



E-Paper

**The *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep*
Movement of Central Java's
Longue Durée in Its Paradoxical
Nature: A Portent Form of Non-
Violent Human Rights Struggles
through Different Names**

**By Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan and
James Reinaldo Rumpia**

 **HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
SOUTHEAST ASIA**

The *Samin* or *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement that has been struggling against a cement company's expansion in Central Java since 2006 is a part of a larger (and longest) peasant-based millenarian movement in Southeast Asia (and Java). This research, therefore, launches an inquiry into the most important characters of such a millenarian movement to survive the test of time. This research applies some concepts known around the singularity of the millenarian movement, such as "radical divergence" from everyday practices, "fusion of opposed qualities" like spirituality and materialism, "innovative features," and continuation of indigenous ritual practices. This research argues that this "paradoxical" nature of the movement is the reason of its *longue durée*. These peasants' protest is basically demand for "spiritual entitlements" whose scopes are beyond human rights or any other standards known in the peasant movement's legal history. For this finding, this research claims that the *Wong Sikep* Movement's fulfilling all the characters of a true Millenarian Movement puts it under the genre of millenarian movements like in the other regions or places that have gone through the point of no return beyond a simple "resistance."

Author: Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan and James Reinaldo Rumpia

Published by: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Southeast Asia Regional Office in August 2021

Suggested Citation: Sumarlan, Yanuar and James Rumpia (2021), "The *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement of Central Java's *Longue Durée* in Its Paradoxical Nature: A Portent Form of Non-Violent Human Rights Struggles through Different Names", Bangkok: Heinrich Böll Stiftung Southeast Asia Regional Office.



This publication is licensed under a Creative Commons

Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0

International License.

The *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement of Central Java's *Longue Durée* in Its Paradoxical Nature: A Portent Form of Non- Violent Human Rights Struggles through Different Names

By Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan and James Reinaldo Rumpia

Contents

Abstract	1
A. Introduction and Rationale	1
B. Inner-Oriented Characteristics of <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	4
1. Principles and life ethics of <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	8
2. Life as a Farmer: The Value of Respect for Nature and Mutual Cooperation of <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	16
3. Sustainable Education and Adaptation with Science and Technology	23
C. Outer-Oriented Characteristics of <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	25
1. Kendeng's narrative, deliberation, and organization against the threat of the cement industry	28
2. <i>Sedulur Sikep</i> and socio-economic resilience	33
3. Science, Communication and <i>Sikep</i> 's Networks	38
D. Conclusion	42
E. Bibliography	45
F. Authors' Profile	56

The *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement of Central Java's *Longue Durée* in Its Paradoxical Nature: A Portent Form of Non-Violent Human Rights Struggles through Different Names

By: Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan and James R. Rumpia¹

Abstract

The *Samin* or *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement that has been struggling against a cement company's expansion in Central Java since 2006 is a part of a larger (and longest) peasant-based millenarian movement in Southeast Asia (and Java). This research, therefore, launches an inquiry into the most important characters of such a millenarian movement to survive the test of time. This research applies some concepts known around the *singularity* of the millenarian movement, such as "radical divergence" from everyday practices, "fusion of opposed qualities" like spirituality and materialism, "innovative features," and continuation of indigenous ritual practices. This research argues that this "paradoxical" nature of the movement is the reason of its *longue durée*. These peasants' protest is basically demand for "spiritual entitlements" whose scopes are beyond human rights or any other standards known in the peasant movement's legal history. For this finding, this research claims that the *Wong Sikep* Movement's fulfilling all the characters of a true Millenarian Movement puts it under the genre of millenarian movements like in the other regions or places that have gone through the point of no return beyond a simple "resistance."

A. Introduction and Rationale

When the cement companies arrived in Central Java's city of Pati in 2006 to mine limestones and established a cement factory, the Samin Community² or *Wong Sikep* or

¹ James Reinaldo Rumpia graduated from the Master of Art in Human Rights International Program, Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University, Thailand. His study and writing focus is on issues of human rights, the environment, and law. Another activity was the president of the Indonesian Student Association in Thailand (2019-2020). James is also active as the Head of the Indonesian Institutional Center in the Overseas Indonesia Student's Association Alliance (2019-2020) and in the Center for Public Policy and Human Rights Studies, University of Lampung, Indonesia. At the same time, he manages and fosters colleagues from the Legal Aid Institute-Islamic Student Association, Bandar Lampung, Indonesia. Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan is a lecturer at the Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies Mahidol University, Thailand.

² The Saminist or *Wong Sikep* Movement began during the Dutch colonial era when in 1890 a person named Samin Surosentiko spread philosophical teaching—written in some books entitled *Jamus Kalimasada*, *Serat Uri Pambudi*, and *Serat Punjer Kawitan*—from South Blora, Central Java (Rosyid 2014, p. 199). Some of Samin Surosentiko's teachings turned out to have political implications such as rejection of taxes, night patrol, and indentured labor service forced by the Dutch (Hutomo 1996, pp. 32-37). The basic teaching of this

Sedulur Sikep rejected strongly for the companies' detrimental impacts on their welfare as farmers (Buana 2012; Mojo et al. 2015). To anticipate this threat to their livelihoods, *Wong Sikep* Movement led by Gunretno founded an alliance called Network of Concerned Society on Kendeng Mountain (or *Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng* or JM-PPK in local tongue) in 2008. Through women's activities called *Arisan Ibu-Ibu*, the movement spreads the words about the environmental dangers of the cement factories (Sufyan 2014, p. 18). The Samins never resort to violent resistance but choose non-violent protests or activities such as legal moves (filing a case) with the Indonesian Environmental Forum (*Wahana Lingkungan Hidup* or WALHI) in 2008 against the government's administrative decisions to allow operations of cement companies (Buana 2012, 118, Raharja 2015, p. 5). Other NGOs or Legal Aids Institutes such as the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Foundation (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum* or LBH), Sheep Indonesia, Union of Pati Farmers (*Serikat Petani Pati*) lend their support as well. This legal move repelled the plan of the cement company (PT Gresik Indonesia), and the Governor of Central Java Bibit Waluyo canceled the plan of PT Semen Gresik in 2009 in Pati (Subarkah and Wicaksono 2014, p. 118). This PT Semen Gresik pushed through for the same plan in Rembang Regency (hundreds of miles eastward from Pati). After the lawsuit by the JM-PPK and WALHI against the environmental permit of another company (PT Semen Indonesia) was rejected by the Administrative Court, *Sedulur Sikep* continued their non-violent resistance through many forms. The most famous is the cementing of their feet in front of MONAS (National Monument) near Presidential Palace on 12 April 2016 (by eight peasant women) to show objection to the cement industry in Kendeng mountain range (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi 2017, p. 127).

From the Dutch Colonial era to the post-Reformasi Era (post-1997), *Sedulur Sikep* have been launching peaceful and non-violent resistance against all forms of exploitation of their environmental resources by either states or/and capitalist enterprises. Benda and Castles (1969, p. 208) claimed that the *Sedulur Sikep* Movement had been one of the longest-living social phenomena in modern Javanese history. Some scholars like Brown (1991) or Schwartz (1976, p. 7) have spotted observers or historians' awe on the singularity of millenarian movements such as "radical divergence" from everyday practice and their

movement is resistance against all colonial regulations that disturbed the traditional rights of "students" or "followers" of Samin Surosentiko's teaching; the Samins or *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep*, as later they were called, held that lands, water, and woods are common property belonging to nobody's claim including the colonial (or national) state. After the financial crisis in 1997, the Samin Movement grew stronger because the national government of Indonesia was returning to its stringent policy and regulatory measures to regain the earlier economic development speed through dictatorial—albeit appearance of 'legal' or 'justified'—means.

members' fusion of opposed qualities (like spirituality and materialism). *Sedulur Sikep*, for example, believe that they should be honest by purely becoming farmers (and avoiding a cash-based economy) and not to get involved in trading where they would be attracted to "cheating." The most striking feature of this "radical divergence" from everyday practice is *Sedulur Sikep's* refusal to call "buying" (with their cash) goods from their non-*Sedulur Sikep* counterparts; the *Sedulur Sikep's* term the transaction as "exchanging" (Rosidi et al. 2020, p. 27). The fusion of opposed qualities among *Sedulur Sikep* is marked by their abilities to resist orders by paradoxically being submissive to the authorities.

The innovative features of *Sedulur Sikep* appeared when they agreed to launch a lawsuit, which has never been part of their non-violent struggle earlier in 2008, with WALHI and LBH Jakarta. When *Sedulur Sikep* (eight women) decided to launch a peaceful protest near the Presidential Palace in 2016, they showed their creativity and ability to cooperate with other groups of people (NGOs, the public, etc.). *Sedulur Sikep's* resolution to launch a long march (150 km) from Rembang and Pati to Semarang (capital of Central Java) to protest the Governor's new decision to re-issue the permit for the cement company to proceed in Kendeng Mountain range in November 2016 showed their mixing with indigenous practice. These farmers brought farm products to be given to the authorities in Semarang (Suherdjoko 2016).

Brown (1991, p. 390) claimed that the opposed tendencies among the millenarian movements in Amazonian societies "may play themselves out in *longue durée* cycles of political consolidation punctuated by self-limiting episodes of millenarian and messianic enthusiasm." Following Abu-Lughod's (1990) view that the term "resistance" can cloud the subtleties and contradictions of power when used unreflectively, Brown (1991, p. 389) added that resistance is nothing more than the observation of 'acculturation.' Resistance is usually correlated to the struggles of Amazonian Indians for autonomy in the face of state control (Brown, 1991, p. 389). Like Brown's assertion (1991, p. 389), this paper tends to doubt that "eruptions" in millenarian movements like the Saminist could be attributed solely to the coming of Europeans (rulers or companies/capitals).

This research report is divided into some parts. First, the paper will show the inner-oriented character of *Sikep*, which is maintained in the resistance movement. These inner-oriented characteristics are *Sedulur Sikep's* principles and ethics, life as a farmer, sustainable education, and application of information and technology. Second, this paper will show the outer-oriented character of *Sikep* that emerged and developed during the resistance. Third, the conclusion will summarize and reaffirm the relationship between *Sedulur Sikep's* characters and movements, along with the values and practices of the

characters. The rationale of this research is to traverse beyond the usual argument that this Saminist Movement is simply environmental or populist. This type of movement goes beyond demanding even the most basic human rights of the typical underdog groups *vis-à-vis* modernizing and developing country's state apparatus; this movement has a deeper fundamental request to a set of entitlements this minority deserves after their successful survival as a distinguished group since the Colonial Era both as a farming and a resisting community.

B. Inner-Oriented Characteristics of *Sedulur Sikep*

This section will explain how the character of *Sedulur Sikep* understands and strengthens the anti-cement movement, especially in the internal characteristics of *Sedulur Sikep*. The inner-oriented character relates to the basis of inspiration, morals, ethics, traditions, and habits that shape and provide orientation to the outlook of life and goals of *Sedulur Sikep*. The typology of character from *Sedulur Sikep* is intended to show that they survive not because they close themselves and avoid contesting the politics of the rulers (state or company). Based on the reflection on the Samin Surosentiko era when facing the colonial pressure of the Dutch East Indies, *Sedulur Sikep* has been accustomed to satisfying power through the discovery of the *modus vivendi* (reason, arrangement and agreement) and simultaneously without abandoning their life principles (Benda and Castles, 1969, p. 230). In the era of resistance to the cement industry, the belief in the anti-cement movement is still a manifestation of aspects of their spirituality, their human-nature relations, and their attitude towards the authorities (Putri, 2017, p. 1).

For *Sedulur Sikep*, the movement in the colonial and post-reform era in Indonesia was dealing with the oppression of the rulers and their exploitation. However, their resistance to the cement industry in the Kendeng Mountains has a different orientation. In the colonial era of the Dutch East Indies, *Sikep* tended to be centered around economic resistance against colonial exploitation. Meanwhile, the anti-cement movement today is based on the environmental movement (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, 2017, p. 127). Resistance to the cement industry can even be mentioned as the campaign for environmental justice because *Sedulur Sikep* and the farmers who are members of the Kendeng Mountains Care Network (JM-PPK) are victims of exploitation (Sidabalok, 2020). Their "Religion of Adam" places "Mother Earth" in an important position in *Sedulur Sikep*'s belief. Those who work as farmers have a responsibility to respect "Mother Earth" (King, 1973; Korver,

1976). In his current critical reflection, Gunarti³ (a woman in Kendeng) states the following:

The land is not inanimate objects and valuables. The land must be respected.

Because the land is also alive, human beings cannot live without the land of Mother Earth (personal communication, 16 March 2021).

During the Dutch East Indies colonial era, *Sedulur Sikep* faced threats from the Dutch East Indies Government, which had a colonial orientation that caused suffering for the peasantry. First, *Sedulur Sikep* used the *Ngoko* language (lowest level of Javanese language) and refused to work with officials. Second, they refused to pay taxes and participate in forced labor Schemes. Third, they reinterpreted the meaning of tax and work to counter the narrative developed by the colonialists; *Sedulur Sikep* interpreted tax (*pajak*) as *zakat fitrah* (alms, religious contributions). Subsequently, forced labor was reinterpreted as a *splice* or mutual assistance (Shiraishi, 1990, p. 112).

Sedulur Sikep did not adopt principles that were exclusive or isolated from peasant life in Java. They proved that the principles of life and the strategy of resistance displayed were an accumulation of the spirit and life of the peasants themselves. Based on the records of the Dutch colonial government in 1903, the Samin group had at least 772 members spreading from South Blora to Bojonegoro (Benda and Castles, 1969, p. 211). At that time, the Dutch Colonial Government had not paid special attention nor been disturbed by Samin and his followers. The issue of tax refusal had not set impact because it was still considered an individual act. In 1907, the Colonial Government arrested Mbah Samin for allegedly being involved in a messianic uprising. Mbah Samin was then exiled to Padang and died in 1914 (King, 1973, p. 459). In that year, the Dutch East Indies government was afraid of a rebellion that allegedly involved 3,000 people (Benda and Castles, 1969, p. 211).

