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Author (s) : Enkin Asrawijaya  
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## The Dynamics of the Samin Movement Against the Planned Establishment of a Cement Factory in *Pati*, Central Java

**Enkin Asrawijaya**

Islamic Institute of Bakti Negara (IBN) Tegal  
and Doctoral Student of Gadjah mada University (UGM) Yogyakarta  
E-mail: [enkinasrawijaya@gmail.com](mailto:enkinasrawijaya@gmail.com)

### ABSTRACT

This article explains the dynamics of the Samin movement against the plan to establish a cement factory in Pati (Kendeng mountains), which has been a manifest conflict that has yet to reach a common ground. This research was conducted ethnographically with a qualitative approach, while the paradigm used to discuss is social movement theory. The findings and discussion show that political opportunities arise because the plan to build a factory that was legally flawed and humanity conflicts with a sense of justice. The protests carried out by the Samin community did not get a positive response from the state, coupled with other disappointments that had been accumulated causing a sense of deprivation as citizens. They feel colonized in their own country which results in collective rejection behavior. Their struggle have been getting bigger with the role of actors who are able to mobilize, form movement organizations, network with various elements of society, and facilitate open resistance. Cultural framing emerged through the spread of the ideology of the movement, where this ideology was rooted in the teachings of natural sustainability raised by the Samin community.

**Keyword:** *Movement Dynamics, Samin Community, Cement Factory.*

### INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to explain the dynamics of the struggle of the Samin indigenous people in Bombong Hamlet, Sukolilo, Pati against the plan to build a cement factory in the Kendeng mountains. Resistance was carried out because the plan threatened the subsistence life of farmers. The cement companies planning to set up factories are PT Semen Gresik (SG) and PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti (SMS). These two companies have been received support from the local government and the provincial government.

The resistance against the cement factory was based on the status of the Kendeng mountains as a protected area. In accordance with the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Regulation No. 17 of 2012 and Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Decree No. 2641 of 2014 which explains that the Kendeng mountains are a karst area that must be protected and preserved. Another regulatory basis regarding springs in the Kendeng mountains is Law No.7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources.

Kendeng Mountains have a variety of mining materials needed in the cement production process. Mining materials such as limestone, gypsum minerals, clay, water sources and various other mining materials (Adji et al., 1999; Suharko, 2013; Wacana et al., 2014). For cement companies, the content in the Kendeng mountains has economic value. In contrast to the view of the Samin community, the Kendeng mountains are the source of life and traditions of their ancestors.

This condition causes the Samin community to be in a marginalized group (Aziz, 2012). Not only that, the plan to build a cement factory raises conflictual problems that lead to pro and contra groups (Sinduprabowo, 2017; Suharko, 2013, 2016). Another article states that there are environmental threats in the form of loss of biodiversity to economic, social and cultural problems (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Putri, 2017; Setiadi et al., 2017),

Legal issues are also part of the controversy over the extractive industry development drama (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Harnanto et al., 2018). PT SG and PT SMS both had location and exploitation permits from the local government to carry out mining on the Kendeng hill. This permit legally contrary to the status of the Kendeng mountains as a karst area that must be protected. To smooth the agenda of the cement company, the government issued overlapping regulations.

This regulation was like the Pati Regency Government issuing an exploitation location permit for PT SG Number: 591/001/2008 which violates the rules because the decision was issued before the AMDAL study was completed. The issuance of a clay exploitation permit Number: 540/039/2008 and a limestone exploitation permit Number: 540/040/2008 for PT SG without any involvement of the residents. Central Java Governor Regulation Number 128 of 2008 concerning the determination of

the Sukolilo protected karst area which contradicts the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Decree No. 0398 / K / 40 / MEM / 2005. Then the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources of the Republic of Indonesia issued Decree Number 2641 K / 40 / MEM / 2014 which sided with the regulation of the Governor of Central Java Number 128 of 2008 which divided the Sukolilo karst area into two parts, namely protected areas and cultivation areas. PT SMS had been waiting for this cultivation area so that government regulations have given permission for the opening of a cement factory in Pati. Based on the overlap of these regulations, it can be said that the permits pocketed by the cement company were actually procedurally flawed, but were patched up with new regulations.

