inseparable part of human identity. This approach can be used to understand how injustice and systematic social inequality can exist and arise in a multidimensional manner. Intersectionality helps humans to investigate, identify, and map the various forms of discrimination and oppression which inter-relate with one another.

Intersectionality represents an important paradigm in the context of critical thinking theory which must deal with growing patterns of injustice in the complex space of

demography. This challenge requires a multidimensional conceptualization that is capable of explaining the clinical and methodological dimensions of power, as well as the hierarchy of power.

Intersectionality acknowledges that experiences of identity are not singular and are not autonomous, but are interdependent, growing, and continuously experienced with the influence of varied patterns of representation, ranging from class, capacity, and even a person's sexuality. Thus, to understand the process of the racialization of women, or any other intersection, it needs to be traced back to: 1) structures of racialization, 2) the social processes of racialization, 3) the social representation of racialization via gender, class, sexuality, etc. The experiences of Catholic Papuan women can be very different to the experiences of Muslim Papuan women, or just Papuan women. Intersectionality acknowledges that the sense of self is ambiguous and is always open to revision, and that its borders are constructed and fluid.

Are Javanese women inherently more obedient, submissive, and because of this, more sensual than Padang women, for example? Are poor women, or disabled women not capable of being good mothers? This paper acknowledges that these are important questions to investigate, including how intersectional investigations of identity, race, and sexuality can give birth to bias and stereotypes, and can negatively influence the psychological and social lives of

women. One of the aims of this paper is to move beyond the duality and binary of ecological analyses, which are sometimes able to provide instant answers to a problem, but are unable to highlight its roots in inequality. This intersectional approach examines the issue by viewing the situation as a product of policies, culture and various other forms of documentation which intentionally or overtly hide narrations of oppression, subordination, discrimination, and social abuse.

Intersectionality helps to highlight the invisibility of women and nature, as well as their biodiversity in neo-classic economic politics. Not only women, but also men and sexual minorities face the reality that they are only a resource and commodity in market circulation. Worse is that the strategic economy does not acknowledge household economies, the economy of care-giving, or non-market economies as an important part in the strategic revenue of a modern state. Economic feminists have long been highlighting the ignorance of global economic politics and scholarship in addressing the role of women (Waring, 1988; Ferber & Nelson, 1993; Folbre, 1994), and even more tragic is the acknowledgement of classical economic disciplines that nature and families “can take care of themselves”. This discourse has given rise to various fatal issues, such as waste, annexation of human resources, etc. which endanger the cycles of nature and biodiversity. The mass extinction of at least one third of the world’s fauna, the

extinction of bees and birds which could disrupt the process of flower pollination to produce fruits, pollution, lifestyles that break the link between consumption and the availability of natural resources, all make the economy a dangerous thing.

In her book, *If Women Counted* (1989), Marilyn Waring proposes the importance of including the work that most women do and the resources that nature gives in the activity of calculating the productive economy. She criticizes the way economic measurements of modern states and of the world generally ignore these two contributions. She even argues that the most detrimental tool of colonization which exists in this era is the failure of states to recognize the major contributions of women and nature to the strategic economy. Her intervention was then expanded on in her book *Who Cares? The Economics of Dignity* in 2011. She again questions the “limitations of production” and “what is productivity?” She also criticized how non-market economies are referred to as non-productive. In her opinion, the following three contributions have strategic characteristics which should be included as important economic revenues.

It’s ok, just let it go. You know the area better than me, so you guide me. I had visited Gus Mus in Rembang before meeting Prin, then visit Gus Zaim, and all of the Islamic boarding schools. Gus Zaim confessed that he was a land speculator and miner. I felt miserable, but how else should I

have felt? My aim is to protect the environment. I said to him, “*Gus, if my prayers are answered, I pray that you can sufficiently fulfil your material needs, but that this sufficiency is not obtained through the destruction of nature*”. And he opened his heart, “*Okay Mas. I will stop. I am ready to defend the people of Tegaldowo. I am ready to be recorded. I am ready to be invited to the meeting to stand against the cement*”, he said. I’ve wanted to go from the beginning, [but] it seemed like there would be [the cement factory] in Rembang, but the movement hadn’t grown to protect the earth. Later if you are all ready [I will come], but right now I am only here for a while.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 9, 2016)

ECOLOGICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES

A growing number of anthropologists and ecological experts are finding and arguing that rural communities in various corners of the earth have narratives about nature which differ from modern understandings. Thus, they understand the phenomenon of nature in a specific way. Many scholars have documented different models of cultures which are based in nature (MacCormack & Strathern, 1980; Descola, P., & Pálsson, G., 1996; Gudeman, S., & Rivera, A., 1990). Many of these models of local knowledge are not based on a dichotomy between nature and

society, or the modern construction of the separation between the biophysical, the human and the supernatural worlds. These knowledge models are renowned as indigenous knowledges which preserve local traditions and refuse to be reduced to modern, capitalist, or technocratic terminologies.