At the same time, *Sedulur Sikep* also proved that the peasant movement did not depend solely on charismatic figures such as Mbah Samin. The movement continues whether or not Mbah Samin was present. Mbah Samin's position has become the ideology of the peasant movement for *Sedulur Sikep*. In 1906, the expansion and strengthening of the Samin group were also due to the active role of Mbah Samin's son-in-law. Surohidin and Karsijah were active in promoting teachings to villagers from Ngawi, Grobogan, and the

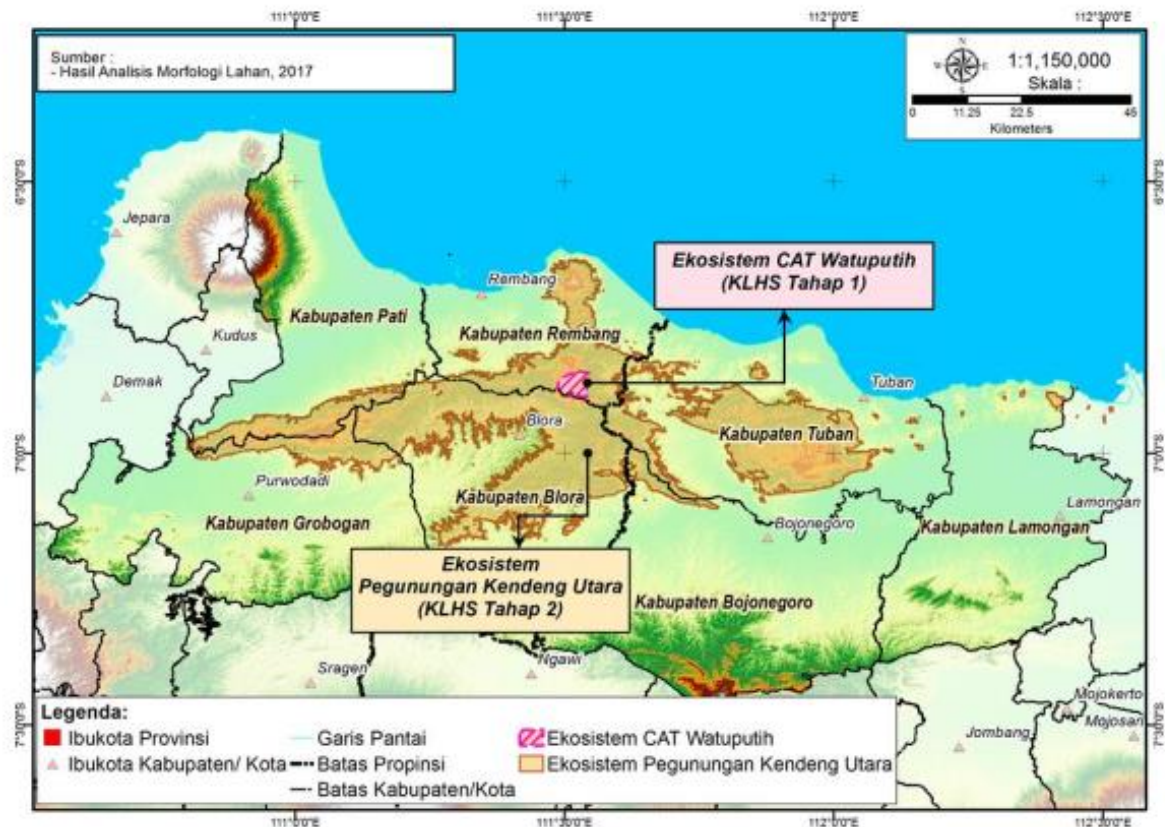
³ Playing an active role in the Kendeng movement as a Kartini Kendeng/Kendeng woman, Gunarti holds a clear perspective on the role of women that mothers must play an active role in understanding and continuing the movement against Cement Factories.

southern part of Rembang (Benda and Castles, 1969, p. 211). The spread of the ideology of Saminism, after Mbah Samin's death, was continued by his students. Samat, Surohidin and Engkrak continued Samin's teachings under their own brands of school (King, 1973, p. 459).⁴

In the last 15 years, *Sedulur Sikep* lived in the Kendeng Mountains while carrying out daily resistance to the cement industry. In Pati Regency, *Sedulur Sikep* confront the company PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti/PT Indocement (A subsidiary of HeidelbergCement AG, Germany), while in Rembang Regency they face PT Semen Indonesia. *Sedulur Sikep* is spread out at the foot of the Kendeng Mountains, which is an area peppered with mining permits. Technically it will be difficult to find exact data regarding the number of *Sedulur Sikep* people with the Indonesian government's data management for its administrative nature and non-accommodation to the indigenous peoples. The following is an illustration/map obtained from the Strategic Environmental Study to reflect *Sedulur Sikep*'s presence along the foothills of the North Kendeng Mountains.

⁴ Samat, for example, offered the idea of "*Wong Tani*" (farmers) to fight the idea of how to live as "*Wong Buruh*" (workers). The idea of "*Wong Tani*" was intended to show that land managers and people who interact with the Earth are considered to lead a higher order of life (Shiraishi, 1990, p. 110). Even teachings like Samat are confused and equated with the teachings of Samin as a whole (Maliki, 2019, p. 13). The spread of Samat teachings was carried out between 1914 and 1920 to feature communalism with magical worship of land based on traditional Javanese eschatology (Kroef, 1959, p. 319).

The *Wong Sikep* or *Sedulur Sikep* Movement of Central Java's *Longue Durée* in Its Paradoxical Nature:
A Portent Form of Non-Violent Human Rights Struggles through Different Names



Picture 1. KLHS Map for North Kendeng Mountains Land Morphology Analysis
(Proximate Locations of *Sedulur Sikep* around the North Kendeng Mountain
Ranges)

Source: Hasil Analisis Morfologi Lahan 2017 in (Tim Pelaksana KLHS, 2017)

The picture above shows that the North Kendeng Mountain Range stretches very widely, covering six districts in Central Java Province: Pati, Rembang, Blora, Tuban, Bojonegoro, and Grobogan. In Pati Regency, the centers of *Sedulur Sikep* are in Sukolilo District, mainly around Baturejo and Sukolilo Villages. The two well-known figures in the anti-cement movement, the siblings Gunretno and Gunarti, live in Sukolilo District. One of the Sikep figures, Kang Icu, also lives in the same sub-district. In Kudus Regency, precisely in Karangrowo Village, Mbah Wargono lives with his wife Mbah Niti and their children. As one of the elders of *Sedulur Sikep*, Mbah Wargono's opinions and views determined the direction and spirit of the anti-cement resistance. Cement companies and the Central Java government have repeatedly visited Mbah Wargono to approve the existence of the cement industry in the Kendeng Mountains. In Rembang Regency, Tegaldowo Village, Gunem District, Joko Prianto is one of the active figures in the resistance to the cement industry.

Joko Prianto had represented residents in the environmental permit lawsuit and was also named a suspect by the police regarding the resistance to the cement industry on allegations of document falsification.

Sedulur Sikep's resistance was not merely a threat to their personal lives. However, *Sedulur Sikep* realize that there will be an impact on the environment and Mother Earth if the cement industry continues exploiting the Kendeng Mountains. The issue of groundwater/flowing water for the needs of the island of Java is a rational idea to be considered, not only because of spirituality or the demands of indigenous peoples. *Sedulur Sikep* struggle and learn with academics, activists, journalists, and various parties who understand environmental issues. The KLHS study has also warned against mining activities and refused any permits in the Kendeng Mountains because permits threaten the Groundwater Basin (Tim Pelaksana KLHS, 2017). At the same time, it also means that the Central and Central Java governments do not pay attention to the urgency of spatial planning that protects the groundwater basin. Future spatial plans should be based on KLHS and consider water degradation and other environmental issues in the Kendeng Mountains (Hadi et al., 2020, p. 3).

Sedulur Sikep, who always lives in peace and rejects hostility, must participate in the upheavals and movements of peasants for reasons of the influence and destructive impact of the colonial's Forced Cultivation. Kartodirjo (1987, p. 287) stated that the Forced Cultivation system and land leases resulted in the emergence of cultivation regulations and excessive burdens on farmers, including the cultivation of commercial crops. The forcible land use would damage the structure and way of life of *Sedulur Sikep*, who are usually independent, creative, and solid. They have the qualities and characteristics that can support resistance movements. There are at least three inner characters that can be seen and understood as the foundation of resistance: the principles and life ethics of *Sedulur Sikep* (life as a farmer), the value of respect for Nature, mutual cooperation among *Sedulur Sikep*, and the independent education for community sustainability. This inner-oriented value and character become the capital to live (*melakoni*) life with Mother Earth. These characters also become the basis and spirit of *Sedulur Sikep*'s struggle to defend Mother Earth and the Environment against the big cement industry.

1. Principles and life ethics of *Sedulur Sikep*

The way of life and principles of *Sedulur Sikep* appears to be very distinctive as a peasant movement. The *Sedulur Sikep* resistance movement is not meant to defeat the

opponent, and even in their concept, there is no such thing as hostility. The "opponent" in question tends to represent parties who disturb the order and destroy the environment. The concept of *Sedulur Sikep* assumes that all human beings (*wong*) are brothers (*sedulur*). This is a universal concept of respecting fellow human beings who also live and grow together in the environment. Mbah Wargono⁵ listened to Franky Welirang (Director of PT. Indocement) who came to ask for approval for the establishment of a cement factory; Mbah Wargono and *Sedulur Sikep* maintained their principle of rejecting the existence of a cement factory (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

The movement strikes peacefully when dealing with the government and cement companies through the philosophy of *Rame ing gawe, sepi ing pamrih, sugih tanpa bandha lan menang tanpa ngasorake* (work a lot, without ulterior motive, rich without wealth and winning without humiliating) (Darmastuti, 2015, p. 203). The actions are carried out all within the framework of "non-violent resistance" and becoming the model of continuous non-violent resistance (Widyarsono, 1998, p. 81). Magnis Suseno (2013) said that harmony happens when "everything is in its proper place"; this harmony takes place in finding a "place" both in the family, social environment, Nature, and in the heart and supernatural world.

However, the cultures and customs that exist in general in Javanese culture are incongruous to those of the *Sedulur Sikep*. Through the novel entitled "*Bumi Manusia*" (Human Earth), Pramoedya Ananta Toer laments the "dull" Javanese culture with beliefs in superstitions, the elevation of the dignity of officials, the attitude of easily giving in, and the archaic philosophy of knowledge (Firmansyah, 2013, p. 147). Through critical reflection, Ananta Toer's criticism is not all supported.

Sedulur Sikep places the viewpoint and purpose of life as something close to daily life. *Sedulur Sikep* tends to be realistic by assuming that all actions and attitudes have direct logical consequences instead of coming later in the afterlife (Korver, 1976, p. 252). *Sedulur Sikep* thus tend to think pragmatically about attitudes and actions in everyday life. They hold a concept of karma that every action will have consequences (Shiraishi, 1990, p. 114). In the context of *Sedulur Sikep*'s relationship with the environment, "living as a farmer" stands to respect and protect the environment or "Mother Earth directly."

Sedulur Sikep builds resistance movement through the Religion of Adam. The "Religion of Adam" with daily practices and habits is the source of *Sedulur Sikep*'s

⁵ One of the elders of *Sedulur Sikep* who lives in Kalioso Hamlet, Karangrowo Village, Kudus Regency, Mbah Wargono (and his wife Mbah Niti) lives in a housing complex of their children, siblings, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Mbah Wargono's children, namely Gunretno, Gunarti, Gunondo, Gunato, Gunarlin, and Gunawan. Gunretno, Gunarti, and Gunarto actively oppose, along with *Sedulur Sikep*, a cement factory.

understanding of the world and the order of behavior. The highest form of respect for the Earth, along with the role of being the farmer, is an important feature of the Religion of Adam. Furthermore, distinctive puritan traits such as prohibitions against stealing, lying, and drinking. The position of women is highly respected by *Sedulur Sikep*. More importantly, *Sedulur Sikep* is a non-Muslim who does not believe in Allah or God (Korver, 1976, p. 250). The concept of divinity or an almighty being is different from that of Islam.

Sedulur Sikep believes in "God within me," and everyone has the responsibility for practicing forgiveness (King, 1973). Through this concept, nobody needs to look anywhere or to carry out obligations outside of oneself. Human beings must improve themselves and maintain behavior and speech so as not to hurt other human beings. Human beings have the ability to production and technical awareness with Nature. This ability must be used to improving and producing goodness in oneself.

The term of Religion of Adam is not meant to point to "Adam" as the one being told in the Abrahamic Religions. The notion of religion for *Sedulur Sikep* tends to describe everyday conditions and is more about technical contents. Shiraishi (1990, p. 113) explains the concept of Adam's Religion in *Sedulur Sikep* as the following:

The central concept in the Religion of Adam is life (*urip*) which *Sedulur Sikep* calls "*suksma*" to signify the essence of all the forms of life. Life can take many forms, but all the forms are divided into two: person (*wong*) and food and clothing (*sandang pangan*). A human being (*wong*) is the highest and mightiest because human beings can reproduce human beings, food, and clothing (Shiraishi, 1990, p. 113).

The understanding of Adam's Religion is a critical reflection of *Sedulur Sikep* on life forms. The role of human beings (*wong*) as the highest entity is to manage and protect Nature. In the context of language, Adam's Religion is interpreted as a *speaker* or language, but not in the sense of the relationship between God and a Messenger. Adam's Religion is often correlated and interpreted in various forms by *Sedulur Sikep*. Nawayanto and Endrayadi (2017a, p. 58) explained the understanding of Adam's Religion as a language through the following opinion:

According to Gunarti, religion is *Gaman* or a weapon to fight or to avoid political intervention to *Sedulur Sikep*, especially during the Dutch colonial era. The term of *Adam pangucap* means that Adam is the name to pronounce. The word of Adam was pronounced to denote religion as a weapon or sexual activity. Before a couple

engages in intercourse, the marriage ceremony (*seksenan*; *seksi* means witness) becomes a medium to convey one's intentions. Within the social sphere, women of Samin understand that all things related to human beings, food, and clothing always need "Adam" or language. So, in conclusion, Adam's understanding is the speaker or language of the Samin community. Taken together, Adam's Religion means that the weapon of the Samin community is language (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, 2017a, p. 58).

Religion as a language reflects *Sedulur Sikep*'s position who have a unique way of criticizing daily life. They tend to take practical and functional context from language. Religion as a reflection of language itself is positioned to describe the various foundations and life principles of *Sedulur Sikep*. Religion as political criticism, reflection on male-female relations, food and clothing, and auto self-criticism. Auto-criticism is positioned before fighting through political criticism or dealing with other humans.

The task at *Sedulur Sikep* is more on self-criticism, which must continuously improve speech and behavior. As also stated by Mbah Wargono, the aim of *Sedulur Sikep* is *mbecikno kelakuan* (improving behavior) and *mbecikno ucapan* (correcting speech). Behavior improvement becomes very important before discussing events and conditions outside of humans and the environment.



Picture 2: Gunarto, Mbah Niti, dan Gunawan

Furthermore, one must be consistent in behaving and must not easily be carried away by the flow. For example:

Jadi araha ki, arah sedulur sikep iki kepengen njejegke siji mligi loro lugu. Ngerti mligi? Nek lugu? Kene pengakuane ngene iki upamane aku neng Jakarta ditakoni dulur tentang toto coro adat sedulur sikep, kudune podo karo wong jowo kene dadi kui mligi nyandang nganggo kene ngene jakarta wong ndi kono yo kudu ajeg (The direction of this *Sedulur Sikep* is towards "one consistency and two honesty" or "*siji mligi loro lugu*". Whenever I go to Jakarta, I am asked about the traditions of *Sedulur Sikep*: it should be the same as those of Javanese; what I wear here is consistently the same as what I wear in capital Jakarta).

In general, they are not allowed to leave their life and profession as farmers. The direction means *Sedulur Sikep* must be guided and behave whatever the place, circumstances, and problems they face. When refusing the cement factory, they resist in the same ways regardless of the conditions.

Furthermore, *Sedulur Sikep*'s puritan attitude in understanding Javanese tradition and launching the movement is evident in ethics and morality. First, *Sedulur Sikep* is puritanical and traditional because they rely on the ancestors' values and purity in their teachings (Setiadi, Saraswati, and Rosyid, 2017). The Samin group in Pati City, which was the pioneer of the Anti-Cement Resistance movement, is very aware of and absorbs all the traditions and teachings of *Sedulur Sikep*. They carried out the anti-cement campaign without leaving their life as farmers, let alone *Sedulur Sikep*'s values and traditions.

The essence of *Sedulur Sikep*'s teachings lies in improving actions, critical thoughts, and ethos as a farmer as reflected in honesty, solidarity, and *kejatmikan* (innovative thoughts) (Anfalia, Rachmawati and Yulindrasari, 2020). *Sedulur Sikep* train their children not through formal education or books and other literature. Brother (*Kang*) Icuk, the youngest son of Mbah Tarno (a deceased *Sedulur Sikep* elder), said that *Sedulur Sikep*'s teachings appear in the storytelling/oral tradition passed down from the ancestors (personal communication, 17 March, 2021). In indigenous communities, storytelling continues through the community, validates the experiences, and expresses the knowledge (Iseke, 2013, p. 1). The puritanical teachings remain the same since Mbah Samin Surosentiko

(original teacher) taught. *Mbah Wargono* and *Mbah Niti* show the prohibitions to be avoided by *Sedulur Sikep*:

Putu-putu ku ora sekolah nang sekolah formal kono sekolahe nang kui pak'e niki nyanding ngurangne kelakonan drengki, srei/kemiren, panasten, colong, jumput, nemu, dahwen, pethil. Angger yo wis yo kui kepengen gedekno kelakuan yo kui wis cukup. Yo tak kanda'no mau seneng-senengane yo kanggo ngrungkepi bumi peduli lingkungan peduli karo alam sak anak putu buyutku. (My grandchildren should not attend formal schools at my own brother's school to reduce envy, jealousy, easily offended or hating each other, stealing, stealing little things like shoplifting, claiming found goods, accusing without evidence, and miser. For me, it is enough to watch and correct their good behavior. These behaviors must protect the environment, Nature, and descendants) (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

These values can be divided into two. First, the values are related to the context of guarding the heart and soul (abstaining from envy, jealousy, easily offended, and accusing others) to live a peaceful life. The values in the guarding group are more to be patient and clever in placing oneself in a situation suitable for a harmonious life.