The cement company also did not conduct outreach to the community. At the beginning of the case, many people did not know the plan to build a cement factory in Pati. Socialization was carried out only at the village apparatus level and was not passed on to the community<sup>1</sup>. In fact, socialization to the community in the national development plan is very important, as explained by Berger and Luckman (Geger, 2010) that socialization is one of the social construction processes that must be carried out. Related to this context, refers to the cement company (interested parties) and the state (as the facilitator) so that the community understands the negative and positive impacts that will be obtained by the plan.

The substance of the problem is the existence of a relationship of interest which is then heated up by a cement factory construction plan that is not in accordance with both legal and social procedures. (Harsasto, 2020; Sufyan, 2002). Socially, in Javanese terms, there is something called *kulo nuwun* which means a request for permission from a cement entrepreneur to the surrounding community, because after all

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<sup>1</sup> The information comes from an interview with Samin's figure named Gunarto on December 5, 2019

this cement party is a guest who will use customary land, so in this Javanese cultural contest it is impolite. Moreover, this plan was carried out in disguise<sup>2</sup>.

The attitude of the Samin community's rejection of the plan to build a cement factory is the attitude of residents' protests seeing the government as more pro-neoliberalism. Wibowo & Wahono (2003), view neoliberalism as a market practice without interference and state supervision. The state is rendered powerless by the privatization of state-owned economic entities. There is also the role of world financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF which support the practice of Neoliberalism in third world countries. The role of the state in neoliberalism is limited only as a regulator and guardian of the working of the market mechanism (Baswir, 2015), in other terms, the state becomes a hedge against neoliberalism (Wibowo, 2010).

The policies that have been carried out by the state appear to support and allow neoliberalism to undermine the local social and economic order. In fact, this social structure has always been a mainstay, namely being a subsistence farmer. For the people of Samin Bombong, being a farmer is not just a choice of life but a simplicity in life. The goal is not to be greedy, as shown by cement companies and the state, but to live in balance with nature<sup>3</sup>.

The state should protect local residents from their access to Kendeng land (Asrawijaya, 2020a). Land rights should be a priority for citizens, not that the state blocks and shifts the priority of land rights to cement companies (Ruswiasuti et al, 1997). What the government has done does not provide benefit value to the people, especially local residents to access, use, control and utilize Kendeng forest for the welfare of Kendeng residents in the concept of sovereignty (Aziz, 2012; Darmastuti, 2015; Putri, 2017).

This concept of sovereignty has been stated in the Basic Agrarian Law No. 5 of 1960 which articulated the principle of 'social function' of land, namely that land has a central role in promoting social justice. In

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<sup>2</sup> The view of Jumadi, a member of the JMPPK during the action in Semarang on 3 October 2018

<sup>3</sup> Interview with community leader Samin Gunretno on 26 July 2018 at the Bombong hamlet

practice, many say that the government often misuses the authority of land tenure, by applying the rhetoric that the state has acted on behalf of the community to achieve national development, but in fact the widest allocation of land is in the interests of capitalists. (Maurilla et al, 2017; Panjaitan, 2017; Siombo, 2014).

The Samin community's struggle against the plan to establish a cement factory is still ongoing today. The dynamics of the journey of the Samin group's social movement has been going on from 2006, then in 2008 it was able to mobilize the masses to form movement organizations and network with various elements of society, until modern resistance was carried out to stop the plan to build a cement factory in Pati (Novianto, 2018; Putri, 2017; Setiadi et al, 2017).

This paper will explore the dynamic context of the Samin movement using social movement theory. There are three important factors in studying and analyzing the emergence and development of social movements. These three factors include: (1) *Political Opportunities*, covering the structure of political opportunities and obstacles that hinder the movement; (2) *Mobilizing Structures*, includes forms of organization, both formal and informal, that support an opportunity and action; (3) *Cultural Framings*, covering social construction of cultural frame development (McAdam et al, 2004).

## RESEARCH METHODS

This case study research uses a qualitative approach. The method used is ethnography by emphasizing the data extracted in the field. To explore data in depth and comprehensively, researchers used several data collection techniques, including: 1) Observation or field observation by mingling with the Samin community and the Kendeng Mountains Caring Community Network (JMPPK). 2) Interviews were conducted with various informants, one of which was the driving actor from Samin's elite, namely Gunretno. 3) Documentation is data collection through written or electronic documents from parties, institutions or institutions. Documents are needed to support the completeness of the other data. All data are collected in field notes systematically, while the data processing