Similarly, there seems to be a certain convergence in recent anthropological approaches in treating local knowledge as a practical, situated activity, constituted by a past, but changing, history of practices. This assumes that knowledge works more through a body of practices than by relying on a system of shared, context-free knowledge. This practice-oriented view of local knowledge has its origin in a variety of theoretical positions (from Heidegger to Bourdieu and Giddens). A related trend emphasizes the embodied aspects of local knowledge (Hobart, M., 1993, p. 17).

In this paradigm, the human knowledge of the world can be depicted as a process of mastering skills based on their engagement with nature and the environment. From this approach, humans are interconnected with nature and dependent on actions which are practical and strategic from, by and for nature.

Local agricultural knowledge must be seen as a set of time and context-specific improvisational capacities rather than as constituting a coherent “indigenous knowledge system,”

as earlier literature suggested. In this performative view of local knowledge, it is proper to speak of embodied capacities in the performance of tasks in social contexts shaped by particular cultural logics. These welcome trends, of course, do not solve all the questions regarding the nature and modes of operation of local knowledge, and many open questions remain that cannot be reviewed (Richards, 1993; Escobar, 1999).

It is therefore important to provide a broader framework for discussing issues related to the conservation of biodiversity, such as rights to intellectual property, which are related to ecological and human life. Another of the most heartbreaking examples is how AMDAL (environmental impact assessments) conducted by universities in countries with weak democracies in fact do not defend nature and the environment. Ethnographically these assessments require the documentation of a variety of groups who are different in their views and involvement with nature. From the multiplicity of cultural models, the following questions can be further elaborated: Is it possible to design a local model in order to defend biodiversity and nature? With what and in what manner can the transformation of the model be adapted to a more universal discourse, which can be more easily conveyed in different contexts? And how can social actors consistently fight for projects which protect and restore ecosystems? These questions have been actively

articulated within the theories of ecological politics, especially those which attempt to provide alternative narratives on the rationalization of ecological politics and social movements to protect the environment. The most important aspect of this mindset is the development of a new paradigm of producing knowledge that values ecosystems, other social groups, and provide alternative solutions for a more sustainable form of political development which is more general, modern, technocratic.

I will make an offer to you all. Do you want to watch a film or do you want me to present to you about limestone? This is research done by a Doctor of UPN, Pak Eko Teguh Paripurno. I will invite him here someday. The citizens of Kendeng already understand this topic, but it is better to refer to an expert. I will tell you a bit about the limestone mountains. You may have already heard about the resistance against cement factories in Pati and Rembang. Maybe you have thought, cement is used for development, why does it have to be resisted? This means that you don't know about the function of limestone. Talking about the limestone, before there were cement factories, there were a number of water sources in the area. From then until now there is less water coming from these sources, why? All answers are true, that is why we deserve to know what we have, to understand its function, and whether it is important to us or not. It's like this; if there are trees, during the

rainy season the water is absorbed by leaves and roots, but if there are no trees, the water falls and directly flows into the rivers and into the sewers instead of being absorbed. Apart from the trees, limestone also absorbs water. One cubic square of limestone is capable of absorbing more than 200 litres (of water). Meaning the loss of limestone because of mining equals to the loss of water storage during the rainy season. During the rainy season, water which is usually absorbed by the trees and the limestone flows down into an underground river; into the caves, the streams, and then into the people's wells. This means that during the dry season the water supply is sufficient due to the underwater river. This water comes from millions of droplets of limestone. Just as limestone absorbs water, it also functions as a water sponge (absorbant/collector). This was in the Grobogan region where they were going to establish cement factories in Tawangharjo and Wirosari. However, because of the community's awareness they managed to issue an AMDAL, but when the meeting was held in the village hall they were expelled by the people.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

THE MAGIC OF DUKUN JANI

This generation has become witness to the fact that the processes of planting food crops, cultivation, harvesting, cooking, and food

processions are no longer marked with shamanistic rituals like they were during the era of our ancestors. Almost all parts of the world have seen the food chain be disconnected from its historical spiritual connection with the provision of the earth. This separation of humans from the earth is signified by the birth of a modernity which rejects and forbids shamanism and dominance over the earth in the name of the capitalist economic commodification.