Second, the values are related to wisdom and awareness of other people's properties, such as through prohibitions to *colong* (stealing), *pethil* (miser), *jumput* (steal little things), *nemu* (claim found goods). At the same time, if they have an object that can provide benefits and meet people's needs, it must be shared with others. Parsinah,⁶ for example, said that every neighbor must know each other because all of them are brothers/sisters (*sedulur*), both *Sedulur Sikep* and not. As neighbors, *Sedulur Sikep* also shares everything they have, like foods, cakes, and other foodstuffs (Parsinah, personal communication, 18 March 2021).

In addition to the principles of guarding the heart and being wise in dealing with others' properties, *Sedulur Sikep* has values and principles related to trading. The values and principles conveyed by *Mbah Wargono* are more on the basic view of life.

Angger-Agger Pratikel (20 Abstinenes)				
Classification of Abstinence in <i>Sedulur Sikep</i>				
	Guards the heart and soul	Wisdom and awareness of others' properties	The evils that hurt others	Prohibition of trading in various forms of trade

⁶ A *Sedulur Sikep* who lives in Galiran Hamlet, Sukolilo District, Pati Regency, Parsinah is one of the female fighters (*Kendeng Kartini*) who is still active in the anti-cement movement.

**The Wong Sikep or Sedulur Sikep Movement of Central Java's *Longue Durée* in Its Paradoxical Nature:
A Portent Form of Non-Violent Human Rights Struggles through Different Names**

1. <i>Drengki</i> (envy)	1. <i>colong</i> (stealing)	1. <i>mbujuk</i> (lying)	1. <i>dagang</i> (trading)
2. <i>srei/kemiren</i> (jealousy)	2. <i>pethil</i> (miser)	2. <i>apus</i> (misleading)	2. <i>kulak</i> (wholesale)
3. <i>panasten</i> (easily offended or hate each other)	3. <i>jumpat</i> (take little things)	3. <i>akal</i> (tricky)	3. <i>blantik</i> (brokering)
4. <i>dahwen</i> (accusing without proof)	4. <i>nemu</i> (claiming found goods)	4. <i>krenah</i> (giving bad advice)	4. <i>mbakul</i> (selling),
		5. <i>ngampung</i> pernah (never return favors)	5. <i>nganakno</i> <i>uang</i> (loan lending).
		6. <i>nyio-nyio marang</i> <i>sepodo</i> (wasting/abusing fellow inhabitants of nature)	
		7. <i>bedog</i> (accusing).	

Table 1: *Angger-Agger Pratikel* in *Sedulur Sikep*

Mbah Samin had laid the foundation for the life principle of *Sedulur Sikep* through 20 taboos (Alamsyah, 2015; Putri, 2017a; Nawayanto and Endrayadi, 2017a). The values and principles previously mentioned are only eight types. In total, they are as follows: (1) *drengki* (envy), (2) *srei/kemiren* (jealousy), (3) *panasten* (easily angry, easily offended or hates others), (4) *colong* (stealing), (5) *pethil* (miser), (6) *jumpat* (stealing little things), (7) *nemu* (claiming found goods), (8) *dagang* (trading), (9) *kulak* (wholesale), (10) *blantik* (brokers), (11) *mbakul* (selling), (12) *nganakno uang* (moneylenders), (13) *mbujuk* (lying), (14) *apus* (misleading), (15) *akal* (tricky), (16) *krenah* (giving bad advice), (17) *ngampung* (returning no favors), (18) *dahwen* (accusing without evidence), (19) *nyio-nyio marang sepodo* (wasting/abusing fellow inhabitants of Nature), (20) *bedog* (accusing).

The group of evil traits covers treatments and actions that hurt others physically, mentally, and naturally. This group covers lying, cheating, scheming, giving bad advice, not returning favors, committing slander, and accusing without evidence of losses for others physically and emotionally. The universally recognized more evil acts such as murder and rape are not included because they are serious crimes by default.

The last group of prohibitions deals with trading in any form. In *Sedulur Sikep*'s understanding, all forms of trading are prohibited, such as trading, wholesaling, brokering, selling, and moneylending. The explicit prohibition is related to giving up goods or services in the hope of getting something more in return. *Mbah* Wargono mentioned the reflections related to the prohibition of trade:

Mulane mau mbah jare, toto gautane liwat tetanen nyandang mangan sing demunung tek'e dewe. Lan nyandang mangan sing demunung kui mesti piye? Mulane nek ora pertanian contohe dagang, kuwi keadaane iki ora iso nek kon demunung mergo dagang kui reh ne opo-opo kan diputusi dewe. Contohe umpamane kulakan rokok sepuluh ewu ngene di dol sepuluh ewu meneh kan urung kenek di dol ora-ora e sisane kanggo buruhan ora-orane ki rolas ewu. Lan rolas ewu kui kan sing rong ewu corone iki ora jelas. Ora jelase iki nek njaluk yo karuan yo iki ki regane semene. Lan iki aku ki njaluk rong ewu yo ngono kan ora mesti. (Initially you want to plant food and get clothing that is only for yourself. And what should we do to carry food for yourself? Non-agriculture activities like trade is not allowed because in trading we decide things unilaterally. For example, selling a box cigarettes worthy of 10,000 with a price of 12,000 is blurring the reason for the extra 2,000. What is the reason to ask for that extra 2,000?) (personal communication, 17 March, 2021).

The prohibition of selling is exempted for selling agricultural products. Currently, life is difficult without money in currencies. Money is useful to get clothing and food. In the past, the *Sedulur Sikep* custom did not allow selling agricultural products considering "*Sak apikapike adol, luwih apik yen tuku*" (buying is better than selling). However, in selling agricultural products, not all agricultural products are assumed as "owned" by *Sedulur Sikep* (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018, p. 36). Besides the past practice that forbade the sale of crops, some crops must be kept in food storehouses during calamities like drought, floods, or pest attacks.

As a way of life, the Religion of Adam requires no performance of rituals or other personal expressions. Gunarti emphasized, for example, "we in *Sedulur Sikep* do not have a special time to pray. Prayers are made when the heart is restless, and there is a desire from *Sedulur Sikep*" (personal communication, 21 March 2021). Among *Sedulur Sikep*, Rosyid mentions three ways of worshiping: *manembah/semi* (meditation) on *Yai* (God); *puasa* (fasting) *Sura* (the first month in Javanese calendar) for seven days or a month according to ability and *puasa weton* (fasting on the day of birth); and *sedekah* (alms) by slaughtering four-legged animals if they are in large harvests or cutting two-legged animals if the yields are low (Rosyid, 2018, p. 127).

Semedi or meditation is a means to reflect on the past, present, and future events in the form of hope for change. Done in silence, meditation's essence is asking for the maintenance of body and soul (Rosyid, 2018, p. 174). *Semedi* is also meant to seek the peace of mind when facing various problems. Gunarti said that he had visited *Mbah Samin's*

grave for meditation when she finds troubles during the resistance against the cement industry. In his contemplation, Gunarti felt the presence of spirits of two men from ancestors, both of which encouraged Gunarti to continue carrying out resistance movements against the cement industry (personal communication, 19 March 2021).⁷

The communication model and validation of decision choices through spirit communication occurred in February 2021. Gunretno said that on the second Sunday of February 2021, *Sedulur Sikep* held a meeting. This meeting was supposed to "invite" the spirits from the dead *Sedulur Sikep* elders and ancestors. The meeting discusses the internal consolidation of *Sedulur Sikep*, invites Mbah Samin's and the elders' spirits, and plans for the future of the environment (personal communication, 14 March 2021). This meeting was closed to outsiders of *Sedulur Sikep* and invited only a few *Sedulur Sikep* at Gunretno's residence for about one whole night.

Sedulur Sikep perform fasting for good changes in oneself. For *Sedulur Sikep*, fasting tends *ngepaske roso* (tuning in feelings) apart from enduring hunger and observing the principles of *Sedulur Sikep* to not to hurt others (Rosyid, 2018, p. 174). The principle of no harm can be returned to the *Angger-Angger Pratikel*, which guides the behavior of *Sedulur Sikep*.

Almsgiving is the sharing of clothing, food, and property that others can fulfill needs and enjoyment. Through almsgiving, they share the animals. The people who slaughtered these sacrificed animals are village modin (Islamic clerics) because *Sedulur Sikep* realize that they live among the Muslim population. They share the meat of quadrupeds or two-legged animals, depending on the success of the harvest. For a successful year, some four-legged animals will be slaughtered by the *modin* or Islamic religious clerks (Rosyid, 2018). Almsgiving is also a reflection of gratitude for the results given by Mother Earth. Mother Earth giving to one or a group of *Sedulur Sikep* does not mean that it is only meant for them. They are entrusted with abundant crops to provide benefits and prosperity to others.

2. Life as a Farmer: The Value of Respect for Nature and Mutual Cooperation of *Sedulur Sikep*

Sedulur Sikep movement is the longest and largest farmer-based movement in Southeast Asia (and Java). Agriculturalists as well as livestock keepers and forest product gatherers, *Sedulur Sikep* express through their Adam's Religion the respect to the

⁷ This story comes around the naming of Gunarti's son, Kohar. After hearing Mbah Samin's voice, Gunarti realized a few days later that she was pregnant. Kohar was the actual name given by the parents of Mbah Samin Surontiko that was later changed into a more vernacular "Samin" (Alamsyah, 2015, p. 66).

environment. During the colonial period, *Sedulur Sikep* believed in their roles as guardians of Nature. They claimed that the State/Dutch never created the wind, water, earth, and wood, but only peasants carried out the transformation of Nature (Peluso, 1992).

Sedulur Sikep's belief as guardians of Nature began more than a century ago. In 1905, Samin Surosentiko withdrew from the village life to reject the Colonial policy like tax collection as "only voluntary base" (King, 1973, p. 458). Taxes are were not a serious threat in the context of the resilience and sustainability of *Sedulur Sikep*. A more serious threat from the Dutch East Indies policy was the change of the methods of agriculture. *Sedulur Sikep* must follow orders and directives to plant certain crops. Fundamental Saminism teaches that the key to life is life as a farmer (Kurniawan, 2018, p. 512).

Furthermore, the logic for reflecting on the responsibility to the environment is reflected in Gunarti's words:

Suppose we spend 50,000 *rupiah* per week on the action. That is nothing compared to the pleasure of giving to Mother Earth. It must be done sincerely to do. The environmental problem is not just cement; cement is new. The other environmental problems have existed for a long time. If we love the environment, we will be loved. We live inseparably. The only difference is the name.

For *Sedulur Sikep*, human beings unbelievably do not respect Nature even though they have been given a lot from birth.

The peasantry-soil relationship is the strength of the *Sedulur Sikep* movement. They emphasize that land is not a property; land is a manifestation or embodiment of Mother Earth. This belief leads *Sedulur Sikep* to live in harmony with nature (Safitri, 2018, p. 228). The earth/rice fields/land must be cared for and managed responsibly, such as giving love to our mothers (Mardikantoro, 2013, p. 206).

Traditionally, *Sedulur Sikep* practice not only farming as an agriculturalist but also working as laborer (*mocok*), collecting snails (food items), fishing (*ngetet*), and livestock-keeping (cows and goats) (Setyaningrum, Astuti, and Alimi, 2017, p. 34). Uncle (*Lik*) Roso is one of *Sedulur Sikep* who works alone in his fields and gardens. At the harvest period in February 2021, villagers (*Sedulur Sikep* on non-*Sedulur Sikep*) carry out some assistance like caring and collecting the harvest (personal communication, 17 March 2021). Gunretno

and Gunarti, for example, practice animal husbandry near their homes. Gunretno has sufficient land for a cowshed and rice field (maincrop) not far from his house.⁸



Picture 3: Bagus (teenager in red) and mother-in-law of Gunarti (woman in blue) selecting and arranging the harvest of shallots

The family harvested shallots last February 2021⁹. The family uses the yields of shallots first for daily needs before thinking of selling them (for cash). The location of the cow and livestock pen is approximately 15-20 meters from Gunarti's house¹⁰. The pen accommodates three adult cows, more than eighteen chickens, and more than ten ducks. Gunarti takes care of this livestock together with all of her family members.

⁸ Gunretno's domicile is in Dukuh Bombong, Sukolilo District, Pati Regency, Central Java, Indonesia, on lands inherited from his parents and ancestors.

⁹ The February Harvest is the work of Bagus (son of Gunretno).

¹⁰ Gunarti's house is located in Sukolilo Village, Sukolilo District, Pati Regency, Central Java, Indonesia.



Picture 4: Gunarti feeding chickens, ducks, and cows.

Knowledge, techniques, and skills of *Sedulur Sikep*'s farming are based on the Religion of Adam. *Sedulur Sikep* consider certain values and logic when dealing with agricultural matters for hundreds of years. The philosophy of Adam's Religion emphasizes human relations with and respect for Mother Earth through the manifestation and experience of a unique farming tradition. The first teaching is about ancestral land ownership. For *Sedulur Sikep*, the land belongs to the universe, and land is never private property (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018). *Sedulur Sikep* do not own the land, but they believe that land is the living Mother Earth to be respected. The ancestors taught *Sedulur Sikep* on determination for the land for cultivation. To protect their "social capital" and resilience, *Sedulur Sikep* refuse to sell their land as the community will be separated and their customary practices gone (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018).

Sedulur Sikep strictly maintain their food security as their second teaching. They hold the principle of not selling the entire crop. The cash from some parts of the sold harvest fulfills daily needs. In the past, the harvest was not allowed to be sold at all because of the principle that "buying is better than selling" (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018). Being aware of the closeness of their lands to those of others, *Sedulur Sikep* must not become ignorant and selfish in interacting with the people around them. *Kang* (Brother)

Icuk expressed his views regarding the prohibition of selfishness and indifference to neighbors, especially peasants.

The other day, a professor and his team came to see us claiming to help *Sedulur Sikep*. This assistance is strange because our agricultural land is amid those of other villagers. This offer only to us *Sedulur Sikep* is inappropriate. The assistance "from upstream to downstream" should not be given to only *Sedulur Sikep* (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

Sedulur Sikep refuse to be exclusive and ignorant to the conditions and the communities around them. *Sedulur Sikep* and other villagers are also part of Nature and Mother Earth who have equal rights and entitlements to natural resources.

The third teaching is some rituals related to *Sedulur Sikep* farming that is carried out in two forms: washing of agricultural tools (*jamasan*) and the ceremony of giving thanks to Nature¹¹. *Jamasan* is performed by purifying/cleaning agricultural tools like hoes and sickles. Agricultural tools are sacred objects that help and support the daily life of *Sedulur Sikep* (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018). To show gratitude to Nature, *Sedulur Sikep* perform *Kadeso* ritual, which is carried out by making tumpeng (rice cooked and arranged like a cone) and praying together near a spring near their farming sites (Kurniasari, Cahyono, and Yuliati, 2018)¹².

During the era of Samin Surosentiko, the "social capital" of the *Sedulur Sikep* began through the conception of *gogol* land. Shiraishi (1990, p. 11) interviewed Dangir (one of old *Sedulur Sikep* once living in the colonial era) and reported the concept of *gogol* land.