process emphasizes in-depth analysis or assessment of the data obtained in the field. To be further translated from the perspective of the researcher.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In Indonesia the Social Movement has been going on since the era of colonialism, the goal of this social movement is as an effort to form a protest against the ruler or government that was taking place at that time. (Asrawijaya, 2019; Ba'asyin, 2014; Kartodirdjo, 1984; Peluso, 1992; Widodo, 1997). For example, the Samin Surosentiko Movement, the peasants' revolt in Banten 1888, and others. This movement taught a certain ideology in an effort to resist passively or actively against the colonial government which was seen as tormenting the people. Even in the modern era, social movements have emerged such as the social movement of the tarekat, NII, Hizbuhtahir Indonesia, the peasant movement in Banten, Batang, Pekalongan, Cilacap and Cipari, the social movement in Makasar land "Batara Gowa", the Mukhdi Akbar mystical movement in Selayar Regency, South Sulawesi, and between 2011-2015 the Gafatar social movement was born and developed (Asrawijaya, 2019). One of the newest movements during this reform period was the movement against the establishment of a cement factory that was operated by the Samin community.

The movement to reject the cement factory carried out by the Samin community is said to be a social movement because it originates from deep disappointment to the birth of collective action built by driving actors (Greene, 2002), which is able to mobilize the masses and accommodate all disappointments in a movement organization (Davis et al., 2005), based on an ideology (Gerlach, L. P., & Virginia, 2011), which is supported by various elements as a network, so that they are able to carry out various actions (Klandermans, 1991; Ma'arif, 2010; Turner & Killian, 1987)

The resistance of the Samin people against the establishment of a cement factory in Pati is more precisely referred to as a new social movement. This resistance is different from that of their ancestors during the Dutch colonialism. The resistance to the colonialism

era can be seen in his study Benda, Harry & Castles, (1969); King (1973;1977); & Korver (1976), which explains that this resistance was caused by taxes and led to the birth of the milleniarism movement, while Kroef (1952) looked more at the side of messianism, namely the concept of the idea of Ratu Adil. Scott (2000:40) & Ba'asyin (2014:16) calls Samin's resistance through insubordination or disobeying colonial regulations in the private sphere, while Widodo (2000:19) explains one of his resistance strategies using language, such as answering with figurative words and Javanese language.

The Samin community's resistance in this era is carried out openly and actively and their resistance are against the domination of the state and the market, as what Buechler (1995) was said, that one of the characteristics of the new social movements is fighting the tyranny of power (the state) which conspires with the global market.

To understand how this Samin movement works, from the emergence to the development of the movement. Three important factors will be explained as follows:

### *Political Opportunities*

The political opportunity that arose from the initiative of the resistance movement was the initiation of a plan to build a cement factory which was feared that it would destroy nature and also destroy the local economy and destroy socio-cultural values. In addition, there is an abuse of power by playing with the law to legalize the practice of neoliberalism, which enters into gnawing at farmers and small communities.

The legal game that was carried out was by making various efforts. For example, at the time of the plan to establish a cement factory Gresik in 2008 the Government of Pati District issued a decree No: 591/001/2008 concerning the Pati Area Exploitation Location Permit, SK No: 540/039/2008 regarding the Group C Mining Exploitation Area Permit for Clay and Decree No. 540/040/2008 regarding the mining permit for the Exploitation Area of Class C Limestone. Even though at that time, the AMDAL had not been completed, even the study did not involve residents. This regulation often received criticism from the Samin community in Pati, finally the Regent

of Pati at that time, Tasiman issued a statement letter from the Regent of Pati No. 131/1814/2008 concerning Declaration of Conformity for Regional Spatial Planning (RTRW). The purpose of the statement letter was to explain that there is no need to wait for the AMDAL because it is in accordance with the RTRW of Pati Regency (Asrawijaya, 2020; Harsasto, 2020; Malau, & Galih, 2009; Subarkah & Wicaksono, 2013).

Another controversial decision was the Governor of Central Java Regulation No. 128/2008 on the determination of the Sukolilo protected karst area. The karst area in the Kendeng Mountains has been divided into two, namely a protected location and a location for cultivation. this regulation was intended to be a reference for AMDAL results, in order to support the realization of the cement factory construction plan as well as strengthen the Regent's Statement Letter No. 131/1814/2008 regarding the statement letter of conformity with the RTRW (Asrawijaya, 2020; Harsasto, 2020).