Anthropocentrism marks the era in which humans have become the centre of the universe and have broken their sacred connection with the earth. The birth of intensified farming methods and different means of exploiting the earth mark the diminishing of the world's species and a deficit of biodiversity, which then gave birth to a new apocalypse, climate change. Food was previously seen as a 'gift' from the earth which was generously served to her children, human beings. However, then it began to be seen as a 'product' of human labour, as a 'commodity' which could be sold, bought, and which exists in the trade market. The sanctity of food and seeds was replaced by 'production profit' along with the intensification of farming and the land, giving birth to 'production risks' (in the words of Ulrich Beck, *Risikogesellschaft*), or the degradation of soil capacity and fertility.

So, now they are at the stage of exploration permits. Exploration means research. So not yet exploitation. They have already been conducting research for two years, why are they not finished?

Because now there is the process of creating AMDAL. The creation of the AMDAL previously failed because the mapping goes like this; landlords buy land, but it turns out the purchased land is not in accordance with the specifics of the cement factory plan. This then creates conflict. So the failure (of the cement factory) here was not because it was resisted by the community, but because of internal conflicts between the cement factory and land speculators. Once this was resolved, it almost went ahead, but then a new Forest Law was introduced, which meant that forest land could not easily be exchanged, unless accompanied with records. For example, they didn't start the process from A but had to work backwards from B. This meant that everything that had already gone ahead had to be fixed in retrospect, but they failed again. Finally, they are now in the third stage. The core of the problem is the developers. Having learnt from the Banyumas case, the current investors are from China. Finally, the investors mapped the problems, developed solutions, finished mapping and finally processed the AMDAL. Once the AMDAL was environmentally feasible they then requested an environmental permit from the governor. This environmental permit was already granted with a timeframe of 90 days for citizens to challenge the decision or not. However, the problem remained calm and no issue was raised, because the community did not understand the extent of the

impacts. For this reason, I often visit the area. If it is possible I want to educate the community about the effects of the cement factory. It needs to be understood, Mbah, that if you are someone who cares about the people of this nation, and you have not resisted then I don't consider you to be a person who cares. Why? This cement factory has already overproduced almost 30 million tonnes and is now exporting overseas. In China, 762 factories have been closed and they then expanded to Indonesia. Because of this I believe that people who have not resisted do not truly care. To care means that if a natural resource is being depleted and taken overseas, you are letting the reserves of your offspring (be depleted). They will not have a share, because it will be depleted. That is why I am really vocal in expressing this issue. Each person has their own beliefs; their beliefs as a cultural leader (*punden*), their beliefs as a *dukun*, but this will not solve the problem. Cement factories have their own way of doing things, just like the *dukun* do. Because of this it is really important for the community to keep learning, so that they have knowledge. If this problem continues, slowly but surely the earth will be dredged and the rewards will be sent overseas, and so on. But there is not one single person who is willing to stand up against it. Because of this, one by one, Pati won. I will also help in Rembang, where Prin comes from. If you have parents, visit them. But the most important thing is gaining

knowledge. Therefore, I will meet with as many people as I need to, to make them understand. Once they understand, it will go like this; if something is useful then it will be taken, if it is not just let it be. So we need to understand that our mountain is our source of water, and also our source of history. If this mountain disappears, our source of history and source of water will disappear along with it. If you understand history, you understand the damage of this, so this needs to be followed up. This is Mbak Dewi, a lecturer at a number of campuses. The AMDAL was going to be divided between a number of professionals to complete. However, even if the professionals were ready to help, no one wanted it. They would even have been considered provocateurs and that would not have been good. If one person was brave enough, I'm certain there would have been many others who followed. For me, it could be anyone, even a woman. As long as they are brave enough to fight for the right thing, they don't have to be afraid. Unless we are wrong.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 9, 2016)

In the knowledge of the ancestors of the archipelago, the words magic (*sihir*) and supernatural powers (*kesaktian*) are used to refer to the way nature works. Therefore, rituals are needed to show respect for these processes in order to nurture the spiritual connection between man

and nature. In Europe, the burning of witches in the middle ages signified a disconnection of the root of the relationship between humans and the earth. This disconnection was exacerbated by the commodification and intensification of farming after the second world war during the green revolution, which spread throughout the entire world. The war against magic and the intimate relationship between women and nature has also given birth to the desacralization of the bodies and sexuality of men and women, as well as sexual minorities. For example, the Lengger dance in Banyumas, which is performed by 'male dancers' wearing women's clothing to look like a Tayub dancer as a symbol of thanks to the mother earth for having produced a harvest, has changed into a cultural product to be used for tourism alone. It has lost all of its mystical meaning. The Lengger dancers have also undergone a process of binary gender simplification, into men or women, without acknowledging them for their own realities. When asked whether they are men or women, legendary Lengger dancers, such as Dariah, answer that they are neither one.