¹¹ These rituals were observed among *Sedulur Sikep* in Blora but not among those in Pati. *Sedulur Sikep* in Pati might improvise some rituals oriented externally towards supports to the anti-cement campaigns. These differences in the ways *Sedulur Sikep* deal with the government might have a correlation with the previous Suharto Regime's launching the *divide et impera* to control *Sedulur Sikep* in Blora and Pati that remain to these days. There was once a story in Pati that the Suharto's Regime forced the parents of primary school students among *Sedulur Sikep* to "remarry" under one acknowledged religion to get a marriage certificate that allowed these children to be accepted in government-subsidized Primary Schools. Not knowing what was the religion of these *Sedulur Sikep*, the government set Buddhist ceremonies to launch "remarriage" rituals (Sobirin, personal communication, 20 May 2021). As part of this old story, when the cement companies were scrambling for places to invade, the remnants of the *Orde Baru*/Suharto Regime pointed towards Pati Regency (not Blora) as the targets for cement companies to ransack (Sobirin, personal communication, 20 May 2021). The Suharto Regime's soft stance towards Blora City's *Sedulur Sikep* but hard stance on those in Pati City had paradoxically strengthened the sturdy resilience among the latter.

¹² This ritual is known by the Javanese as *slametan* (*slamet* means safe). Geertz (1976) noticed that *slametan* is Javanese teaching to respond to events (celebrations or improvement in life). For *Sedulur Sikep*, this ritual means gratefulness for the blessings, gifts, and happiness from agriculture. A reminder for them to be aware of the consequences of actions, *slametan* is done with large meals preparation by celebrating families (Newberry, 2007).

This concept states that *gogol* land is a piece of land (house yard) owned by a farmer that gives the farmer the access to "share" (access) the village's communal land; and this farmer should pay "taxes" by doing labor obligations. Dangir calls this farmer a "sturdy person" (strong person). At the time, *Sedulur Sikep* and "kuli kenceng" (laborer) signify the same status as *gogol* (Shiraishi, 1990, p. 111).

This *gogol* land system led to the existence of a land status that is managed communally under the coordination of one farmer (as the leader of the *gogol* land). "Gogolan ground" thus means a communal land accessible and entitled to the *Gogol* (villagers or "sturdy men"). The work in this piece of land is carried out in turn and according to the land's location (Luthfi and Shohibuddin, 2016). This "communal land" concept allows each *Sedulur Sikep* to share agricultural products. Landowners with extra land can share the space and opportunities for community members with little land.

Sedulur Sikep recognize a collective land or communal land with social values for supporting the life of the local communities. Access to communal land improves resilience to the uncertainties in the agricultural system. Another tradition called *lebotan* enables villagers to assist one another in the fields or gardens. According to Gunarti, each *Wong Sikep* can ask for necessary help or receive assistance in their farms and harvests. Through reciprocity, those who get help are obliged to return the favor whenever they are asked to help others.

Sedulur Sikep tend to set their houses close and lined up like in *Sedulur Sikep* settlement in Sukolilo village, in a sub-district of Sukolilo. Picture 5 below shows *Sedulur Sikep*'s settlement patterns.



Picture 5: *Sedulur Sikep* Village in Sukolilo Village, Sukolilo District

The settlements implemented by *Sedulur Sikep* can be described as centralized settlements. Centralized settlement patterns are set to facilitate better communication between family or friends (Wiraprama, Zakaria, and Purwantiasning, 2015, p. 33). Activities like *jagongan* (gathering and chatting) have become a habit formed and carried out to respond to new situations such as the cement industry's arrival. *Sedulur Sikep* discuss most problems of their daily life ranging from agricultural issues to the future of their community.

The teachings of Adam's Religion require no display of any symbol of spiritual or other authority. Taught not to be fearful to any "Almighty Being," *Sedulur Sikep* are discouraged from discussing the concept or forms of spiritual, personal, or group authority.¹³ They just simply practice 20 Abstinence or *Angger-Agger Pratikel*, other *Sedulur Sikep* customs, and respect for Mother Earth.

¹³ The characteristics of *Nusantara* or "native" religions require no debate on any "Almighty Being." Native religions' main concern is the arrangement of the behavior of a person in society. For example, the Sundanese *Wiwitan* Religion in West Java prioritizes the implementation of *pikukuh* or rules of human life rather than debating about beliefs (Indrawardana, 2014).

3. Sustainable Education and Adaptation with Science and Technology

Education maintains the traditions, values, and teachings of *Sedulur Sikep* as part of a community or society. A group of Indonesian students from another place questioned Parsinah, a *Sedulur Sikep*, about the *Sedulur Sikep*; Parsinah recounted as the following.

They asked about what kind of people we are because our villages are remote in the forest. The students questioned whether *Sedulur Sikep* are good or bad people, religious or not religious. Here, Parsinah recalled, that if we are living with other people, we should be treating them like our siblings (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

This curiosity arises because *Sedulur Sikep* is not a totally isolated group or community that lives side by side with other communities. Parsinah's house is not far from the main road of Sukolilo District to Pati Regency. *Sedulur Sikep* use vehicles, mobile phones, TVs, the internet, etc. in everyday life with no restrictions.

In general, *Sedulur Sikep* in Sukolilo, Pati choose and decide to provide education to their children through informal education. However, records in 2013 showed that some *Sedulur Sikep* attended formal schools and graduated from a private Vocational High School (SMK) (Rosyid, 2016). The materials for teaching and learning activities (*sinau*) to children and the *Sedulur Sikep* generation are parts of everyday life. Applying the Religion of Adam and 20 Abstinences (*Angger-Agger Pratikel*), *Sedulur Sikep* focus on children and adolescents who still need basics and introduction to the values and traditions of *Sedulur Sikep*.

The *Sedulur Sikep*-style education without formal classes or schedules preserves their identity (Rosyid, 2016). Formal education, for example, teach *Sedulur Sikep* youth nothing about Adam's Religion or farmer's ethics. Education through a system called *Pondok Pasinauan* transmits and passes down *Sedulur Sikep*'s ethics and values (Aziz, 2012). Prohibitions to study in formal education, for example, are based on a presumption that "the more intelligent a person becomes, the higher potential of the person to deceive others" (Yudono, 2006).

The teachings of *Sedulur Sikep* come through the elders who bring on the ancestors' heritage. *Kang Icu* (one of the elders) holds a role in the teaching of the heritage of *Sedulur Sikep*'s values and traditions (Setyaningrum, Astuti, and Alimi, 2017). According to *Kang Icu*, *Sedulur Sikep* convey messages and values through stories. Values and traditions are not conveyed through any written forms (personal communication, 17 March 2021). In

general, indigenous communities use storytelling to continue the community, validate experiences, and express experiences with knowledge (Iseke, 2013).

Starting from homes, education functions some very important values and practices for the sustainability of the community (Jumari et al., 2012). Educators are mothers whose role is the main teacher for the *Sedulur Sikep*'s younger generation. Nawiyanto and Endrayadi (2017a) reported three roles of *Sedulur Sikep* women in education. First, women show ethical basic education materials to *Sedulur Sikep* children. In the teachings of *Sedulur Sikep*, ethics begins to the understanding of value like prohibition to waste other people's existence or properties (*nyio-nyio marang sepodo*) and to act disrespectfully towards others (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, 2017a).

The second role stands to teachings the principles of human interaction (attitudes and actions). The teachings start from the prohibition to steal (*colong*), to steal little things (*jumput*), and to slander people (*bedok*) to respect others' belonging (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, 2017a).

In the third role, *Sedulur Sikep* mothers teach the character of *Sedulur Sikep*. They teach "knowing thyself" (*kudu weruh tek'e dewe*) and innocence (in making agreement or transaction with other people) (Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, 2017a). Principles like this reflect their honesty as human beings. Honesty is defined not only in the context of words but also in consistent deeds to words.

The teachings of *Sedulur Sikep* are based on observing natural processes, adapting ways of living, taking foods from animals and plants, and using natural materials to make their tools (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005).

Traditional education is carried out systematically by *Sedulur Sikep*. Gunarti became one of the coaches of the children's education who organized classes for *Sedulur Sikep* every Friday in Gunarti's house in Sukolilo Village, Sukolilo District, Pati Regency¹⁴. The materials cover tradition, Javanese language (Javanese scripts), culture, arts, the development of the nation's condition, and cooking recipes. Picture 8 shows the *Sedulur Sikep*'s children studying together at Gunarti's house.

¹⁴ In Bombong Hamlet Sukolilo District, Gunarti educates the teachers who are set to teach in each village because these teachers still need assistance on teaching materials and techniques.



Picture 6: *Sedulur Sikep* children looking at the materials provided by Gunarti

Gunarti teaches lessons related to the values and practices of life through songs in Javanese. Undivided into certain age groups/levels, the 'classes' are set differently from the formal education. Using fun and enjoyment, Gunarti teaches children through singing and other activities like arts and traditional music instruments (*gamelan*, *gong*, *angklung*) in "Omah Kendeng" (Kendeng House)¹⁵.

Education for *Sedulur Sikep* is more about conveying the values and heritage of the *Sedulur Sikep* traditions through the test of time. Education can be divided into three types/forms of learning for *Sedulur Sikep*. First, learning comes from the elders in the form of a reflection on the values and traditions of the ancestors. Second, learning appears in the lessons managed by the mothers. The mothers provide basic knowledge and skills needed for daily life. Third, additional education comes through shared classes managed by the teachers. Activities organized by Gunarti provide varied understanding through local materials and the environment.

C. Outer-Oriented Characteristics of *Sedulur Sikep*

¹⁵*Omah Kendeng* or Kendeng House is a building where Sikep and non-Sikep peoples gather to carry out art activities and discuss important issues related to the village, such as the issue of a cement factory.

This section discusses innovation and the opposed qualities of *Sedulur Kendeng's* characters. They can withstand the test of time and resist the new threats from the cement industry, which become a test to agility in adaptation and character strengthening. Since 2006 (Safitri, 2018; Hadi et al., 2020), the threats from PT Semen Gresik, PT Indocement to PT Semen Indonesia confront and shake the characters of *Sedulur Sikep*. This set of threats provokes a massive change in non-violent resistance, which is carried out in various campaigns, political communications, and demonstrations. Various parties have been invited and inspired to participate in the movement, ranging from academics, local villagers, journalists, cultural observers to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). *Sedulur Sikep* accept the use of Information Technologies as long as it suits their needs and their daily lives.

The non-violent strategy at the colonial time of *Mbah Surosentiko* was effective. The movement rejected both taxes and participation in the state administration. However, in the current era, refusal to pay taxes or to be part of state administration might close *Sedulur Sikep's* access to citizenship, civil, political, and other rights.

The strategy of refusal to sell their lands is only a part of the resistance by *Sedulur Sikep*. Those who still carry out the ancestors' teachings offer a logic that selling land and houses would destroy their life support. If farmers lose their sources of livelihood through selling the properties, they must look for land and a house again. Selling land also means changes in their lives, traditions, cultures, and jobs. *Sedulur Sikep* believe that they have the right to manage their lands; neither the government has the right to manage the land nor change the function of lands into a cement industry.

The interpretation of the land's meaning and Mother Earth in the era of anti-cement resistance has become further contextualized and has become a capital for the movement. Along this line, McGregor (2004, p. 399) claimed that in the conception of indigenous people, ecological knowledge is an integral part of their lives or as a way of life. The following is the understanding of *Kang Icuik* in explaining the environment and ecology:

You can imagine that if the island of Java is a human body, the head is in West Java/Jakarta. The stomach and food production sites are in Central Java. Meanwhile, the legs are in East Java. You cannot irritate and injure the stomach; if so, then the entire body system cannot work properly (Putri, 2017a, p. 2).

The view of the environment that is not centered only in Central Java Province reflects the awareness of the conditions and roles of each province. The affirmation of Central Java's importance increases the awareness that if Central Java fails to produce food, the other provinces will crumble.

The broadened meaning of Mother Earth and land values have crystallized into a specific regional issue. The narrative of the Kendeng mountains is born from the upheaval and resistance of *Sedulur Sikep*. *Sedulur Sikep* must resist the discourse of the cement industry as a national agency that brings welfare to the society. Thus, the narrative that *Sedulur Sikep* unleash against the cement industry's narrative is the Mother Earth narrative. **Human beings living on Earth are personified as children who take care of and are cared for by Mother Earth.** The existence of limestone mining for cement factories will destroy the relationship between Mother and child (Ardianto, 2016, p. 187). Kendeng Mountains are the manifestation of Mother Earth that is directly destined to *Sedulur Sikep*. These narratives start from Kendeng Mountain as the place in the Javanese mythology where Samin came; Kendeng is the place for the Javanese gods and goddesses who protect the island of Java. The Kendeng Mountains are the sleeping quarters of *Nagaraja* (white dragons) that protect the underground rivers (Putri, 2017a, p. 90).

Efforts to expand and simultaneously explain the essence of the value of Mother Earth and land are part of the effort to gather and muster supports. *Sedulur Sikep* neither claim nor take the position that the anti-cement movement belongs only to *Sedulur Sikep*. The anti-cement movement figures are often identified as Gunretno, Gunarti, and Gunarto, the three siblings from the *Sedulur Sikep* group. However, other villagers in Sukolilo Subdistrict and its surroundings have been also involved, although they have troubles with differences in identities and cultural signifiers. Gunarto explained that the pro-cement group often provokes the demonstrators and anti-cement groups not to join the Samin or *Sedulur Sikep* members because the latter "have no understanding and uneducated" (personal communication, 17 March 2021).

The movement began with *Sedulur Sikep's* ecological knowledge that eventually inspired and encouraged the other groups' involvement in the anti-cement campaign. Consistency and persistence of *Sedulur Sikep* in characters who are well-known for true honesty and commitment to environmental sustainability. For example, in other resistance studies, resistance can encourage or create a new resistance group (Lilja et al., 2017, p. 51).

The new environmental-oriented interpretations and movements have changed *Sedulur Sikep's* character, culture, and identity. *Sedulur Sikep* group in Blora City, for example, is more open to cultural changes. Approached nicely by the previous Suharto Regime (1969-1999), those in Blora participate in some local government programs. *Sedulur Sikep* who live in Pati and Kudus or under the auspices of *Mbah Wargono*,

Gunretno, and Gunarti, tend to shut down outside influences, especially local government interferences and interventions (Rosidi et al., 2020, p. 77).

In general, the rejection against government intervention has begun in the resistance of *Sedulur Sikep* in Pati and Kudus against the cement industry. The unequal distribution of capital and resources is another issue that breaks the principles of *Sedulur Sikep*. Kang Icuik said that *Sedulur Sikep* refuse any assistance or donations because of the selective attitudes towards *Sedulur Sikep*; they refuse assistance that is given to only *Sedulur Sikep*. For Kang Icuik, the village is a home for not only *Wong Sikep* (personal communication, 16 March 2021). Special treatments create jealousy or even inequality in resource distribution.

The more closed cultures of *Sedulur Sikep* in Pati and Kudus produce typical communities that are tough and critical to threats. Through this difference in communities' nature, the environmental movement becomes splinter groups. For example, Mbah Wargono and his children may support the environmental movement as part of the *Sedulur Sikep*'s principles taught by the ancestors. However, *Sedulur Sikep* in Pati and Kudus throw many criticisms regarding the radical changes after the environmental movement began. Among the *Sedulur Sikep*'s communities, the concept of firm authority or a formal chairperson does not exist (Maliki, 2019, p. 261).

As explained in the previous Section, *Sedulur Sikep*'s knowledge was developed around some narratives and discourses. *Sedulur Sikep* who live in Pati and Kudus tend to be more puritan and conservative to protect their livelihood. However, an environmental movement is a way to sustain the communities in Kendeng Mountain. The outer-oriented character and innovation in the environmental movement will be described in three forms: Kendeng's narrative, deliberation, and organization against the threat of the cement industry; Sikep and socio-economic resilience; and the Communications, networking, and environmental protection movement. These three characters that appear along the resistance might describe the meeting point between the values and the inner-oriented principles of *Sedulur Sikep*. The newly emerged character does not eliminate the existence and influence of the values and principles of *Sedulur Sikep*, which are based on the Religion of Adam, livelihood as farmers, and taking side with the environment.

