

SAMIN WOMEN'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AGAINST CEMENT FACTORY CONSTRUCTION: A CASE OF SUKOLILO IN INDONESIA

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Abstract: The Samin women's resistance movement towards the plan to build a cement factory in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, is a unique movement. This social movement is fueled by the Samin community in a peaceful manner by using cultural symbols and rejecting violent actions. Even more interesting, in this movement women play an essential role. The presence of women in this movement is a way to establish peace in every protest. The purpose of this research is to explore the Samin women's resistance movement in rejecting cement factory construction in Sukolilo. This study uses a constructivist approach and an ethnography of communication method. Community ceremonies, a resistance movement at the Pati Regent's office, a protest at the Central Java Governor's office, and a resistance movement at the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) office are social actions done by Samin women. 'Ndolani' and 'Mbok Bakul Gendhong' are communication strategies used by Samin women to convey their movement messages. A communication strategy is employed by using informal interpersonal communication. Through this communication strategy, the uncertainty that occurs in society related with their environment can be reduced, so that it incurs innovation diffusion.

Keywords: Resistance movement, women, Samin community.

INTRODUCTION

The social movement done by the Sukolilo community to reject the cement factory construction in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, is a unique social movement. This social movement, which is driven by the Samin community, strives to preserve agricultural land and preserve their local environment. This resistance movement is in the form of opposition to unrighteousness. In the Samin community's viewpoint, building a cement factory will only damage the environment, make the natural water sources dry, and damage the agricultural land that is used to grow their crops. This background makes the Samin community become initiators in the social movement in Sukolilo.

For the Samin community, engaging in a social movement against unrighteousness is not something new. This is because the Samin community was formed due to a movement against Dutch colonial rule. The Samin community is one of the traditional Indonesian communities that was made as a result of a social resistance

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movement in opposition to Dutch rule. This movement was led by Samin Surosentiko, who attempted to oppose the Dutch rulers in 1890. This movement grew in two villages around the Randublatung forest region of Bojonegoro Regency, East Java. This movement quickly spread to other villages, starting from the northern beach area of Java to the forests around the North Kendeng and South Kendeng mountain range, or around the borders of Central Java and East Java provinces. As a rather big movement, Saminism expanded as an effort to struggle against Dutch colonial rule that looted the land and used it to expand teak tree forests (Intisari; 2001).

Manhartsberger wrote that the Samin community movement is known as a Saminism movement or *Sedulur Sikep*. This movement is based on teachings provided by Samin Surosentiko, a farmer who came from Randublatung, Blora, Central Java. Seeing how the Dutch government improperly ruled the area, Samin Surosentiko (1859-1914) started a resistance movement against Dutch rule and encouraged the residents around the Randublatung forest region, Bojonegoro Regency, East Java, to use non-violent means, by pretending to be crazy. Samin Surosentiko also taught his followers to reject and not submit to the state's institutional structure and organizations (Manhartsberger, 2013:202).

This resistance movement, which was led by Samin Surosentiko in a quiet way by pretending to be crazy, was just done to show a defiant attitude towards the Dutch government, which burdened the society by controlling the land and levying taxes. These actions by the Dutch government made the society feel stressed, underprivileged, and powerless. They were unable to sustain their own lives and their families' lives. As a result of the economic and political pressures done by the Dutch government, it triggered criminal actions in the society, such as thefts and pillaging in the villages. Sartono Kartodirdjo provided an observation about the attitudes and actions of the Samin community by stating,

“Scientifically, the community's struggle is in the form of ‘*kraman brandalan*’, as a national historical phase, although the activities have a patriotic background, except there is only an eruption of messianism aspirations, the Queen of Justice who confronts the authority of white people” (Sastroatmodjo, 2003:14).