At that time, the *dukun* had a saying; "don't cement rich land". So I traced it from Mbah Jaskam who I visited; she did not agree, Mbah Sajat. Back then the *dukun* healers did not agree with their land becoming cement factories. At that time the land here was also cultivated. It was worked like anything, all the way to Purwodadi. Now it is certain to become a cement factory. And the

land here contains a water source. Now there is still one obstacle; is it possible for my land to not become part of the cement factory? But now I don't know if it will still go ahead or not. Actually, they already understand the situation. They just won't accept it. In those days there was Mbah Haji Deli and there was also Pak Dono, a bamboo farmer, but he is not around anymore. Back then he travelled to Semarang, and Jakarta, to find out who had bought their land, but he didn't find them. In the past, there was much hope for the cement factory here. But that was only some people, I don't understand it. But back then they were called *Semen Sugih Harapan* (Cement for Wealth and Hope). One meter was valued at five hundred rupiah in those days. I forget which year that was. But it was a long time ago. That was when we still had a good Bupati. Back then the lurah was still Pak Is. He was about to go into pension, then our land was taken (by the cement). Then he stepped down, and he was replaced by his child for two periods. So, at that time he was able to sell the land (to the cement factory) from the north of the village to Kayunan. So when the current lurah took his place, it was said to be all gone already. Many fell victim to the cement.

(Dukun Jani, personal communication, November 9, 2016)

The desecralization of bodies and their sexuality has occurred simultaneously with the

desacralization of the earth and persecution against it. This can be seen in the increasing amount of fauna which are going extinct and the drastic loss of biodiversity of the world's flora. Knowledge of supernatural powers, shamanism, magic, and the sanctity of trees and fauna, have become second class knowledge, or are avoided because they are not rational, not understood or seen as mere fairy tales. Previously this desacralization was marked by the rationalization of natural sciences. The disconnection, separation and dissection of the spirit of the earth (*anima mundi*) and the spirit of humans is the origin of the process of desacralizing rituals in the cycle of human life and the earth. The domination, exploitation, and intensification of bodies and the earth have coincided with humans' decreasing sovereignty over seeds. *Dead-end* seeds have begun to be produced, which have to be purchased in a store and cannot be germinated by farmers and gardeners. This makes farmers dependent on the agriculture industry. Farmers are now increasingly vulnerable, with climate change and global warming, because they are no longer able to rely on predatory institutions and harvesting cycles can no longer be predicted like they could in the past.

We all have a responsibility to save Kendeng. If you can do it through legal channels, please go for it. Like Pak Skri or I; maybe we can work together. However, because I don't really know you here, I just want to explain the function of the limestone, if you will let me. Because if you don't agree, I will just be a hindrance to

you all. However, if you agree, I am one of the people who openly rejected to opening of the cement factory in Central Java. Because I am observed by my ancestors, according to the local beliefs Central Java is the food granary of the archipelago, and not just Indonesia. There are already many industrial factories in West Java, not just cement factories, but many local communities have been replaced. East Java is not that different. If everything is destroyed, what will life here look like? Maybe this will make you think; Why does it have to be like this? Will the outcome not be profit? The outcome of mining is money, but what about the impact on our children and grandchildren in the generations to come? That is all from me, I think. I will now leave it to Mas Zaenal.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

Most of the world's food is now mass-produced in the tropics, where farmers and tenants regularly depend on the unpredictable weather and the dwindling carrying capacity of the land. These farmers are standing on the precipice of the unpredictable climate and rainfall. This condition is exacerbated by their lack of access to spatial and land use policies. Their profession has become the most vulnerable in the world, because to live they depend on nature, which is becoming increasingly more damaged. The loss of rain forests in tropical areas has also exacerbated this condition. Not only farmers bear the risks of these conditions, but all of human existence on the

planet earth will be threatened if the rainforests are not left intact, in order to sustain human life in the future. With the rise of development projects, the earth, which was once considered sacred, is now considered only as a resource. The earth has lost its sanctity as an omnipotent mother.

The terror of capitalism has separated the connection between the spirits and reduced them to bottles and cans containing products. At the same time, rituals to worship and respect nature have diminished drastically and are considered to be foolish and ignorant. Thus, the extinction of spiders as a result of pesticides and the exploitation of the earth through mass chemical pesticide use is intended only to produce a production profit, not to feed humans. The link between the sacred ritual of eating and past planting rituals has been completely lost. No one is heartbroken, for example, if elephants or orangutan are chased from their homes and then go extinct. No body writes an obituary when a river dies, or when coral reefs turn brown as a result of rising ocean temperatures. So much death of diversity is occurring around humans right now, but no ceremonies are held to commemorate their deaths.