1. Kendeng's narrative, deliberation, and organization against the threat of the cement industry

Sedulur Sikep is a typical set of indigenous communities with relatively strong brotherhood ties among each other. They tend to discuss community affairs based on

communal votes and decisions. Building and launching resistance against the cement industry is certainly not an easy affair for them. The complexity of the issue of the cement industry that has invaded the Kendeng Mountains must awaken *Sedulur Sikep*'s activism to defend and fight for the environment. While these honest peasants farm, they must repel the threats that directly or indirectly affect their life. *Sedulur Sikep* must prepare the resistance appropriately, considering that the extractive cement industry has likely more considerable economic, political, and social influences.

The characteristics of the extractive business like the cement industry bring various problems and issues—first, the problem of the impact and scale of the damage caused by the cement industry. Around the location of the cement factory, at least two major problems appear. Mercury particles will threaten villagers' health around the mining location in Kendeng Mountain; the cement industry consumes water massively during its operation. Cement production will take an immense amount of underground water and materials that serve as a water storage structure (Sumarlan, 2020). The cement industry thus threatens Watu Putih Groundwater Basin that has four active underground rivers and at least 49 caves (HuMa et al., 2016, p. 19). Second, the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Permit policies impede *Sedulur Sikep*'s access and rights to natural resources. The legal and political efforts carried out by *Sedulur Sikep* failed to stop cement industry activities in Kendeng (Rumpia, 2020, p. 48). Third, the discourse of management and control of natural resources in Kendeng Mountain is dominated by the cement industry as the false harbinger of "prosperity" and improved quality of human life (Ardianto, 2016, p. 78). These three problems reveal that the threats appear not only from the company's activities but also from the state's support to the cement industry.

Witnessing the invasion of the cement Mega Project, *Sedulur Sikep* participate in strengthening the role and potential social capital for resistance. *Rembug* (community consultation and deliberation) is both a value and a strategy used by *Sedulur Sikep* to maintain and strengthen the anti-cement movement.

The discourse of *Sedulur Sikep* women improves the sustainability of the anti-cement movement. *Sedulur Sikep* women have gone beyond household duties and family affairs to take active parts in the resistance. *Sedulur Sikep* women launched a very iconic and massive campaign in the form of the cemented foot action. The members of a group called "Kartini Kendeng"¹⁶ cemented their feet in front of the Indonesian Presidential Palace Jakarta. On

¹⁶The name of "Kartini" provokes the image of women's emancipation and empowerment. Kartini is taken from Raden Ajeng Kartini, a Javanese female figure in the colonial era who was often associated with women's emancipation.

12 April 2016, nine Kendeng women cemented their legs for the President to see. This peaceful protest action symbolizes the bind of the cement factory on Kendeng people's life (Wulansari and Sigit, 2017).

Sedulur Sikep women join beyond accompanying the men to launch the environmental movement. *Sedulur Sikep*'s women provide ideas and strategies to strike the cement industry through cultural, artistic, and symbolic resistance. *Sedulur Sikep* women throw various arts and ritual activities to resist the cement industry. Kartini Kendeng fills the void when the Kendeng environmental movement weakens because of *Sedulur Sikep*'s puritanical attitude (Setiadi, Saraswati,, and Rosyid, 2017, p. 25). However, Kartini Kendeng is a very powerful narrative for the sustainability of the environmental movement. Since 2018, the narrative and identity of the environmental movement changed from the *Sedulur Sikep* movement to Kartini Kendeng. In the narrative transformation, the Kartini Kendeng Movement, also called Simbar Wareh (one of the springs in Kendeng Mountain), has shown that the universal movement of women in Kendeng is still inseparable from the crucial roles of *Sikep* women (Maliki, 2019, p. 251). However, this condition does not reduce the diverse involvement of the Kendeng women's group. The resistance movement by Kendeng women also involved Muslims.

The strengthening of the role and movement of Kartini Kendeng is a reflection of the social conditions and the significant threat from the cement industry. *Sedulur Sikep* women realized that the fight against the cement industry could not be carried out by men alone. The role of women is guarding the house while building cultural and women's movements in fighting against the cement industry. Gunarti revealed that the reason for women's involvement was that Kendeng mothers' roles were crucial in fighting the cement industry.

Men involved in the anti-cement movement need mothers to guard the house/as a last resort. In launching the movement, Kendeng Movement does not let the efforts carried out together be in vain because of the lack of knowledge from the mothers. Mothers who are waiting for the home must have basic knowledge and the direction of the anti-cement movement. What if one day there are thugs, village officials, or officials who come to persuade or frighten the mothers. You can refuse, but you can be trapped in supporting the cement industry (Gunarti, personal communication, 17 March 2021).

In Gunarti's imagination, mothers at that time should not be trapped and intimidated because of their ignorance of the cement issue. Ladies and gentlemen must work together and collaborate on the anti-cement movement. Technically, the dangers and threats will be very complex, so the movement must involve movement actors and issues more diverse.

Mothers who look after the house and manage the rice fields can have knowledge which is a fortress in defending the community against the cement interests.

In *Sedulur Sikep* culture, the existence of women is one of the manifestations of Mother Earth. Gunarti further explained that there is also a fundamental need to accommodate and display the opinions and voices of mothers in principle. During the colonial period, besides charismatic figures such as Grandfather Samin Surosentiko, a women-led movement was yet to be seen. In the contemporary context, *Sedulur Sikep's* women supply experience and knowledge to the community's sustenance. Having participated in the lately environmental action, *Sedulur Sikep's* women build new knowledge on the real threats of the cement industry. Thus, children learn from their mothers about the menacing threats on *Sedulur Sikep's* life and entitlements shortly.

Sedulur Sikep reform their methods of communication and consolidation. On the one hand, *Sedulur Sikep* reveal environmental problems to other peoples. *Sedulur Sikep* expose the fact that environmental destruction would befall all, *Sedulur Sikep* or non-*Sedulur Sikep*. On the other hand, they generously hold that the Kendeng environmental movement belongs to all communities living in the area. When *Sedulur Sikep's* puritan movement transforms into an all-peasant movement, all communities in Kendeng Mountain will benefit. The all-peasant movement called the Kendeng Mountains Care Network (JM-PPK) brings people and peasants around the Kendeng Mountains to stand up against the cement industry.

Before the JM-PPK appeared, Pati Farmers Union (SPP or *Serikat Petani Pati*) led the struggle to gather and muster the strength and voice of the farmers who are threatened by the cement industry. *Sedulur Sikep* and other Kendeng peoples joined this struggle. Only later, Kendeng peoples transformed the Pati Farmers Union into Kendeng Mountain Care Network (JM-PPK). Gunretno initiated both SPP and JM-PPK movements as the alliance of the community organizations to defend the Kendeng Mountain environment (Putri, 2017a). These two organizations continue to work together to preserve and defend the Kendeng mountains. While Pati Farmers Union is more focused on preserving the environment, JM-PPK metamorphoses into a movement standing up against the impacts of extractive industries.

The JM-PPK regroups and organizes resistance in technical aspects and ideological discussions. Large-scale movements usually confront technical problems such as coordination and administration. Gunarto explained the technical reasons facing the JM-PPK as what follows:

In the action of the JM-PPK, administrative problems and communicating of messages/official letters are necessities. The Kendeng people need an official letter to declare statements or to respond to government policies. Many questions arose earlier on how to implement a resistance movement against cement. This organization discusses various matters such as coordinating actions, fundraising, and settling mobilization (personal communication, 17 March 17, 2021).

Sedulur Sikep realizes that they lose chances to respond to issues and problems quickly, accurately, and effectively without the administrative aspect. In terms of management, the JM-PPK offers a space to analyze and calculate the development of issues and problems of Kendeng people. The management intends to consolidate knowledge and strengthen solidarity among JM-PPK members and other anti-cement groups.

For the movement's ideology, Gunretno initially only translated *Mbah Samin's* teachings around environmental protection. Later, the JM-PPK builds environmental values into a resistance movement against the cement industry and supports the Kendeng Women's movement (Maliki, 2019). The JM-PPK expands the interests and orientation of the resistance to the peasants and ordinary people living around the Kendeng Mountains. This narrative expands more involvement on the Kendeng Mountain issues.

"Kendeng Mountains" is a straightforward narrative offered by JM-PPK to pose against the menacing invasion of the cement interests. The damage will occur in the vicinity of *Sedulur Sikep's* residence (Sukolilo, Pati District) and the surrounding districts (Pati, Rembang, and Kudus). The JM-PPK exposes the threats to the life of all in the Kendeng community. During major ceremonies known as "*Lamporan*," the farmers mentioned the following:

"Pests" are not only grasshoppers or rats but also the cement factories that have become "modern pests." This pest wreaks havoc, not just on the rice crop. This pest wreaks havoc on the land and springs. This pest category covers leaders who are not trustworthy and refusing to take farmers and sound environmental policies on their side (Wagner, 2018, p. 257).

Society members resist cement factories and the conspiracy among the state, the companies, and ignorant people. On the one hand, the state's laws and policies discard the proper environmental preservation. Siding with the cement interests, the state reduces the Kendeng Mountains into a dead commodity. Resolution of environmental problems turns into administrative red-tapes, i.e., through farcical "production" of Environmental Impact

Assessment and mining business permits. On the other hand, PT Semen Indonesia and smaller companies wreak havoc on the Kendeng Mountains.

The narratives of Kartini Kendeng and JM-PPK transform *Sedulur Sikep*'s social life. While they maintain the values and teachings passed on by their ancestors, *Sedulur Sikep* transcend traditional boundaries in terms of movement and social relations (deliberation and organization). They moved together with other people outside *Sedulur Sikep* to stand for the Kendeng Mountains. The narrative of the environmental movement and the women's movement set new characters for *Sedulur Sikep*. Nevertheless, this new character provokes questions from some of *Sedulur Sikep* who are nervous and harboring doubts about its conformity to the *Sedulur Sikep*'s traditions.

Beginning with the late *Mbah* Tarno who passed away in 2009 and rejected industrialization in Java (Maliki, 2019), this anti-cement movement continues the *Sedulur Sikep* traditions (Gunretno, personal communication, 17 March 2021). The anti-cement movement was centered around the JM-PPK that gathers and musters resistance against the cement interests for more generations to come. Gunretno predicts that more figures from the ranks and files of the JM-PPK's fighters and campaigners will appear in the future.

2. *Sedulur Sikep* and socio-economic resilience

A part of the Kendeng women's movement and JM-PPK, *Sedulur Sikep* respond to the menacing threats that appear on the Kendeng Mountains' gate. In fact, mining sites for limestones, lime, and clay have encroached the public land in the Kendeng Mountains. For example, small limestone mining sites have operated in Slungkep Village, Sukolilo, Pati. Waving a permit numbered 543.32/1062 of 2016, CV Berkah Alam Asri undermines and alters limestone composite in Kendeng Mountains (Apriando, 2018, p. 1). In Rembang Regency, for example, PT Semen Indonesia extracts limestones, clay, and water in a mining area of 294 ha. The catchment area for the companies (Semen Sumber and Brubulan Springs) extends to 3,856.42 ha (PT. Semen Indonesia, 2017, p. II-150). Thus, *Sedulur Sikep*'s and people's lives are encroached by various types of cement-related industry that control lands and properties (buildings and roads). The state has struck open Pandora's Box through supports and legitimacy for the cement industries in the Kendeng Mountains.

Sedulur Sikep must continue to struggle against the destructive cement industry, the environment, and people's lives, rights, and entitlements. Thus, the condition for a chronic socio-ecological crisis has been set. Rachman (2015) revealed the elements for ecological crisis as follows:

The continuation of a way of life inspired by the capitalist production method/system threatens people's safety, people's productivity, natural services, and people's welfare. Agricultural people become mere laborers. Meanwhile, labor and nature become raw materials and resources that are drained through the capitalist system. Furthermore, capitalism transforms the state apparatus into a mere "committee for the interests of the bourgeoisie," as mentioned by Karl Marx (Rahman 2015, pp. 175-176).

Capitalism transforms not only raw materials and modes of production but also enhances ecological crisis set to control the production system, society, natural resources, and the state. *Wong Sikep* become startled that the local communities are robbed of entitlements to resources that have become mines and offices.

Sedulur Sikep resist not just because of the loss of entitlements and access to natural resources. The cement industry threatens the extinction of Adam's Religion and the traditions of *Sedulur Sikep* farmers. Eroded and shoved by swallowing-all companies, the peasants' identities would be lost when their livelihood means and traditions are gone. Gunarti reported that the resistance to cement interest is just a recent event; environmental problems also had come before the cement industry came (personal communication, 17 March 2021). In short, peasant groups like *Sedulur Sikep* must confront and survive threats and crises intermittently. For example, in February 2021, floods destroyed *Sedulur Sikep*'s rice fields and other crops in Pati City. Flood or landslide is just one of the threats against peasants like them.

Sedulur Sikep have a vision of a world that guarantees the traditions of peasants and farmers. A reflection from *Mbah Samin*'s era reveals that the movement was working towards an ideal radical transformation of society. They yearn for the "Golden Age" or "Adam's Age" to break the social order created by the Colonial Government. *Mbah Samin* envisioned peace and happiness in a social order that demands no taxes, no prohibition of access to teak forests, and no excessive burdens on peasants and farmers (Korver, 1976, p. 251). Like other millenarian movements, *Sedulur Sikep* share the character and movement that search for the ideal world order. Millenarian movements are resilient and persistent in working towards the ideals of a utopian society. Miles (2010), for instance, insisted that the millenarian movement is quite elastic in delaying their meetings with a joyful future. The struggle to reach an ideal society must be carried out collectively, not just by each individual (Miles 2010, pp. 647-648).

During colonial times, the peasants resisted the exploitation of the peasants' labor to meet the colonial government's needs. In the 21st-century, *Sedulur Sikep* resisted the extractive industries that care little about farmlands and people living and working on the lands. The cement industry brings no benefits to agriculturalists in Kendeng Mountains. A millenarian movement's flexible and elastic character constitutes its strength to face various problems, opponents, and relationships. Millenarian movement's followers who wait and struggle for a new world might abandon previous their old practices as well (Scott, 2009, p. 504). Different practices that fit into new conditions could be considered legitimate to be implemented.

Sedulur Sikep has the social capital and the strategy for nurturing the movement. This social capital manifest and appear in daily life to inspire other people outside *Sedulur Sikep*. In the context of the movement, the social capital owned by *Sedulur Sikep* has even become the basis for strengthening solidarity among the Kendeng Mountains activists. First, *Sedulur Sikep* preserve social capital by maintaining interactions and relationships among *Sedulur Sikep* communities and other Kendeng people. Visits or *srawung* (a word used in the lowest level of Javanese language called "*ngoko*") represent a tradition of visiting neighbors or relatives (to keep a relationship). In certain conditions, *Srawung* might become a medium for socializing and strengthening the brotherhoods (Mardikantoro, 2012, p. 351). At moments during *Srawung*, an interesting practice appears. The host visited by *Sedulur Sikep* would provide one jug of water from which both visitors and host drink directly (without glasses) (Setiadi, Saraswati, and Rosyid, 2017, p. 20). This practice symbolizes a lack of distance, close togetherness, and equality.

*Srawung*¹⁷ means not just visits but also discussions on various problems or complaints on certain issues, both agriculture and others. *Srawung* is one of the key activities to conserve and strengthen the anti-cement movement. In the early days of the cement company's incursion into people's land, Gunarti visited relatives in Sukolilo Village and other villages in Sukolilo District. These visits conveyed concerns and invited relatives, especially mothers, to understand the real issues of the cement industry and to take part in the movement. On other occasions, Gunretno actively visited invited relatives and people to gather at his house. *Srawung* has even become a medium to recruit and form anti-cement organizations (Laksana, 2013, p. 160; Putri, 2017a, p. 107). *Srawung* signifies the birth of an organization like the JM-PPK. The agreement to discuss issues around the Kendeng

¹⁷ During the earlier time when the Cement Companies first arrived in Pati, the first wave of *srawung* (to spread/discuss the news about the negative impact of Cement Companies' incursion) was done by female traveling vegetable (spices, snacks) sellers (*Bakul Gendong*) (Maryani and Darmastuti, 2016, pp. 47-49).