The litigation battle between the Samin community and PT SG lasted up to the Supreme Court (MA) level. At the Supreme Court level the conflict was won by the Samin community, and as a consequence, PT SG had to move its location outside the Pati area. In the end, in 2010 the location of the PT SG cement factory establishment project moved to Rembang. After PT SG left Pati, PT SMS entered with the same agenda, namely planning to establish a cement factory in Pati. Permits for location and exploitation have been obtained since 2011. Massive rejection continued until this cement company abandoned its intention to build a factory. (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Sinduprabowo, 2017).

Efforts from the government to expedite the plan to establish a cement factory by PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti were carried out by changing the existing rules, namely changing the Ministerial Decree No. 0398 / K / 40 / MEM / 2005 which explains that the area of the Sukolilo karst area is 118.02 square kilometers, with the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources Decree Number 2641 K / 40 / MEM / 2014 being 71.80 square kilometers. There was a difference of 46.22 square kilometers with the previous determination of the area whose status is now a cultivation area. this means that the cultivation area can be used as a

place to build a cement factory (Asrawijaya, 2020a).

According to Samin's elite, Gunretno, it was clear that there was a political game that the area used as a cultivation area has the same constituent rocks as the area that has been designated as the Sukolilo karst area. Even this area has the characteristics of a karst area as stated in the two ministerial decrees. Its position was not separated from the designated area<sup>4</sup>.

another political opportunity was born from the Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS) which was ordered by the president, but in its implementation it was actually violated by the government itself. The KLHS was established after a demonstration took place and "cast feet" in front of the state palace which had stirred the public until finally the president decided to carry out KLHS. As long as KLHS is implemented there should be no new mining permits and all mining carried out must be stopped until there is a final KLHS decision which states that mining is allowed (Nawiyanto & Endrayadi, 2007; Siombo, 2014; Suharko, 2016).

Rule turbulence emerged when the president banned new permits, but the provincial government still issued new permits for mining, one of them was the latest permit for PT SMS IUP No 591/608/2014 regarding location permits, IUP No 545/002/2014 concerning limestone mining, and IUP No 545/001/2014 concerning clay mining. Seeing the real situation like that, there is an impression that the president is not serious in carrying out justice for the Kendeng people, there was an attempt by the government to only reduce the atmosphere of the heated conflict with camouflage promises, because until now the KLHS was final and the results determined that the Kendeng mountains were a karst area so mining and extractive industries were not allowed, but the government did not use the final result of KLHS as a reference for issuing new regulations that favor the sustainability of Kendeng.

The various imbalances in the regulations that the government set created a political opportunity for the Samin

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with Gunretno on March 23, 2019 at the Patmi mosque, Larangan, Pati.

community to struggle through various strategies. The first strategy was to create a movement ideology that is related to the preservation of nature and the local economy that must be maintained. This ideology was built by illustrating the earth as a mother, a mother who gives life and as a place of refuge. Therefore mother earth must be saved from the evil hands that want to destroy. This ideology was then symbolized in a song “*Ibu bumi wis maringi, ibu bumi dilarani, ibu bumi kang ngadili* (mother earth has given, mother earth is hurt and mother earth will punish)”.

The second strategy, by inviting Kendeng farmers and also various other elements to participate in the resistance to rejecting the cement factory by providing information about the dangers of cement factories from an environmental, economic and socio-cultural perspective. this effort was manifested in the formation of an organization called *Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng* (JMPPK). The third strategy, to fight back from field actions such as demonstrations, long march, cast feet, happy art, general discussions, audiences, to resistance in the legal route.

Efforts made in the movement to reject the cement factory encountered obstacles from the cement sector, the government and the people who were pro to the establishment of a cement factory. The cement party together with the local government fought back on the advocacy path, from the level of the State Administrative Court in Semarang, the High State Administrative Court in Surabaya to the Supreme Court level. the government also pointed out various reasons as resistance from the movement to reject the establishment of this cement factory, as well as to get support from the wider community. The reasons are first, creating jobs for the community, especially local people. Second, increase government revenues, both central and local governments. Third, community empowerment through corporate social responsibility programs. Fourth, increasing the demand for cement for construction.

The Samin Community apart from dealing with cement companies and the state, also received resistance from the people who were pro to the establishment of a cement factory (Aziz, 2012; Solihin & Kurnia, 2017).

The pro citizen said that the cement factory must exist because it is a state asset, owned by the state, and for the advancement of the nation. So, those who reject nationalism need to be questioned<sup>5</sup>. besides that there was an effort to bring negative stereotypes to groups that opposed the cement factory, such as ethnic and religious sentiments, where the Samin tribe was considered infidels as a means of resistance from the pro-cement factory construction groups. (Aziz, 2012).