So, it is like this in terms of the limestone. If you don't understand the benefits for us, if someone wants to take it we don't really care, right? But if this is for the sake of the future, we can no longer inherent vast amounts of land, but we should still be able to pass on an environment which sustains life. Because when the limestone mountains in Gresik have been used up, the cement

factories that you know, like Semen Gresik, they move to Tuban. Tuban, which started with just one, now has a total of eight cement factories. Once the limestone in Tuban has run out they will move to Rembang, then to Pati. At that point Semen Gresik, which said that cement factories are capable of providing for the community, what will they do then? If you pay attention, in Pantura there is a railway and large pipes to carry water, because it is difficult to find water there. So they take water from Bengawan Solo. If you have water stores –and we understand that our population is growing, not decreasing—if the population increases, the demand for water increases. Because of this, if you agree to keep preserving the environment and the permit is released, you can sue them. We have LBH Semarang here who have advocated for Kendeng when facing legal issues in court, without charge.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

In her book *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* (1988) Marilyn Waring, a feminist economist, argues that the demystification of the logic of economic language over the value system of goods and activities undertaken by women and provided by the earth can begin with the desacralization of the politics of monetary language. The desacralization of monetary value can be achieved through valuing the

earth and care work, domestic status, and non-market activities as also strategic. Nancy Folbre, Julie Nelson, and Nobel Prize winner Elinor Ostrom argue that if women are not included in the monetary valuation of the political economy, environmental degradation will become increasingly unsalvageable, and as a result human civilization will also go extinct as the carrying capacity of the earth weakens.

MONOCULTURE & THE DEFICIT OF INTER-SPECIES CONVERSATION

In places where people open the earth, intensify and increase the productivity of the soil, the diversity of species decreases, the environment becomes monotone and eventually mono-species. This then results in the loss of possibilities for inter-species conversation which represents ecological harmony and in economic language results in the decline of ecosystem services for the human civilization. Habitats will be threatened if, for example, there is mass production, such as clearing for monoculture palm oil and rubber crops, among others. Species, such as birds, vertebrata, organisms living in the soil, worms, etc, eventually decline. The use of pesticides results in extinction and mass-ecological homicide, such as the extinction of a number of the world's bee species. This deficit of bees then influences the production of fruit and could then threaten global food security. Martin M. Gossner from the University of Lund conducted research on more than 4000 species to document

cases of monoculture, and found that there is a deficit of species, which then affects conservation efforts and the recovery of the ecosystem as herbivores, pollinators, and predators all experience a drop in numbers, which then influences the natural harmony. The decreasing interaction between species then influences the interactions between plants, animals, and eventually weakens agriculture. The worst case scenario is that the ecosystem experiences a drastic change or shift. The services of the ecosystem can only be restored if the formation of the soil and the living space of all species are not forced to be uniform, but left to be diverse in their nature.

The fertility level of the soil correlates with the fertility level of women's wombs. Recovery of the soil's fertility and the fertility of female wombs is one of the many things ecofeminists, conservationists, ecologists, and environmental activists have been fighting for. In addition, this tradition of sacrality is still closely protected by indigenous and traditional communities throughout the world. Along the North Kendeng Mountains, the *dukun* healers are an integral part of the environmental conservation movement against the threat of mining and cement factories. The sanctity of rituals is continued and activated on a massive scale in all actions to reject mining and cement factories. The motto which is echoed throughout these movements is *ngrungkebi ibu bhumis* (defend mother earth). The return of the *Lamporan* ritual, or the expulsion of evil spirits as a

metaphor for the cement factory in Rembang, is one of the rituals for the planting and protection of crops from wetland pests. According to farmers across the Kendeng Mountains, the deadly pest threatening crops at the moment is factories and mass-scale cement mining.

I heard a rumour in the community. They feel exploited, and they feel colonized, because the farmland is their source of livelihoods. Why was it, at the time, only bought for Rp 500? At that time five hundred rupiah was only enough to buy a plate of rice, dry rice. The price of land was valued at the price of a plate of rice in those days. Back then there was provocation. If the people did not agree, they were considered to be an obstacle for development. At that time, Pak Suharto was relentlessly rolling out development. Because the people refused, they were considered to be obstructing. Then it got worse and people started to complain; "What about our children/grandchildren in the future?"