Mountains and build the environmental movement are the results of *rembugan* (consultation) during *srawung*.

Srawung transforms hospitality into opportunities and media to form the JM-PPK as an active organization. Laksana (2013) believes that coalition-building through *srawung* created various social and political forces for Kendeng people. These created networks gather not only people who resist cement incursion but also cultural observers, artists, academics, bureaucrats, local politicians, religious groups, and NGOs (Laksana, 2013, p.160). *Srawung* produces both the space for deliberation and the formation of local organizations to improve the bargaining position of *Sedulur Sikep*.

Second, *lebotan* appears as a tradition related to cooperation in community agriculture. Among the *Sedulur Sikep* community, each family has only a few people to work on agricultural land. Especially for rice, the planting and harvest periods (usually after four months) require intensive labor (Sumarno, 2006, p. 4). Planting, maintaining, and harvesting rice need helpers. Thus, reciprocal assistance (*lebotan*) allows assistance from others who want to help in these works. The helpers come as labor to take care and manage the paddy field that has been entrusted by the owner to these helpers. Gunarti explained that the helpers through *lebotan* preserve the entitlement to be helped through the reciprocity principle by those they helped once (personal communication, 17 March 2021). In this *lebotan* system, a priority order prevails according to the relationship between the rice owners and the helpers. The landowners must ask help from the closest family members first (husbands, wives, parents, children) before going to relatives, neighbors, and others (Pujiriyani and Soetarto, 2018).

They learn from examples of attitudes and actions based on the principles of *mbecikno ucapan* (improving speech) and *mbenerke kelakuan* (improving action). The tradition of *lebotan* is not known to be applied only to the *Sikep* community but also to the more general Javanese societies. The fact that *Sedulur Sikep* adopt such a general tradition known among Javanese shows that *Sedulur Sikep* are not excluding themselves from the surrounding Javanese, non-*Sedulur Sikep* communities.

Third, *sambatan* (voluntary little help) has become a tradition to help neighbors who are in need or some kinds of necessary things to do. *Sedulur Sikep* practice *sambatan*, for example, to help tidying or fixing neighbor's house, to help with cooking, and to visit people who have events or celebrations. *Sambatan* is typically carried out for events related to the death of a person and wedding (party events) (Setyaningrum, Astuti, and Alimi, 2017, p. 32). Assistance can also be given to people affected by disasters or tragedies (Maliki, 2019,

p. 199). These reciprocity-based relationships create reliance among members of a society to have a working, harmonious, and peaceful society.

Fourth, consistency in farming and *tani mligi* (consistent farmer attitude) is the social capital of *Sedulur Sikep* community that inspires other Kendeng Mountain residents. This condition is the fact that the survival of the environmental movement is also related to the inspiration, capacity, and communication skills of *Sedulur Sikep* to other Kendeng Mountain residents. In the past, *Sedulur Sikep* Community affirmed their identity as a true enforcer of Javanese peasant culture who prefer to manage their fields based solely on their nuclear family and cultivate them without the help of neighbors (King, 1973, p. 460). In daily life, a consistent *Sedulur Sikep* only becomes a farmer because consistency (*ajeg* or fixed) manifests a happy and prosperous life. Another profession is not part of their life plan.

Sedulur Sikep assess the importance of consistency in bringing benefits to life. Welfare is not measured with money but with consistency (Laksana, 2013, p. 73). The advantages like freedom and autonomy reduce dependence and risks in agriculture (Pujiriyani and Soetarto, 2018, p. 2). Consistent attitude as agriculturalist (*tani mligi*) guides *Sedulur Sikep* on distressing issues like cement companies' incursion into their land to suit their social, economic, and political circumstances (Setiadi, Saraswati, and Rosyid, 2017).

Sedulur Sikep's social capital improves with the creation of a village community storehouse during the Covid-19 Pandemic. Interestingly, during Mbah Samin's time, *Sedulur Sikep* rejected the food recollection model or food donation through "rice bank." *Sedulur Sikep* refused to contribute to the rice bank (village storehouse) or raised animals through common herds (Benda and Castles, 1969, p. 211); the village storehouse was a colonial government program.

This new village community storehouse will later be managed independently for community empowerment. Gunarto stated the conditions and needs of the village storehouse are as follows:

After I check on the situation in the field, a plan appears to me to make a storehouse. This storehouse is like a savings account. However, if I invite other *sedulur* (relatives) for a meeting, the police will disband it because of Covid-19 pandemic regulations. Finally, I still made a storehouse movement (Gunarto, personal communication, 18 March 2021).

Gunarto showed two critical reasons for the need for a storehouse: the prohibition against gathering mass during the pandemic and the storehouse's function as a food bank. Surrounded by environmental conflicts, Covid-19, and floods that hit their communities around February 2021, people need to secure their lives. Gunarto also revealed that the people (*dulur*) avoid entanglement with credit banks, such as Bank Rakyat Indonesia (BRI) and Bank Jawa Tengah (Provincial Bank). People must be truly empowered according to their creativity, abilities, and beliefs.

This section describes the social capital and strategies that build *Sedulur Sikep* resilience. They do not simply build from all new knowledge or methods. More precisely, *Sikep* builds a new character by relying on social capital from *Sikep* ideological values and traditions. *Sedulur Sikep* have at least four social capital related to the resistance movement: *srawung* (hospitality); *lebotan* (reciprocal assistance in rice fields); *sambatan* (cooperation at important events); and consistency and inspiration for the independence of farmers. The four traditional assets strengthen, inspire, and persist the environmental movement. Social capital finds transformations during practice and the needs and challenges in building and running the resistance activities.

3. Science, Communication and *Sikep* Networks

This section will explain the character of *Sedulur Sikep* concerning the use of science in the resistance movement. *Sedulur Sikep*'s knowledge is tested in dealing with the cement industry that takes refuge in administration and academic claims. The laws on the environment and mining businesses settle the administrative aspects for the company's administration and licensing part. Law No. 32 of 2009 (Environmental Protection and Management) and Law Number 32 of 2009 (Government Regulation Number 27 of 2012 on Environmental License) put up-front the analysis regarding the impact of business activities onto the environment. Academic analysis and studies are collected to build the Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA) document. This document must ensure the feasibility of the cement industry and its capacity to handle pollution. Accompanied by scientific experts, the EIA Assessor will check the submitted EIA documents (Warren and Wardana, 2018, 107). Once obtaining the permit, companies carry out to start mining activities legally in Indonesia.

PT Semen Indonesia has succeeded in pushing its academic claims through the EIA document getting an environmental permit. Previously, the environmental permit of PT Semen Indonesia was canceled by the Supreme Court. The Government of Central Java then

issued the Central Java Governor Regulation No. 660.1/6 in 2017 to grant another permit to PT Semen Indonesia's operations. This Governmental Unit insisted that PT Semen Indonesia had benefits for residents around its operations (Sinuko, 2017). Such a political statement set the illusion to the public that PT Semen Indonesia was environmentally sound and rightfully authorized by the laws.

The Government never really considers legal resistance from *Sedulur Sikep* who sue the licensing procedure and industrial interests. The EIAs of 2012 and 2017 to PT Semen Indonesia's operation never mention the Kendeng community's resistance to the cement factory. The Kendeng community's concerns about environmental threats and water availability in the Kendeng Mountains were never reported (PT Semen Gresik, 2012; PT. Semen Indonesia, 2017). The ignored resistance of *Sikep* and the Kendeng community represents a narrative that the cement industry is good and safe.

Shackled and ignored, *Sedulur Sikep* still awaken various movements that are not only creative but also inspirational. *Sedulur Sikep* performed "cementing the feet" in front of the Presidential Palace, commemorated Earth Day, produced documentary films, and many others. *Sedulur Sikep* pay close attention to throw diplomacies at the Government. On 26 February 2018, Central Java Governor Ganjar visited Mbah Wargono's house to pay off his promise. On this occasion, Mbah Wargono reminded the Governor: "*Kudu dieling eling, Jawa Tengah iki kanggo lumbung pari. Iki dieling eling* (You must not forget that Central Java is rice granary. You must remember this)". At this meeting, Gunarti conveyed his request to Governor Ganjar to stop the cement factory (Hazami, 2018). *Sedulur Sikep* have submitted a complaint to President Joko Widodo regarding the cement factory's incursion. To *Sedulur Sikep*'s chagrin, Joko Widodo made a promise related to the preparation of a Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS) that would determine the feasibility of mining around the Kendeng Mountains (Amindoni, 2016). *Sedulur Sikep* threw a lawsuit related to environmental permits given to PT Semen Gresik/PT Semen Indonesia. Although *Sedulur Sikep* lost at the first and second levels of the State Administrative Courts, the Supreme Court (Decision Number 99 PK/TUN/2016) canceled the environmental permit to PT Semen Indonesia's operations. Nevertheless, this cancelation hardly dented the cement industry.

Sedulur Sikep obtain knowledge outside of their life as a peasant from the networks and partners who struggle with them. The networks built by *Sedulur Sikep* provide knowledge that strengthens environmental advocacy strategy and methods. *Sedulur Sikep* even produce a strong struggle slogan. Gunretno mentions, "*Ibu bumi wis maringi, ibu bumi*

dilarani, ibu bumi kang ngadili" (Mother Earth has given, Mother Earth is hurt, Mother Earth will judge) (Dhewy, 2016). If the abundant gift of Mother Earth gets wasted, She will return the favor to the destroyers of the environment.

Furthermore, *Sedulur Sikep*'s interactions and networks can strengthen the movement in three issues. First, the knowledge on the conditions and natural physical description of the Kendeng Mountains is growing. *Sedulur Sikep* and the Semarang Caver Association (SCA) surveyed the Kendeng Mountains and found 109 springs, 900 wells, and 49 underground caves, four of which have rivers. These findings confront the claims of the EIA 2012 Document of PT Semen Indonesia that reported only 50 springs, 58 wells, and no underground caves listed (Lukiarti, 2015, p. 141). With a water flow of around 1,000 liters per second, the underground springs in many villages (like Kayen, Tambakromo, or Sukolilo) provide drinking water and household needs and irrigation for agricultural land (Putri, 2017a).

The difference between the number of springs found by JM-PPK and SCA and that of the company shows that the cement company's claims do not match the actual conditions of the Kendeng Mountains. Exploitation over Kendeng Mountain will disrupt water and the natural environment more massively than the academics working for PT Semen Indonesia have claimed. To add weight to *Sedulur Sikep*'s claims, the Strategic Environmental Assessment team stated that there should no longer be any mining permits for the Watu Putih Basin area (TIM PELAKSANA KLHS, 2017).

Second, more academics offer to support the *Sedulur Sikep* movement. On 3-4 October 2017, several academics¹⁸ offered lectures to the Kendeng people to study Kendeng mining issues and the perspective of the Kendeng community. This activity sends protests to the mining companies and the academics who provide inaccurate academic reports for companies' cause.

Third, *Sedulur Sikep* collaborated in the preparation of a film related to the Kendeng Mountains. In 2015, a film entitled "Samin vs Semen" grew quite popular, depicting *Sedulur Sikep* and the conditions of the Kendeng Mountains. Gunarti, in this film showed that farming is life for Sikep (Watchdog Image Indonesia, 2015). Written by WatchDoc, this movie was quite successful in providing *Sedulur Sikep*'s perspective and voice of resistance.

¹⁸ Academics who participated are Dr. Herlambang (Chairperson of the Center for Human Rights Studies, Airlangga University); Surya Afif, Ph.D. (Anthropologist UI); Dr. Rikardo Simarmata (Faculty of Law, Gajah Mada University); Haidar Adam, LL.M. (Airlangga University academics); Iman Prihandono, Ph.D. (business and human rights expert from Airlangga University); Syukron Salam, MH (University of Semarang); and many others from various universities (Wagner, 2018, p. 99).

Through films like this, information related to natural resource conflicts and marginalized groups can be portrayed more efficiently for the community. Films are also an advocacy medium for voices that are not conveyed to the state. The last year 2020, another film made in 2020 (*Ibu Bumi* or Mother Earth) portrays the perspectives of young people in Pati in advocacy and resistance through music; in a scene, Gunretno encourages Bagus to continue to fight for the environment (Mother Earth, full movie, 2020).

As a side note, the struggle of *Sedulur Sikep*'s against another cement company, PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti/PT Indocement (a subsidiary of HeidelbergCement AG, Germany) for their plan of cement mining and cement factory construction in Pati's districts of Sukolilo, Kayen, and Tambakromo is also using *Sikep*'s network in Germany and at the International level. Gunarti mentioned "We are looking for Brothers and Sisters, wherever they are." (personal communication, 1 August 2021)

In 2017, Gunarti went to Germany to join the roadshow/film screening and discussion of the film "Samin vs Semen" in ten cities of Germany. Also, through support and solidarity network in Germany, Gunarti could join the Annual General Meeting of Heidelberg Cement representing JM-PPK and Local Community in Pati which will be affected by the German cement company's expansion in Central Java. *Sikep*'s network also lead them to file a complaint to OECD National Contact Point of Germany on 9 September 2020 regarding the operation of the German company expansion in Pati Regency. The complaint has been accepted by the OECD National Contact Point of Germany in 2021 and the process is still on going with the aim to have a mediated discussion between JM-PPK and HeidelbergCement AG's representatives to find mutual-agreement.¹⁹

¹⁹ Personal Communication with JM-PPK Representative, see further the press release:
<<https://th.boell.org/en/2020/09/09/indonesian-communities-file-complaint-against-heidelbergcement-german-government>>



Picture 7: Gunarti had a short talk with the CEO of HeidelbergCement AG, Dr. Bernd Scheifele (Now retired) at the solidarity protest outside the Annual General Meeting/Shareholders Meeting on 8 May 2017 in Heidelberg, Germany.

D. Conclusion

The investigation on *Sedulur Sikep* character becomes complex considering the lack of a definite standard to set the typology of character. This study finds an easier typology by using the Millenarian Movement concept. *Sedulur Sikep* movement is not only an expression of indigenous movements but also an elaboration of traditional values along with a resistance movement. From the Millenarian Movement parlor appears some terms like radical divergence "from everyday practices," fusion of opposed qualities "like spirituality and materialism," "innovative features," and continuation of indigenous ritual practices. Radical divergence and continuation of ritual are characters related to the original, traditional values, systems, and ways of life of the millenarian community/movement. Innovative features and opposed qualities describe the character of using innovations in the tradition of community resistance/millenarian movement. Scott mentions that the millenarian movement might disregard previous practices and even neglects the structure of high orders (2009, p. 504).

In this study, the characteristics of the Millenarian Movement like *Sedulur Sikep* appear in two broad categories. First, the category of inner-oriented characteristics that reflects the original characters from *Sedulur Sikep*'s ancestors. This category is further divided into three types of inner-oriented character of *Sedulur Sikep*. The principles and life

ethics of *Sedulur Sikep* become their internal character that builds knowledge, understanding, intelligence, habits, and life goals. *Sedulur Sikep* acknowledges the important position of Mother Earth and Adam's Religion regarding the protection of the Kendeng Mountains. In *Sedulur Sikep*'s life, respect for Mother Earth and Adam's Religion is manifested through ethical behavior (20 Abstinenances or *Angger-Angger Pratikel*). Implementing behavioral ethics can lead to attitudes towards *mbecikno ucapan* (improving speech) and *mbecikno kelakuan* (improving actions). *Sedulur Sikep* hold the principle of improving oneself first and foremost.

The second inner-oriented character is tradition and consistent life as a farmer. *Sedulur Sikep* believe that only by becoming farmers can they lead a life following the values and teachings of their ancestors.