This sentiment led to the identification of the group rejecting the construction of a cement factory as Samin people (although in fact this group is not all of the Samin community), who are ethnically village-oriented and have low interest in achieving education levels and have confidence in the determination of human destiny from God or tend to be fatalists in matters of sustenance.

They were said to have a lack of competitiveness and were considered very strong in using their cultural values (adat Samin). This situation made it difficult for the Samin people to increase their social and economic level, because they had to struggle, not only in a material environment, but also to improve the unfavorable cultural image. This situation was used by the opposing group as an ideology to keep the Samin group in the lowest ranks of social life and in the political sphere. Even in practical life situations, this image is hard to erase because it has taken root in society.

Above provided an overview of how the Saminese must struggle to overcome their peculiar problems in order to adapt to this unfavorable situation. In this view, the Samin community made use of special instruments such as repertoires, strategies and institutions at the collective level. This toolkit can complement the role of the group in order to gain support and position in society.

#### *Mobilizing Structures*

Mass mobilization carried out by agents from the Samin community, has brought the groups that reject the cement factory into the organization of the JMPPK movement (Gozali, 2017; Novianto, 2018;

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with a chicken noodle seller who is a pro cement factory in Sukolilo market, Pati, on June 18, 2018.

Putri, 2017; Setiadi et al., 2017). JMPPK became the parent of all kinds of activities to reject the cement factory with Omah Kendeng in Sukolilo as the base camp. With the existence of the JMPPK, it was meant that this struggle was no longer based on the Samin community, but on behalf of the Kendeng farmers. The Samin Community was only a starting idea or grassroots movement that inspired the struggle for Kendeng conservation which was followed by non-Samin Kendeng farmers.

JMPPK struggle which was identical to that of men, apparently did not just fight just like that. There was a role for women in it, because according to Gunarti, women were the first to be affected by the cement factory. This was because there was a concern that if a cement factory was established it would pollute water sources or even lose water sources, which would disrupt women's duties as housewives, such as cooking, washing, and so on. (Achidsti, 2018; Nawiyanto & Endrayadi, 2007; Rajagukguk, 2016; Setiadi et al., 2017).

on this basis, a women's organization was formed which was named *Kelompok Perempuan Peduli Lingkungan* (KPPL) Simbar Wareh. The word Simbar Wareh was taken from two springs in the Kendeng mountains, namely Simbar Joyo Dodo and Goa Wareh.<sup>6</sup> Status of KPPL Simbar Wareh as a subsidiary of the JMPPK organization. With the existence of women's organizations as a forum for women's struggles, it shows that they are no longer limited to "konco wingking (housewife)" for men, but they appear as tough women. (Nawiyanto & Endrayadi, 2007).

The women's movement carried out by KPPL Simbar Wareh does not mean that they demand equal rights with men, the presence of women at the forefront of the struggle with men is as partners. Men cannot always participate in the action of struggle because they have to take care of their fields, fields and livestock, that's when the role of men was replaced by women<sup>7</sup>.

Other derivative organizations apart from KPPL Simbar Wareh were also born outside of the Samin community, such as the

Community of Youth Environmentalists, Bocah Angon, and Kendeng Adventure (Asrawijaya, 2020b). The organization is the participation of young communities in Tambakromo and Kayen Districts, which was born as a result of the plan to establish a cement factory by PT SMS.

This Community of Environmental Observers Youth was born from a group of Vespa motorbike lovers who have an awareness of the need to defend their homeland from the efforts to destroy the nature of the Kendeng mountain. They then invited the punk community to join them through art and music, which had an environmental theme. Several bands from the punk community that often joined in the resistance action, such as the punk music group King Masmus, Magixridim, Socialkids, Navicula, and Taringbabi. Apart from struggling through music and art, this youth community also raises donations by selling struggle t-shirts or by printing struggle t-shirts.

Another youth community is Bocah Angon, whose members are students from various levels, including elementary, junior high, high school and even college students to join this community. The use of the name Bocah Angon as a struggle organization means ridicule as an uneducated person (stupid) but understands more about natural conditions than someone who thinks he is educated. The term Bocah Angon is also a mockery that the Angon Boy who is considered naive and stupid is in fact more honest and concerned about the preservation of nature than those who are highly educated but only become subordinates of the capital class who harm the people and are unable to implement their knowledge for the benefit of mankind.