(Pak Guru Sriyanto, personal communication, November 9, 2016)

GUNRETNO AND NEO-SAMINISM: MARGINALIZED BELIEFS & THEIR AWAKENING

During the Dutch, Japanese, Old Order and New Order eras Samin beliefs received a lot of discrimination and were labelled as being rebellious, backward, and rejecting modernity. In Javanese

communities the term Samin was even used to refer to people who were stupid or abnormal. This stereotype was extremely detrimental to the Samin people as a community who believe in farming as a pillar of life and refuse to trade. In Soeharto's era, they were even forced to join the Islamic faith for the purposes of their individual identity cards (KTP), although they initially refused. Amrih Widodo has referred to them as the oldest farmers movement in Southeast Asia. What Gunretno does by connecting the communities around the Kendeng Mountains on a local, national and international level, is a manifestation of the rise of the long-lasting marginalization of Javanese farmers in the policies of modern Indonesian historical politics. There is, therefore, no surprise that during each protest action against the global cement industry, the JMPPK always opens and closes with a *brokohan* ritual. A simple procession of food and drinks is prepared as a metaphor for food security and their satisfaction as farmers living off what they eat without buying anything.

The tradition of *brokohan* itself has been largely forgotten by modern Javanese society, but can still be found in a number of communities, such as the Samin community. In today's era, they prefer to be called Sedulur Sikep. The word *samin*, which means the same, and the word *sedulur sikep*, which means to embrace a brother, are in fact not that different in meaning. Both names have revolutionized, adapted, and negotiated with the socio-economic and cultural context of

each era. In Soeharto's era they had to face technocratic education policies, and marriage and religious status columns included in their national identity cards, all of which were opposed because they were not in accordance with their daily belief and appreciation systems. In the era of Reformation and Jokowi, they are having to face global mining and cement corporations. The differing challenges they have faced has given rise to different conditions and political identities within the Samin community, which still, however, carry the pride of Samin Surosentiko who was known as the Robinhood of Java. This title now deserves to be placed on Gunretno, who tirelessly advocates for the protection of the Kendeng Mountains, not only in Pati where he was born, but also in Rembang, Grobogan, and other areas of concern.

My ancestors kept telling me that it is not allowed. Because of that I finally understand. I have known for a long time that there is internal conflict between the land speculators and the cement factory. On the part of the government, even though I am in Sukolilo Pati, all of the conflict between the governor of Central Java and the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources in relation to the cement factory plans is because of me. Up until now they have been able to overcome these internal conflicts and the closer they are getting to developing the AMDAL – Environmental Impact Analysis and then following it up with more comprehensive processes until it can be released.

When I was at Mbah Jani's place, I asked them whether they knew that the cement factory's planning had already progressed as far as releasing a development permit. So, is the process of getting a development permit, which begins with the AMDAL, environmentally feasible? To make the AMDAL environmentally feasible, it should involve the people, but when I asked you, your answer was "we don't know". That is why you are all here. I want to let you know that I have come here today with a piece of evidence (document/letter) of the AMDAL so that you don't think I am lying. With this AMDAL document, you can see that AMDAL is produced through a process of exploration and research. This process of surveying, as far as I know, is sometimes conducted by people from outside the community who are observing your environment. Outsiders do not know (about your environment). You understand much better than they do. If you don't understand the situation, I am afraid the same thing will happen as in Kecamatan Sukolilo. They planned to build a cement factory there and I was the one who refused, because the AMDAL was not valid. They planned to mine 900 hectares of limestone. In the AMDAL document, I found that, according to the cement factory, only six water sources were still active. However, when I surveyed the area with the local people, we found 49 water sources. Because we found many water sources, the area was deemed not suitable for

mining and was finally closed off as a protected area. That is why I come to you my friends, because you still don't understand the gravity of the situation, you are still calm. But I'm sure my arrival will have made the supporters of the cement factory uneasy. I am here to transfer my understanding to you and to Pak Sri, and I admit that I have an interest in educating the people about the importance of the limestone, and the function of the limestone which is going to be mined. For this reason, I have set up a projector to present the results of my research and talk about the purpose of limestone. On top of that, I have a film about the resistance against the cement factories in Pati, Rembang, and Tuban.

(Gunretno, personal communication, November 23, 2016)

Gunretno's role, actions, access, and representation are not only skillful and fluent in the framework of technocratic modern activism, using developmental linguistic politics and legal narratives, but also retain the spiritual and traditional practices that continue to connect him to the earth as his primary caregiver. In his eyes all humans, animals, plants and the karst stone are equal. Many come to visit him who view him as a *dukun* with magical powers. In his resistance against the exploitation of nature, he describes it as an evil act against the mother earth, which will deliver its own punishment if the law and the state do not intervene. Traditions

are strongly upheld by Saminists, as part of their own self-protection from an avalanche of values which are not compatible or in line with their coexistence with the planet earth. The vision and romantic image of the charitable mother earth represent the values of esotericism and mysticism which have become the knowledge base for their way of life and farming.