Sedulur Sikep's sustainable education, along with the adaptation of technology and information, is another inner-oriented character. *Sedulur Sikep* participate in no formal education system in Indonesia. They perform independent and original learning, which is not possible in formal education. Threats to *Sedulur Sikep*'s identity and values stand as the reasons for not participating in any formal education. *Sedulur Sikep*'s youth learn deeply about aspects of tradition through the *botoh* (elders). *Botoh* teach the Adam Religion as *Sedulur Sikep* teachings while providing views related to indigenous religions (Alamsyah, 2015, p. 74; Rosyid, 2018, p. 180).

The second character on the outer-oriented one is a reflection on changes and transformations in the values and practices of *Sedulur Sikep*'s life that arise from the conditions and challenges posed by the cement industry. This outer-oriented character is divided into three forms: Kendeng narratives, socio-economic resilience, and science/network/communication. First, Kendeng Narrative (deliberations and organizations) to counter the threat of the cement industry. The conditions and challenges that come from the cement industry encourage *Sikep* not to close down to religious changes in social and community relations. *Sedulur Sikep* raise the issue of Kendeng not only as theirs. Kendeng is owned by all Kendeng Mountain residents, inhabitants, and people who want to protect Kendeng. In this logic, *Sedulur Sikep* builds a narrative that the resistance movement is not an exclusive *Sikep* movement even though the driving figures in the resistance emerge from *Sikep*, such as Gunarti, Gunarto, Gunretno, and Joko Prianto (Rembang). In the complexity of the issue of the cement industry, *Sedulur Sikep* realize that social relations must be more flexible and that the mobilization of power must be more diverse so that no person/group is left behind in the fight.

Furthermore, the development of the Kendeng Narrative led to the emergence of the Kartini Kendeng narrative and the resistance organization against cement. The idea of Kartini Kendeng reflects the identity of Mother Earth, showing the role of mothers in the life and traditions of farmers. This role can be carried out through the Kendeng women's movement. The environmental movement and the women's movement have received questions and rejection from some groups of *Sedulur Sikep* because it is new to the lives of farmers. In the upheaval and struggle with the cement industry, *Sedulur Sikep*, together with other Kendeng residents, created the JM-PPK as a forum for consolidating and studying the issues of the cement industry in Kendeng. It is hoped that this forum will also strengthen the campaign against the cement industry because it is under one umbrella and shows the identity of the new environmental movement to the state and society.

Second, Sikep's fascinating outer-oriented character is *Sedulur Sikep*'s socio-economic resilience. *Sedulur Sikep* movement has survived to the present day for their socio-economic capital that can assert the independence of farmers and prevent external interventions. In this issue, there are at least four social capitals that strengthen *Sedulur Sikep*, namely *srawung*, *lebotan*, *sambatan* and *tani mligi*. *Srawung* or visits/hospitality is the social capital of *Sedulur Sikep* to show their close social interactions and relationships with families, relatives, and other groups. The tradition initially only visited the homes of relatives and relatives but turned into an opportunity to discuss the cement factory and other issues.

Lebotan (reciprocal assistance) is a tradition—known and practiced also among the general Javanese societies—of mutual cooperation in rice planting or harvesting or other crops. *Sambatan* (little help to neighbors) has become a tradition to help neighbors who are in needs or problems. The consistency of *tani mligi* (consistent attitude as farmers) is the social capital of the Sikep community which is also an inspiration for other Kendeng residents.

Another *Sedulur Sikep*'s social capital is the creation of the community food storehouse for the Covid-19 Pandemic.

Third, the character of *Sedulur Sikep*'s regarding science, network, and communication. *Sedulur Sikep* must not expand and strengthen its network only with *Sedulur Sikep*'s knowledge. *Sedulur Sikep* is dealing with the cement industry that has financial and political backing from the state(s) and has academics supporting mining companies in Kendeng Mountain.

On the closing note, *Sedulur Sikep* never mentions any jargon from the parlor of human rights in their struggle. Through claims of "spiritual entitlement," *Sedulur Sikep* have been throwing a stronger claim than any human rights-based claim. *Sedulur Sikep* are entitled to Mother Earth's care and service as long as they take care to guard Mother Earth in return for such services. From the literature of Health-Care Entitlement, entitlement is a claim or right that has been furnished (Jost 2003, p. 23). This type of entitlement works like a two-way street: the claim belongs to the beneficiary, and, by extension, providers may have a claim or right to be paid for goods or services they provide to the beneficiary (Jost 2003, p. 23). Translated into the narrative of *Sedulur Sikep*, the statutory entitlements applicable to the health care system turn into spiritual entitlements for *Sedulur Sikep* to Mother Earth's services as long as they serve as the guardians of Nature. As paradoxical as this "fusion of opposed qualities" between materialism to provide for worldly livelihood and spirituality to serve a higher spiritual entity might appear to be, this fusion completes the characters of *Sedulur Sikep* as a Millenarian Movement.

Sedulur Sikep's resistance shows characters that inspire the environmental movement. This movement with character also shows that *Sedulur Sikep* is a serious community about protecting the environment and caring for the traditions of the peasantry. Changes in character that come along with resistance are complex, given the complexity of the cement industry issue. In the end, what *Sedulur Sikep* did was not actually a fight against the state. *Sedulur Sikep* stick to the law and provide advice on state policies that are most suitable for protecting the environment. *Sedulur Sikep* envision a standard regime already engraved by the nation's founding fathers in the 1945 Constitution: "Earth, water and land and all resources inside them belong to the State to be used to the best interests of all Indonesia's people." *Sedulur Sikep* believe that by protecting Kendeng Mountains, it will also protect the islands of Java and Indonesia from damage that injures and degrades Mother Earth.

E. Bibliography

- Alamsyah., 2015. Eksistensi dan Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Komunitas Samin Di Kudus Dan Pati. *Humanika*, 21(1), pp.63-74.
- Amindoni, A., 2016. Jokowi Meets Kendeng Cement Factory Protesters. *Jakarta Post*, [Online] 2 August. Available at:
<<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/08/02/jokowi-meets-kendeng-cement-factory-protesters.html>>.
[Accessed 5 March 2021].

- Anfalia, R., Rachmawati, Y. and Yulindrasari, H., 2019. Values and Characters Of The Samin Society. In: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, *International Conference on Educational Psychology and Pedagogy (ICEPP 2019)*. Jakarta, Indonesia, 2 May 2019. Jakarta: Atlantis Press.
- Apriando, T., 2017. Menyimak Pandangan Para Pakar Soal Izin Lingkungan Baru PT Semen Indonesia. *Mongabay.co.id*, [online] 24 February. Available at: <<https://www.mongabay.co.id/2017/02/24/menyimak-pandangan-para-pakar-soal-izin-lingkungan-baru-pt-semen-indonesia/>> [Accessed 10 March 2021].
- Apriando, T., 2018. Warga pati tolak perusahaan tambang eksploitasi karst di kayen. *Mongabay.co.id*, [online] 29 January. Available at: <<https://www.mongabay.co.id/2018/01/29/warga-pati-tolak-perusahaan-tambang-eksploitasi-karst-di-kayen/>> [Accessed 29 February 2021].
- Ardianto, H.T., 2016. *Mitos Tambang untuk Kesejahteraan Pertarungan Wacana Kesejahteraan Dalam Kebijakan Pertambangan*. Yogyakarta: Research Center for Politics and Government.
- Arnold, D., 1984. "Gramsci and Peasant Subalternity in India", *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 11 No. 4, pp. 150-170.
- Aziz, M., 2012. Identitas Kaum Samin Pasca Kolonial Pergulatan Negara, Agama, dan Adat Dalam Pembangunan Pabrik Semen di Sukolilo, Pati, Jawa Tengah. *Kawistara*, 2(3), pp. 225–328.
- Barnhardt, R. and Kawagley, A.O., 2005. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways Of Knowing. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 36(1), pp.8–23.
- Bellwood, P., 2000. *Prasejarah Kepulauan Indo-Malaysia*. [e-book] Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama. Available at: <[https://sgp1.digitaloceanspaces.com/proletarian-library/singapore-malaysia/Peter%20Bellwood/Prasejarah%20Kepulauan%20Indo-Malaysia%20\(230\)/Prasejarah%20Kepulauan%20Indo-Malaysia%20-%20Peter%20Bellwood.pdf](https://sgp1.digitaloceanspaces.com/proletarian-library/singapore-malaysia/Peter%20Bellwood/Prasejarah%20Kepulauan%20Indo-Malaysia%20(230)/Prasejarah%20Kepulauan%20Indo-Malaysia%20-%20Peter%20Bellwood.pdf)> [Accessed 27 February 2021].
- Benda, H.J. and Castles, L., 1969. The Samin Movement. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land Volkenkunde*, 125(2), pp.207–240.
- Boyer, P., 2007. "Millenialism", in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Politics*, by R. Wuthnow (ed.), Washington, DC: CQ Press.

- Brown, M.F., 1991. Beyond Resistance: A Comparative Study of Utopian Renewal in Amazonia, *Ethnohistory* 38:4 (Fall 1991), pp. 388-413.
- Bryan, B.R., 2001. "Millenialism" in International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Science, by N.J. Smelser and P.B. Baltes (eds.), Oxford: Pergamon.
- Buana, D.C., 2012. Kearifan Lokal Versus Otoritas Penguasa: Studi Kritis Perlawanan Hukum Masyarakat Adat Sikep terhadap Pendirian Pabrik Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng, Kecamatan Sukolilo, Kabupaten Pati, in *Jurnal Politika*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 109-124.
- Capra, F., 1994. Ecology and community. *Center for Ecoliteracy*, 19, pp. 1-10.
- Chakrabarty, 1987. "Hidden Transcript of Subordinate Groups," Asian Studies Association of Australia Review, Vol. 10 No. 3, pp. 20-40.
- Cheung, S., 1995. "Millenarian Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China", in Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers by Stevan Harrell (ed.), Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Collins, R., 2019. *The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Comaroff, J., *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of South African People*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Corlin, C., 2000. The Politics of Cosmology: An Introduction to Millenarianism and Ethnicity among Highland Minorities of Northern Thailand, in A. Turton (ed.) *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai States*, London: Curzon.
- Darmastuti, R., 2015. Gerakan Sosial Tanpa Kekerasan (Gerakan Sosial Masyarakat Samin Terhadap Rencana Pembangunan Pabrik Semen di Sukolilo, Pati). *Pax Humana: Jurnal Humaniora Yayasan Bina Darma*, 2(3), pp.189–204.
- Day, T., and Reynolds, C.J., 2013. The Concept of Peasant Revolt in Southeast Asia, *Sydney Studies in Society and Culture*, 5, pp. 105-112.
- Dhewy, A., 2016. *Gunretno: "Ibu Bumi Wis Maringi, Ibu Bumi Dilarani, Ibu Bumi Kang Ngadili"*. [online] Jakarta: Jurnal Perempuan. Available at: <<http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/tokoh-feminis/gunretno-ibu-bumi-wis-maringi-ibu-bumi-dilarani-ibu-bumi-kang-ngadili>> [Accessed 01 March 2021].
- Eliade, M., (ed.) 1995. *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London: MacMillan Library Reference.
- Firmansyah, E., 2013. Refleksi Budaya Jawa Dalam Novel Bumi Manusia dan Anak Semua Bangsa Karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer : perspektif filsafat. *Literasi*, 3(2), pp.144–149.

- Geertz, C., 1976. *The Religion of Java*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hadi, S.P., Purnaweni, H., Prabawani, B. and Hamdani, R.S., 2020. Community Movement for Sustainable Use of Natural Resources: Case Study of North Kendeng Mountain Area, Central Java, Indonesia. In: IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science, *International Conference on Environment, Sustainability Issues and Community Development*. Central Java, Indonesia, 23-24 October 2020. IOP Publishing.
- Hardiyanto, S. (2018, February 25). *Sedulur Sikep Dukung ganjar di Pilgub jateng*. JawaPos.com.
<https://www.jawapos.com/nasional/pemilihan/25/02/2018/sedulur-sikep-dukung-ganjar-di-pilgub-jateng/>.
[Accessed 29 July 2021].
- Hazami, A., 2018. Ganjar Sambangi Tokoh Sedulur Sikep di Kudus. News.detik.com [Online]. Available at:
<<https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-tengah/d-3887165/ganjar-sambangi-tokoh-sedulur-sikep-di-kudus>>
[Accessed 01 March 2021].
- Hobsbawm, E.J., 1965. "Millenarianism," in Reader in Comparative Religion, by W.A. Lessa and E.Z. Vogt (eds.), New York: Harper and Row.
- HuMa, P., Satjipto Raharjo Insitute, Hukum, P.S.T.P., Insitute, E., Universitas, P.S.P.H. (CLeP) F.H., Airlanga, Universitas, P.S.H. dan H. (HRLS) F.H.U.A., Djodjodigono Insitute for Adat Law, F.H.U.G.M.Y., Indonesia), (SEPAHAM, S.P.H.A.M.I., Sajogyo Insitute, B., Society), (Indonesian, M.S.I., (Jatam), J.A.T., Wiratraman, H.P., Haryono, A.T., Salam, S., Tauiqurohman, M., Simarmata, R., Danardono, D., Moeliono, T.P., Herwati, S.R.M., Warasih, E., Hadi, S.P., Teguh, E., Butar-Butar, F., Prihandono, I., Warman, K., Mochtar, Z.A., Arizona, Y., Purwani, A., Adiwibowo, S., Noewantari, D. and Kartodihardjo, H., 2016. *Amicus Curiae Peninjauan Kembali Putusan Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara Semarang Nomor 064/G/2015/PTUN.SMG dan Putusan Pengadilan Tinggi Tata Usaha Negara Surabaya Nomor 135/B/2015/PT.TUN.SBY*. [pdf] Jakarta: Huma; Satjipto Raharjo Insitute; Sajogyo Insitute; Universitas Airlangga; Universitas Gajah Mada; Epistema Institute; Pustokum; Indonesia Speleological Society; Jatam; Sepaham.
- Hutomo, S.S., 1996. *Tradisi dari Blora*, Semarang: Penerbit Citra Almamater.
- Indrawardana, I., 2014. Berketuhanan Dalam Perspektif Kepercayaan Sunda Wiwitan.

Melintas, 30(1), pp.105-118.