Kendeng Adventure Community is a group of nature lovers both in Pati and outside Pati. The movement's actions are carried out by showing the natural potentials of the Kendeng mountains which can be used for natural tourism arenas that can improve the economy of local communities. The tourist objects offered are tracking, trail, running, orienting, and getting which they have managed in Jimbaran Village, Kayen District, by utilizing Wareh and Simbar Caves.

The mobilization carried out by the Samin movement was also not only through

<sup>6</sup> The results of an interview with Gunretno at his house, Bombong Hamlet, Pati on January 23, 2019.

<sup>7</sup> ibid



movement organizations, there was the use of networks with various elements of society outside the community such as NGOs, LBH and Universities as well as other interest classes who felt exploited, oppressed, and exploited by the capitalist class and state apparatus.

the participants included agrarian NGOs from both national and international levels, such as the Indonesian Environment Wahan (WALHI), the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), Universities, Researchers and Study Centers, environmental activists, Indigenous Peoples Alliance Nusantara (AMAN), Desantara Foundation, Komnas HAM, religious alliances such as Nahdhatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and the Catholic Church, students and youth, the Indonesian Labor Union Confederation (KPBI), national figures and many more, both individuals and groups.

Gunretno emphasized that the existence of these NGOs does not mean that the Samin movement is ignored by them, in fact the Samin movement has existed and is independent since Indonesia was not born. The efforts made by this NGO are more sensitive to the Kendeng people who are experiencing chronic problems for their livelihoods. There is the same commitment in preserving nature and related to humanity and injustice. It is these networks that ultimately help and guide the struggle towards open resistance.

The open resistance was carried out in various ways including demonstrations, long march or walking, cast feet, theatrical acts, songs, group prayers, brokohan and other forms of action. (Pangayoman, 2017; Suharko, 2016). The purpose of this open action was to prove that its existence was still being ignored by the authorities. For them, the existence of a cement factory will only use up their livelihood lands as farmers and destroy nature which threatens their future life. so that the call to preserve kendeng from mining practices was carried out by field action as one of the characteristics of social movements in the reform era (Asrawijaya, 2020b).

There were at least 28 times more demonstrations by residents in protest against the establishment of cement factories throughout the Kendeng mountain area. The action involved not only Samin Bombong

residents or Kendeng farmers from Pati and Rembang, whose areas were affected by the plan to build a cement factory, but other Kendeng farmers from Purwodadi, Blora, Kudus, Grobogan, Gombong and other farmers.

The foot casting action carried out in this movement was carried out twice, namely in 2016 and 2017. The first leg casting was carried out on April 12, 2016, at which time there were nine female farmers who were casting legs in front of the Jakarta state palace. The nine female farmers are Sukinah, Murtini, Siyem, Karsupi, Sutini, Surani, Deni Yulianti, Ngadinah, and Ripambarwati, who were later called 'Kartini Kendeng'. They sat in a row, complete with kebaya clothes and hats (Nawiyanto & Endrayadi, 2007).

This first meeting with the president immediately paid off, namely an immediate strategic review in the Kendeng Mountains was carried out to assess the effects of the construction and operation of a cement factory in the region. this strategic study would be coordinated by the Presidential Chief of Staff. The study would involve various agencies ranging from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources to the local government. The study was estimated to be completed within one year and the results would be used to make decisions, while the study was being carried out, the factory was not allowed to operate (Suharko, 2016).

The walking action or often called the long march carried out by the community rejecting the cement factory has been carried out at least five times since the first long march in 2012, then in 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2018. This action received support from various peasant organizations and people's movements, even the Peasants Movement Alliance for Agrarian Reform called on the peasants to do the same (Asrawijaya, 2020b; Harsasto, 2020).

Long march action was one way to gather support and attention from the wider community in addition to the leg cementing action (leg cast). The call to refuse cement in the long march was able to burn the spirit and show the physical and mental strength of the actors in the action. This action was expected to be a solution to the problem of apathy in this kendeng case. Even though they seemed to be facing a stone wall, the

residents did not back down. They keep moving. The domino effect of this walking action was beyond imagination. Support from various regions arrived with his participation in the mass action the following day. However, there are still those who view this action negatively on the assumption that they are only looking for sensation.