In a number of coordinated actions to save the North Kendeng Mountains #SaveNorthKendeng, the Sedulur Sikep have been very militant. Gunretno himself calculates various aspects of time according to the Javanese calendar. For example, in order to win over the heart of President Jokowi, he did not say happy birthday according to the modern Masehi calendar, but used Javanese *weton* as a guideline (marker of birth according to the Javanese system of time). A number of NGOs who support the JMPPK also adapted to this decision. Political representation and actions are thick with an air of Javanese knowledge of the past through reviving *jarit*, *kebaya*, *lesung*, *caping*, *kendi* and a number of aspects of traditional Javanese farmers. According to the activists, they have adopted these measures to remind Indonesia that they eat from the rice and vegetables of farmers. They believe that through these metaphors, they can resist the academic knowledge which deceives them, for example, in relation to the AMDAL for PT SI Rembang, which they view as unfeasible and indicative of the corruption of knowledge of those who compiled it.

Projects for modernity carried out by modern states and prominent religions have often accused the JMPPK of spreading superstition and ignorance by worshipping the mother earth. This narrative was even used by the cement industry to conduct a campaign against them as being in opposition to development and the true owner of this earth; God. However, the JMPPK had fate on their side as they are not only supported by the Sedulur Sikep but also Muslim, Christian, Catholic, and *abangan* communities spread throughout the Kendeng Mountains. It is this support which has meant that each action and multi-spiritual procession, through religious prayers and Javanese mantras, has been able to unite in one action without any internal or external opposition. This case has become a micro-project on the immortality and material basis of *bhineka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity), which has become the vision of the modern state of Indonesia. This social knowledge and spirituality works harmoniously during each action. Despite this, many attacks and bullying of the Kartini Kendeng women, such as Sukinah, target the fact that they choose not to wear a *jilbab* (religious head covering), instead opting for a *jarit* (traditional textile sarong worn by Javanese women) and black *kebaya* (traditional Javanese dress). Sukinah's base narrative is easily accepted by the mass media, but at the same time is subject to bullying from partial media platforms based on religion. The choice of these garments, however, has also revived the role of *jarit* and *kebaya* for Javanese women. Since they started appearing in black

kebayas and Javanese *jarit*, many women from the younger generations have begun to follow suit. The *jarit* scarf that Sukinah carries everywhere also functions as a headscarf when she visits a number of religious boarding schools in Pantura to conduct social actions and educative programs about environmental conservation.

As a belief system which has been marginalized since the era of Dutch colonization, the Samin are a community which are not silent in their beliefs, but have in fact adamantly created social change among farmers in the Kendeng Mountains. They have awakened the spirituality of motherhood on the earth which they believe is currently suffering as a result of corrupt and malignant human actions. For them, the resistance against the cement corporations has the same face as the resistance of their Samin ancestors in the Dutch era. The militancy of the Kendeng farmers has been inherited from the values previously taught by Samin Surosentiko. The pinnacle of a number of events and ritual actions is the dance of the Kendeng dragon. It is believed that, until now, the spirit of the Kendeng dragon must be protected. In one of the *Sedulur Sikep* gatherings it was told that they see the dragon traversing the rivers around the Kendeng Mountains. If the cement factory is built, the Kendeng dragon will be angry. The protection of the Kendeng Mountains does not just represent economic value in their role as farmers of major food crops, but also represents their spiritual and magical values which lead them to

continue to believe in the existence of spirits other than humans. A red dragon in Gunretno's house is well looked after and is the subject of special rituals before, during and after protests against the cement factories. It is believed that calling on the spirit of the dragon can repel the most deadly pests; the cement factories. The farmers and community members who support their action have undergone a process of re-indigenization (reverting to original Javanese customs). To borrow from anthropologist, Eva Fridman (2004), who described the magic of indigenous communities as follows:

Shamanism became a sort of sacred geography that helped people to root themselves in their localities, clans, and communities. People who had hidden their shamanic lineages began to come out from the closet and claim their spiritual vocation. Others simply manufactured their shamanic lineages or entered the spiritual craft because, as they say, they felt a calling. Shamanism was propelled to the status of an official religion. Reinvented shamanism also occupies a significant place in the cultural milieu of the present day. The older, the better. Shamanism perfectly fits this profile. Because it appears to be very ancient ("archaic technique of ecstasy"), it is certainly an excellent resource for ethnic and cultural construction.