- Iseke, J., 2013. Indigenous Storytelling As Research. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 6(4), pp.559–577.
- Jumari, Setiadi, D., Purwanto, Y. and Guhardja, E., 2012. Etnoekologi Masyarakat Samin Kudus Jawa Tengah. *Bioma*, 14(1), pp. 7-16.
- Jost, T.S., 2003. Disentitlement? The Threats Facing Our Public Health-Case Programs and a Rights-Based Response, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kartodirdjo, S., 1987. XVI. Peasant Insurgents Revisited: A Comparative Study of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Peasant Movements In India and Indonesia. *Itinerario*, 11(1), pp.277–290.
- Keraf, A. S., (2014). *Filsafat Lingkungan Hidup Alam Sebagai Sebuah Sistem Kehidupan*. Jakarta: Penerbit Kanisius.
- Keyes, C.F., 1971. Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand, *Journal of Asian Studies* 30.
- Keyes, C.F., 1977. Millenialism, Theravada Buddhism, and Thai Society, *Journal of Asian Studies* 26.
- King, V., 1973. Some Observations on The Samin Movement of North-Central Java. Suggestions for The Theoretical Analysis of The Dynamics of Rural Unrest. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land Volkenkunde*, 129(2/3), pp.457–481.
- Korver, A.P.E., 1976. The samin Movement and Millenarism. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 132(2/3), pp.249–266.
- Kroef, J.M. van der, 1959. Javanese Messianic Expectations: Their Origin and Cultural Context. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1(4), pp.299–323.
- Kurniasari, D., Cahyono, E. and Yuliaty, Y., 2018. Kearifan Lokal Petani Tradisional Samin di Desa Klopoduwur, Kecamatan Banjarejo, Kabupaten Blora. *Habitat*, 29(1), pp.33–37.
- Kurniawan, J.A., 2018. Pelajaran dari Konflik Antara Komunitas Sedulur Sikep dan Industri Semen Di Jawa Tengah. *Mimbar Hukum*, [online] 30(3), pp.506–515. Available at: <<https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/jmh/article/download/37985/23531>>.
- Laksana, L.U.A., 2013. *Srawung: Strategi Advokasi Masyarakat Sedulur Sikep Terhadap Rencana Pendirian Pabrik Semen*. Universitas Gajah Mada. Available at: <https://www.academia.edu/7699147/Pegunungan_Kendeng_Utara_Sedulur_Sikep_Kearifan_Lokal_dan_Advokasi_Kebijakan_Publik> [Accessed 03 March 2021].
- Lilja, M., Baaz, M., Schulz, M. and Vinthagen, S., 2017. How Resistance Encourages

- Resistance: Theorizing The Nexus Between Power, 'Organised Resistance' and 'Everyday Resistance'. *Journal of Political Power*, 10(1), pp. 40–54.
- Lukiarti, Ming-Ming., 2015. Perjuangan Ibu-Ibu Petani Rembang Melawan Korporasi Tambang. In: Dwicipta dan Hendra Try Ardianto, ed. 2015. *#Rembang Melawan Membongkar Fantasi Pertambangan Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng*. Yogyakarta: Ladang Kata. pp. 135-146.
- Luthfi, A.N. and Shohibuddin, M., 2016. Mempromosikan Hak Komunal. *Digest Epistema*, 6(April), pp. 2–5.
- Maliki, M., 2019. *Local/Global Disruption: The Response of The Samin Movement to Modernity*. Charles Darwin University. Available at:
<https://researchers.cdu.edu.au/files/33386025/Thesis_CDU_33111362_Maliki_M.pdf> [Accessed 05 March 2021].
- Mardikantoro, H.B., 2012. Pilihan Bahasa Masyarakat Samin Dalam Ranah Keluarga. *Humaniora*, 24(3), pp.345–357.
- Mardikantoro, H.B., 2013. Bahasa Jawa Sebagai Pengungkap Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Samin di Kabupaten Blora. *Jurnal Komunitas*, [online] 5(2), pp.197–207. Available at:
<<http://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/index.php/komunitas%5Cnhttp://dx.doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v7i1.3622>>.
- Maryani, E. and Darmastuti, R., 2016. The 'Bakul Gendong' as a communication strategy to reject the construction of a cement factory in Central Java. *Public Relations Review*, 43 (2017), pp. 46-55.
- McGregor, D., 2004. Coming Full Circle: Indigenous Knowledge, Environment, and Our Future. *American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3), pp.385–410.
- Miles, W.F.S., 2010. Millenarian Movements as Cultural Resistance: The Karen and Martinican Cases. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 30(3), pp.644–659.
- Mojo, E., Hadi, S.P., and Purnaweni, H., 2015. Saminist Indigenous Knowledge in Water Conservation in North Karst Kendeng Sukolilo" in *Jurnal Komunitas*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 236-242.
- Nawiyanto and Endrayadi, E.C., 2017a. *Kartini Kendeng Vs Belenggu Semen*. [online] Yogyakarta: Galangpress Center. Available at:
<https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Nawiyanto-Nawiyanto/2/publication/335570852_Kartini_Kendeng_vs_Belenggu_Semen/links/5d6e23a4299bf1808d61cc06/Kartini-Kendeng-vs-Belenggu-Semen.pdf> [Accessed 25

February 2021].

- Nawiyanto, N. and Endrayadi, E.C., 2017b. The Saminist Movement of The Kendeng Mountains Complex of Java During The Dutch Colonial and Indonesia's Reform Eras. *Tawarikh*, 8(2), pp.117–130.
- Newberry, J., 2007. Rituals of Rule in The Administered Community: The Javanese Slametan Reconsidered. *Modern Asian Studies*, 41(6), pp.1295–1329.
- Peluso, N.L., 1992. *Rich Forests, Poor People*. California: University California Press.
- PT. Semen Indonesia, 2017. *Adendum ANDAL RKL-RPL PT Semen Indonesia 2017 (2017 PT Semen Indonesia Environmental Impact Assesment)*. Jakarta: PT Semen Indonesia.
- PT. Semen Gresik, 2012. *ANDAL RKL-RPL PT Semen Indonesia 2012 (2012 PT Semen Indonesia Environmental Impact Assesment)*. Jakarta: PT Semen Gresik.
- Publish What You Pay Indonesia, 2020. *Ibu Bumi* [video online]
Available at: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OVZ5E0hMmEw>>.
[Accessed 25 February 2021].
- Pujiriyani, D.W. and Soetarto, E., 2018. The Existence Of Agriculture And The Autonomy Of Peasant Community. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, Sustainable Agriculture Transformation For The Nations Welfare Of Indonesia And Malaysia, 6-8 November 2017. Selangor: IOP Publishing.
- Putri, P.S., 2017a. *Re-Claiming Lost Possessions: A Study of The Javanese Samin (Sedulur Sikep) Movement To Maintain Their Peasant Identity And Access To Resources*. University of Oslo. Available at:
<https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/58844/Thesis_PrimiPutri.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Accessed 4 March 2021].
- Putri, P.S., 2017b. The Meaning Making of an Environmental Movement: A Perspective on Sedulur Sikep's Narrative of Anti-Cement Movement. *PCD Journal*, 5(2), pp. 297-321.
- Rachman, Noer Fauzi., 2015. *Ketika Tanah Air Indonesia Porak Poranda " Di Sanalah Aku Berdiri, Jadi Pandu Ibuku*. In: Dwicipta dan Hendra Try Ardianto, ed. 2015. *#Rembang Melawan Membongkar Fantasi Pertambangan Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng*. Yogyakarta: Ladang Kata. pp. 157-185
- Raharja, A.G.D.B., 2015. *Tanah Bisu Sedulur Sikep: Menggali Ulang Konflik Agraria antara Masyarakat Samin di Pegunungan Karst Kendeng, Rembang dalam Kontestasi Kapitalisme Perusahaan Semen Indonesia*, Unpublished Paper,

Yogyakarta: Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Cultural Sciences
Universitas Gajah Mada.

- Ricklefs, M. C., 2005. *Sejarah Indonesia Modern, 1200-2004*. Translated From English by Wahyono, S, Bilfagih, B, Huda, H, Helmi, M, Sutrisno, J, and Has, M. Jakarta: Penerbit Serambi.
- Rinardi, H., 2012. Lembaga Perkreditan Masa Kolonial. *Literasi*, 2(2), pp.125–138.
- Rosidi, A., Dewi, R.K., Margawati, A. and Riyadi, H., 2020. *Sociocultural Aspect Of Food , Nutrition , and Health : Study of Indigenous People of Samin (Sedulur Sikep) in Central Java*. [e-Book] Semarang: Unimus Press. Available at: <[http://repository.unimus.ac.id/3909/1/FIX Buku Samin READY CETAK.pdf](http://repository.unimus.ac.id/3909/1/FIX_Buku_Samin_READY_CETAK.pdf)> [Accessed 25 February 2021].
- Rosyid, M., 2014. "Memotret Agama Adam: Studi Kasus pada Komunitas Samin" in *Ulumuna*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (October), pp. 189-210.
- Rosyid, M., 2016. Upaya Komunitas Samin di Kudus Jawa Tengah Dalam Mempertahankan Jati Diri Di Tengah Problematika Kehidupannya. *Masyarakat Indonesia*, 42(2), pp.167–184.
- Rumpia, J.R., 2020. *Constested Participation In Environmental Impact Assessment : The Case of PT Semen Indonesia In Kendeng Mountain , Central Java, Indonesia*. MA Thesis, Mahidol University.
- Safitri, M.A., 2018. Social Movement in Indonesian Mining Law Enforcement: The Case of Peasants-Scholars Nexus in Karst Mining Dispute in Java. In: *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research*. [online] Atlantis Press, pp.227–231. Available at: <<https://download.atlantispress.com/article/25902932.pdf>> [Accessed 20 February 2021].
- Schwartz, H., 1976. The End of the Beginning: Millenarian Studies, 1969-75, *Religious Studies Review* 2(3): pp. 1-14.
- Scott, J.C., 1977. Protest and Profanation: Agrarian Revolt and the Little Tradition, *Theory and Society* 4, pp. 211-46.
- Scott, J.C., 1977b. Hegemony and the Peasantry, *Politics and Society*, Vol. 7 No. 2, pp. 250-270.
- Scott, J.C., 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Scott, J.C., 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Setiadi, Saraswati, A.R. and Rosyid, N., 2017. Geger Sikep: Environmental (Re)Interpretation Among The Contemporary Anti-Cement Movement in Kendeng, Central Java. *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, 9(1), pp.13–28.
- Setyaningrum, D., Astuti, T.M.P. and Alimi, M.Y., 2017. Pergeseran Nilai Masyarakat Samin (Sedulur Sikep) Dukuh Bombong. *Journal of Educational Social Studies*, 6(1), pp.29–36.
- Shiraishi, T., 1990. Dangir's Testimony: Saminism reconsidered. *Indonesia Cornell University*, 50(50), p.95.
- Shiva, V., 2020. *Reclaiming The Commons Biodiversity, Indigenous Knowledge, And The Rights Of Mother Earth*. London: Synergetic Press.
- Sidabalok, H., 2020. *Save Kendeng Mountains: A Persistent Environmental and Ecological Justice Movement in Indonesia*. [Online] Heinrich Boll Stiftung Shoutheast Asia. Available at: <<https://th.boell.org/en/2020/09/30/save-kendeng-mountains-persistent-environmental-and-ecological-justice-movement>> [Accessed 02 March 2021].
- Sinuko, D., 2017. Ganjar: Cuma Pabrik Semen Rembang yang Geger di Jawa Tengah. CNNIndonesia.com, [Online] 24 February. Available at: <<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20170224181543-20-196035/ganjar-cuma-pabrik-semen-rembang-yang-geger-di-jawa-tengah/>> [Accessed 03 March 2021].
- Subarkah and Wicaksono, A., 2014. Perlawanan masyarakat samin (sedulur sikep) atas kebijakan pembangunan semen gresik di sukolilo pati: studi kebijakan berbasis lingkungan dan kearifan lokal (Online). Available at: <<http://download.portalgaruda.org/article.php?article720078>> [Accessed 5 June 2016].
- Sudarmi, E.M., 2018. Moving Saminism and Forming Its Local Interest of Samin's Indigenous People, a paper of Second International Conference on History Education.
- Sufyan, A., 2014. "Gerakan Sosial Masyarakat Pegunungan Kendeng Utara Melawan Pembangunan Pabrik Semen di Kabupaten Rembang" in *UNAIR Online Journal*, Available at:<<http://journal.unair.ac.id/gerakan-sosial-masyarakat-pegunungan-kendengutara-melawan-pembangunan-pabrik-semen-dikabupaten-rembang-article-9576-media-135-category-.html>> [Accessed 26 June 2016].

- Suherdjoko, 2016. Kendeng Farmers Disappointed with New Cement Factory Permit. [Online] *The Jakarta Post*. Available at:
<<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/12/10/kendeng-farmers-disappointed-with-new-cement-factory-permit.html>> [Accessed 27 December 2020].
- Sumarlan, Y., 2020. Broader Legal Horizon for Kendeng Communities's Campaign for Environmental Rights. [online] *Heinrich Boll Stiftung Shoutheast Asia*. Available at:
<<https://th.boell.org/en/2020/02/20/broader-legal-horizon-kendeng-communities-campaigns-environmental-rights>> [Accessed 04 March 2021].
- Sumarno, 2006. Periodisasi Musim Tanam Padi sebagai Landasan Manajemen Produksi Beras Nasional. *Sinar Tani-Pusat Litbang Pertanian Kementerian Pertanian*, Feb., pp. 1–5.
- Suseno, F.M., 2013. *Etika Jawa-makalah*. [pdf] Komunitas Salihara. Available at:
<<https://www.academia.edu/download/60406096/191600147-Etika-Jawa-Franz-Magnis-Suseno20190826-128517-1lfrpoi.pdf>> [Accessed 24 February 2021].
- Tai, H.H., 1983. *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam*, Cambridge M.A: Harvard University Press.
- Talmon, Y., 1968. "Millenarianism", in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* by David Sills (ed.), New York: MacMillan and Free Press.
- Taussig, M., 1983. *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*, Charlotte: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tim Pelaksana KLHS., 2017. *Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis (KLHS) Kebijakan Pemanfaatan dan Pengelolaan Pegunungan Kendeng yang Berkelanjutan*. Jakarta: Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup.
- Wagner, I. and Herwati, S. R., 2018. *Kronik Kendeng Lestari Perjuangan Rakyat Kendeng Atas Tanah Airnya*. Kabupaten Pati Sukolilo: JM-PPK.
- Wagner, Ivan., 2019. *Independensi Penilaian Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan Hidup Dalam Rangka Perlindungan Lingkungan Hidup (Studi Kasus Penolakan Warga Terhadap Pertambangan Dan Pendirian Pabrik Semen di Pegunungan Kendeng Utara, Jawa Tengah)*. Fakultas Hukum Universitas Diponegoro Semarang.
- Warren, C. and Wardana, A., 2018. Sustaining The Unsustainable? Environmental Impact

Assessment And Overdevelopment In Bali. *Asia Pacific Journal of Environmental Law*, 21(2), pp.101–125.

Watchdog Image Indonesia, 2015. *Samin vs semen* [video online]

Available at : < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1fJuJ28WZ_Q&t=2006s>
[Accessed 01 March 2021].

Widyarsono, A., 1998. Gerakan Samin: Perlawanan Rakyat Tanpa Kekerasan. *Unisia*, 21(36), pp.81–95.

Wiraprama, A.R., Zakaria and Purwantiasning, A.W., 2015. Kajian Pola Permukiman Dusun Ngibikan Yogyakarta Dikaitkan Dengan Perilaku Masyarakatnya. *Jurnal Arsitektur NALARs*, 13(January 2014), pp.31–36.

Worsley, P., 1970. *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, London: Paladin.

Wright, R., and Hill, J.D., 1986. History, Ritual and Myth: Nineteenth-Century Millenarian Movements in the Northwest Amazon, *Ethnohistory* 33: pp. 31-54.

Wulansari, I., & Sigit, R. 2017. Kendeng dan Gerakan Ekofeminisme. *Mongabay.co.id*, [online] 09 March. Available at:
<<https://www.mongabay.co.id/2017/03/06/kendeng-dan-gerakan-ekofeminisme/>> [Accessed 20 February 2021].

Yudono, J., 2006. Sepenggal Kisah Tentang Masyarakat Samin. *Kompas*, [online] 25 January. Available at:
<<https://adoc.tips/download/sepenggal-kisah-tentang-masyarakat-samin.html>>
[Accessed 24 February 2021].

Yuwono, J.S.E. and Kuswanto, G.D., 2008. *Kawasan Karst Sukolilo – Jawa Tengah: Potensi Arkeologi dan Tinjauannya Secara Makro 1*. Perhimpunan Ekologi Karst Indonesia (PEKINDO).

F. Authors' Profile



Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan is Lecturer and Program Secretary at the Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University, Thailand. He teaches Philosophy of Human Rights, Rights of Marginalized Groups, and Research Methodologies. His research focuses on Human Rights, Environmental Rights, Sustainable development and Indigenous People's Rights. His past works include researcher on land tenure and social forestry for the International Center for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF), Bogor, Indonesia, and Forest campaigner for Greenpeace Southeast Asia, Thailand office.

Dr. Yanuar Sumarlan holds PhD in Social Science from the Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University, Thailand and Master of Science in Social Development from Ateneo de Manila University, The Philippines.
Contact: yanuar.sum@mahidol.ac.th

James Reinaldo Rumpia is a graduate of Master of Art in Human Rights International Program, Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University, Thailand. The focus of his studies and writing is on human rights, the environment, and legal issues. Currently, James is a researcher at the Center for Public Policy and Human Rights Studies, University of Lampung, Indonesia. He is also active as a lawyer in Indonesia.
Contact: jamesreinaldor@gmail.com