The meaning and message of this action could inspire other regions to take action. Reflecting on the kendeng case, it is difficult for residents to obtain environmental justice. However, their struggle for years was quite sweet. The fruit of this struggle, for example, the president asked the Kendeng Mountains to conduct a strategic environmental study (KLHS), during the KLHS process all mines were not allowed to operate. Nor could new permits be issued.

Long March in the tradition of struggle was indeed a very powerful source of energy and spirit. participants of the long march will meet the people around them and share their stories of struggle with each other. A creation of militancy. The spirit of long march was an effort to create awareness of the concept of natural sustainability in the direction of nation building, so that it is not misguided and only used by liberals.

#### *Cultural Framings*

The plan to build a cement factory, which was feared to threaten nature and result in damage to the local economy (agriculture) which relies on the Kendeng mountain ecosystem, has led to rejection behavior from the Samin community. Disappointment arose when the voice of the Samin community was not responded well by the government.

The government continues to try to legalize the establishment of cement factories through controversial new regulations. The policies made by the government have caused overlapping regulations and it all appears that there are political plays by the rulers because of the interests of capital. This was what causes injustice and feelings of deprivation due to the dissatisfaction of the Samin community (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Harsasto, 2020).

The turmoil over the fear of the Samin community has been seen since receiving news that a cement factory will be established in their area. In fact, the plan in Brati Village, Kayen District, Pati Jateng Regency has taken

the form of an environmental permit without having been disseminated to residents. The turmoil intensified when Gunretno together with the Samin elite and other Kendeng farmers conducted a comparative study to the Tuban area to see the condition of the community whose land had become the location of a cement factory. As a result, they feel sorry for the life in Tuban which was very poor, where the promises from the cement factory have not been realized (Oktaviana, 2015).

this condition confirmed that there is a paradigm effort to develop forest natural resources by separating the forest from the community (Awang, 2018). Responding to this, the Cement industry that wants to be established in the Kendeng Mountains will also be a separation of the close relationship between forests and humans. Humans need forests to fulfill their daily needs, and humans need forests to continue to care for and preserve nature. Here there is a symbiotic role between the two, forest and humans.

The samin groups who live depending on nature must fight so that their land and forests do not fall to the capitalists who will torment them. This effort was a collective behavior and action that was born from a sense of injustice (relative deprivation) which they feel as marginalized local farmers. Moreover, the concept of their identity which makes farming a teaching has given birth to a framing process based on culture as an ideology in the movement against the establishment of this cement factory. (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Aziz, 2012; Darmastuti, 2015; Putri, 2017; A. Wibowo, 2011).

The plan to build a cement factory has crashed the cultural foundations of the Samin community and threatened the relationship between forests and humans, thus giving rise to fears of being displaced by the Samin people as farmers. They reflect on the condition of the community around mining companies in other places, where the position of farmers is shifted to become factory workers or even decide to move to another place (Asrawijaya, 2020b).

The entry of these mining companies shows how cunning neoliberal politics are, where bargaining to get to an agreement, has been misinterpreted again, into buying and selling power, loyalty gathering, case trading, selling justice, democracy brokers and so on.

The glimpse of the black portrait in political culture above, whether we realize it or not, has clearly started the collapse of people's trust in the government (Endraswara, 2018).

Government involvement in cement factory construction projects was an inseparable part of the practice of neoliberalism (Asrawijaya, 2020a; Novianto, 2018). Judged by the Samin group as unethical, because it contributed to tormenting the lives of the community, so that humanity and even national interests could not be justified<sup>8</sup>.

According to Endraswara (2018), the government should act *tanuhita* (protect) and *danahita* (give down), not the other way around taking people's funds with various excuses. This dredging culture is clearly the tradition of colonialism, not Javanese culture. So Javanese culture needs to be analyzed using the perspective of postcolonialism, not aspects of modernism that view "black and white" culture.

The reflection of a small black and white portrait of the political culture above, whether we realize it or not, has clearly started the collapse of people's trust. This means that political actors have fallen and are trapped into a mad age, namely an era where there will be massive cultural shifts. People have rioted, people have sacrificed the interests of many people (Endraswara, 2018).

Cultural shifts can give rise to feelings of marginalization caused by conditions of injustice and disappointment (relative deprivation) by circumstances and fear of the impact of change (McAdam et al, 2004). In this case a protest behavior was born that developed collectively and was widespread, and the actions were gradually no longer spontaneous but well organized. This condition was the foundation for collective action (Asrawijaya, 2019; Benford & Snow, 2000).