The attitudes and actions of the Samin community, who do not want to pay taxes and do not want to admit to the existence of the government is an extension of the Samin community's resistance towards the Dutch government. The Samin community's resistance attitude continued when the Dutch government left Indonesia. The Samin community's resistance, which was manifested in the form of refusing to pay taxes and not admitting to the existence of the government, is also directed towards the Indonesian government. In its development, the Samin community's resistance towards the Indonesian government was done by refusing

to make identity cards (KTP) and refusing to go through the civil records process at the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) when they get married.

The Samin community's resistance attitude, which at this time was weakening, resurfaced and regained strength when in 2006 PT Semen Gresik (SG) tried to build a cement plant around Sukolilo, Pati. This Samin community resistance was conveyed by the Samin community's resistance actions and attitudes towards building a cement factory in Sukolilo. The resistance actions done by the Samin community by embracing non-Samin residents of Sukolilo is a form of Samin community resistance towards government plans that they believe are inappropriate. Interestingly, in this social movement, women play a very significant role. Through an interpersonal communication strategy, Samin women can embrace and influence the Sukolilo community to reject the planned building of a cement plant.

A description of the role of Samin community women in rejecting cement factory construction is a contribution provided through this study. In addition, this research also strives to provide contributions through an analysis related with Samin women's communication strategy in their resistance social movement towards building a cement plant. Through informal interpersonal communication, the Samin community transfers information to the Sukolilo community, so that innovation diffusion occurs, resulting in social change.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The Samin community conducts a social movement against the planned building of a cement factory in Sukolilo to protect their culture and farming land. For the Samin community, their culture is a cornerstone and way of life that they must protect and preserve. On another side, agricultural land is an essential need for farmers, a very noble profession in the eyes of the Samin community.

The social movement which is done by Samin and non-Samin society in Sukolilo is a local movement or village movement that strives to maintain their farming land. James Scott, in an important contribution on village political studies, revealed that village movements are predestined to have local characteristics and be separate, showing forms of common people's daily defiance and avoiding open confrontation with the State or wealthier social classes (Moyo, 2005:147, in Fauzi, 2005).

Although this has a local characteristic, this movement has a uniqueness and uses a different method from other social movements. The social movement done by Samin and non-Samin society in Sukolilo is one which uses a peaceful means, rejecting violence and using cultural symbols. Traditional songs, theatrical performances, various plants, as well as jugs serve as cultural symbols used in this social movement. This social movement which is laden with culture shows that the social movement which is conducted by Samin and non-Samin society is a cultural social movement. Thomas Perreault considers cultural organizations more

as institutional intersections where social processes, culture, and complex politics are found, overlapping and occasionally in contradiction (Fauzi, 2005:59).

METHODS

This study is based on research results conducted in 2014-2015. This is a basic research with qualitative approach and ethnography of communication method. The data gathering methods used in this research are in-depth interviews, active role observations, and documentary analyses. This research conducts data gathering through in-depth interviews with Samin community figures in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, who are mas GR, mbak Gn, dhe Msl, and dhe Kms. Mas GR and mbak Gn are young leaders in the Samin community who play significant roles in coordinating the resistance social movement against building a cement factory in Sukolilo. In conducting direct observations and analyzing the Samin community's documents, the researcher lived there for 6 months in a Samin resident's home (mondokan) in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java.

FARMERS' MOVEMENT

The social movement that occurs in Sukolilo is a Samin and non-Samin farmers' movement in Sukolilo to defend their farming land along the Kendeng mountain range. As farmers, their agricultural land will be threatened if a cement factory is established in that region. The Sukolilo farmers' screams and concerns are like poetic verses in the song Dhandanggula, which was sung when they greeted the arrival of Emha Ainun Nadjib in Baturejo Village, Sukolilo, Pati, on August 25, 2005. Referring to a writing by Hartono (2005), the meaning of the song is "At this time, the condition of the nation is like an egg on the tip of a horn. If it slides off, it will fall. Small people keep waiting until the bottoms of their hearts. They hope to achieve inner and outer freedom. Hopefully, Java can go back to what it was like before, enter inside the souls of each person. Return real souls." The lyrics of the song convey the burdens of the Samin community who live in Sukolilo towards environmental preservation and the Kendeng mountain range around them.