CONCLUSION

The cosmology rooted in Samin Surosentiko's teachings has gained a space for revival in Kendeng soil

since cement corporations have demanded environmental permits to mine and build factories. The Kendeng Mountains are viewed differently by the state and the Sikep community, as an asset which can be mastered and exploited, and on the other side as a source of sacred water for the future of our grandchildren, either for or against cement. The sacred genetic code of thousands of water sources in Kendeng have been put on display in dozens of pitchers in Omah Kendeng, Sukolilo, Pati. The peaceful action of offering the president, governor, military and police officials, and the general public to drink from the water jugs and enjoy various crops, represents the material basis of the Sedulur Sikep beliefs which until now have been marginalized by the narratives of prominent religions and modern logic. The authenticity of this protest is far from the majority of protests based in modern linguistic politics using Marxist language. As a backdrop to almost all of their actions they always write in Javanese language as a formation of the language of their resistance. They receive sympathy for almost all of their protests from state officials, the media and the general public. The movement has even managed to become a kind of *media darling* in its own right. In many ways the sentiment and emotions of the public are pulled at to support the movement of the Kendeng dragon. Gunretno has succeeded in reawakening the spirit of Samin Surosentiko in his project to save the North Kendeng Mountains, not only through *kejarwen* rituals, but also the iconization of the nine Kartini

Kendeng women whose feet were encased in cement. The iconization of the number nine is a representation of the disappearance of the nine farmers during the Dutch era along with the Samin and the imprisonment of nine farmers during the New Order. The number nine also refers to the Walisanga who paved the way for Islam in Pantura.

The revival of the Javanese Robinhood in leading the ecological conservation of the Kendeng Mountains in 21 Century represents the revival of indigenous Javanese culture, as well as the revival of the farming profession which has been marginalized by Indonesian policies since the 1965 genocide. *Kejarwen* spirituality of the earth has coincided with climate change, triggered by global warming and the onslaught of damage to the earth. The young generation have become aware of this and hold it as a belief which is worthy of being defended. The aura of the Kendeng movement has even mesmerized social media. One of the successes of their media politics is the existence of a mass-movement arising from public sympathy via social media to defend their cause. Gunretno has mastered techniques such as Whatsapp and various other modern media political tools without been uprooted from the basic *kejarwen* values in which he believes. A flow of students producing research, theses and dissertations comes to specifically research this phenomenon. The resilience of the JMPPK and the Sedulur Sikep in consistently resisting cement factories across the Kendeng

Mountains is growing increasingly strong, even though their opponents are state-owned and even foreign corporations from Germany and China, for example. The social evolution which predicted that these groups would go extinct have been invalidated by the arrival of a common enemy; mining corporations.

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ABOUT

SALASIKA etymologically derived from Javanese language meaning 'brave woman'. SALASIKA JOURNAL (SJ) is founded in July 2019 as an international open access, scholarly, peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary journal publishing theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in the fields of gender studies, sexualities and feminism. Our conception of both theory and method is broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.

SJ is inspired by the need to put into visibility the Indonesian and South East Asian women to ensure a dissemination of knowledge to a wider general audience.

SJ selects at least several outstanding articles by scholars in the early stages of a career in academic research for each issue, thereby providing support for new voices and emerging scholarship.

AUDIENCE

SJ aims to provide academic literature which is accessible across disciplines, but also to a wider 'non-academic' audience interested and engaged with social justice, ecofeminism, human rights, policy/advocacy, gender, sexualities, concepts of equality, social change, migration and social mobilisation, inter-religious and international relations and development.

There are other journals which address those topics, but SJ approaches the broad areas of gender, sexuality and feminism in an integrated fashion. It further addresses the issue of international collaboration and inclusion as existing gaps in the area of academic publishing by (a) crossing language boundaries and creating a space for publishing and (b) providing an opportunity for innovative emerging scholars to engage in the academic dialogue with established researchers.

STRUCTURE OF THE JOURNAL

All articles will be preceded by an abstract (150-200 words), keywords, main text introduction, materials and methods, results, discussion; acknowledgments; declaration of interest statement; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figures; figure captions (as a list); and a contributor biography (150 words). Word length is 4,000-10,000 words, including all previous elements.

TIMELINE AND SCHEDULE

Twice a year: February and July.

PUBLISHING AND COPYRIGHT APPROACH

All articles must not have been published or be under consideration elsewhere. We are unable to pay for permissions to publish pieces whose copyright is not held by the author. Contributors will be responsible for clearing all copyright permissions before submitting translations, illustrations or long quotes. The views expressed in papers are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the journal or its editors.

CONTENT ASSESSMENT

All articles will be peer-reviewed double-blind and will be submitted electronically to the journal (journal@salasika.org). The editors ensure that all submissions are refereed anonymously by two readers in the relevant field. In the event of widely divergent opinion during this process a third referee will be asked to comment, and the decision to publish taken on that recommendation. We expect that the editorial process will take up to four months. We will allow up to four weeks for contributors to send in revised manuscripts with corrections.



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