This condition by Benford & Snow (2000) referred to as the framing process (framing processes). In practice, framing analysis opens up opportunities for the implementation of the sociological, political and cultural concepts that surround them (Eriyanto, 2002). The government's response that did not side with the Samin community

led to the development of the strength of the social movement, even when they were able to take formal actions.

The framing process in this case was strengthened by the memory of the old Samin resistance against colonialism in the early 20th century. This incident, according to Aziz (2012) became the character, ethos and world-view of the Samin when dealing with countries, companies and communities outside of themselves.

Samin's character can be seen in the case of the cement factory construction plan this time. They strongly protested against the exploitation of the Kendeng Mountains area which they felt was oppressive to the peasants, and was thought to only damage the environment and not increase the welfare of local residents. Profits will only be taken by the political elite, as well as land brokers (Aziz, 2012).

The protest that was being carried out was a commitment of the Samin community to always protect and defend the environment in a series of efforts to save the earth that is in their customary law area. Their rejection was a form of struggle for forest management and use for the welfare of the community, whose main use is shown to empower the community.

Community empowerment was not just thinking about the Samin community, but also has to do with the fate of the Kendeng farmers who are very dependent here. Kendeng farmers are not a homogeneous group, there are Samin and non-Samin farmers who are also different from each other (the conditions of the farmers are different) but are interrelated, like the Samin farmers who cannot depend solely on their internal conditions, but are always in touch with other groups.

The relationship between Samin farmers and non-Samin in this context makes them have the same position as the subaltern group. In order to fight for their fate in their position, a form of counter-pressure was carried out through reactions to the treatment (intervention) that came from the authorities. The reaction was in the form of rejection and resistance (resistance) so that they are not integrated with government policies that are detrimental to them. Rachman (2017) states that this resistance, when met with complementary conditions, can become a

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Gunretno at the Bombong hamlet on January 23, 2019

movement.

However, the reaction shown was still based on Samin's ideology, by formulating the khiththah of struggle according to Samin's teachings, namely not to use lust of anger and lust for revenge. The goal was not to control the territory, increase the wealth, increase the position or other low goals. Therefore, resistance was not based on mere emotion

This struggle was the key to the formed cultural framing. It was manifested in the form of a toughness in facing the manipulation of the authorities, which was balanced with a struggle that is not arbitrary, but a seriousness to spend all its thoughts, physical and capital. They worked hand in hand in pioneering the establishment of resistance organizations to fight against the new style of imperialism through the movement's actors and agencies.

## CONCLUSION

Land and water were the key to the birth of various kinds of problems that led to the emergence of the Samin movement against the establishment of a cement factory in the Kendeng mountains. For the Samin community, land and water are two sources of livelihood which have been the main needs in carrying out their profession as farmers. If the cement factory is actually carried out, it is feared that it will damage the environment, especially agricultural land which will also shrink because the land is used as an area for cement companies, and the land will lose fertility due to the loss of springs that will irrigate rice fields, feed their livestock and as necessities. live in the household.

The Samin Community was able to act as the center of the movement. they were able to mobilize the masses, facilitate the movement and network with various elements of society, especially agrarian and environmental NGOs. The concept of "ecopopulism" was raised as the ideology of the movement. this ideology was also one of the ways to invite Kendeng farmers to care and together with the Samin community engaged in a grassroots movement against the establishment of a cement factory.

The establishment of a cement factory in Pati has become a social problem that must be taken into account. the public could no longer be just spectators. The government

should be able to collaborate with local communities to be actively involved in determining the policies taken, especially policies that threaten their lives (livelihood). The goal is to reduce policies that are detrimental to society.

The problem of KLHS that has not been fully implemented by the government is as if the KLHS was only considered insignificant and was made to calm the heat at that time. The government should have socialized to the public about the results of KLHS, but the government has been silent. The government should not allow overlapping regulations. The regulations that were made did not support the practice of neoliberalism but instead took sides with the interests of the people. The government also needs to implement the results of the KLHS which was ordered by the president as the basis for determining the Regional Spatial Plan for the Province of Central Java and the Regency Spatial Plan related to the policy of sustainable utilization and management of the Kendeng Mountains.

Suggestions for further study of the Samin movement are related to how the ability of the driving actor (agency) is able to carry out new resistance strategies in the movement to reject cement factories. Especially during this pandemic, there is a new strategy by looking at Covid-19 as a reminder to humans not to be greedy for nature.

## RECOGNITION

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