The resistance of the Samin community and farmers in Sukolilo is a form of opposition to the planned building of a cement factory which will threaten their agricultural land. This is due to the area which will be used to build this cement factory is a productive farming area with paddy and corn as the primary agricultural plants. From 900 hectares of potential limestone mining land location, 85% is corn agricultural land whether for communal land or KPH Pati Forestry land, which is managed by the society. Meanwhile, 500 hectares of potential clay mining land location and 85 hectares of potential road building land location are productive paddy based agricultural rice fields. Furthermore, there are 144,503 Pati Regency residents who live in the Kendeng mountain range region and work in the agricultural sector (Sobirin, 2012).

According to Amrih (an anthropologist who conducted research on the Samin community), the pioneering agricultural activities of the Samin community in the Sukolilo region have been done before there was any plan to build a cement factory. They worked together for years with their fellow farmers to search for solutions to the problems faced by farmers. Annual flooding, sharp declines in harvested grain prices, plant pests, and the scarcity of fertilizer at times of need are problems that are managed by *sedulur sikep* in the Sukolilo region (Samhadi, Kompas 1 August 2008).

The farmers' movement in Sukolilo, which was pioneered by the Samin community, is a unique social movement. The uniqueness of this movement is because it is done in a peaceful way by using two strategies, which are first, placing women in a very significant position and second, using an interpersonal communication approach.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN THE MOVEMENT

In the viewpoint of the Samin community, women assist in determining the success of the resistance movement against the government's plan to build a cement factory in Sukolilo. This was similarly expressed by mas GR, a research informant:

“There are two reasons why women are important. First, this is a long-term movement. Therefore, women are needed who can control the emotions of the people who partake in the movement. Second, concretely, whenever the husbands and wives know about this movement, it will make everything more open and clearer. When the husbands and wives know about this movement, both parties will have an agreement between each other.”¹

According to mas GR, the presence of women in this movement will help manage the emotions of the individuals involved in it. Women's participation in this movement will build understanding about this movement within the family. At this level, women have a crucial role in this movement. Within its development, the social movement done by these Sukolilo farmer women is conducted by using several approaches and strategies, both individual and collective. Wieringa (1999:75) provided an explanation that the women's movement can be seen as a comprehensive spectrum from individual or collective doings, both consciously and unconsciously, activities, groups, or organizations which are concerned about the lack of various gender subordination aspects, which are viewed as inherent with other oppression, like which is based on class, race, ethnicity, age, and sex preferences.

In daily lives, women have a strategic position in domestic affairs, which will play a determining factor in the success of the movement. Therefore, placing women in a prime position in the movement is an urgency. A similar sentiment was stated by mbak Gn:

¹ In-depth interview with mas GR on February 17th 2015, in mas GR's house, Mbombong.

“Then I went around looking for women who were in their homes. The reason is that women are responsible for taking care of their children. That movement will not succeed if there is no cooperation between the husband and wife. This struggle will not succeed if it is only done by men.”²

The cooperation and involvement of women is the principle used by the Samin community in this opposition movement. In this movement, women and men have equal portions and places. In several respects, this movement actually places women in the primary position. In an in-depth interview on 5 February 2015, mbak Gn stated:

“Environmental, water, and land problems are joint issues. Then women who are at home primarily use water. This means that women have a major role at home, starting from educating their children to managing the household.”

This statement by mbak Gn shows that women play an important role in determining the success of a resistance movement towards building this cement factory. Based on this understanding, women are placed in a very significant position in every strategy used in this movement. On one side, the government’s plan to build this cement factory has an effect on the important position of women in this movement. On another side, this social movement has an impact which places women farmers in Sukolilo as the ones who will receive a direct effect if the cement factory is built in Sukolilo. This is like what was said by Galuh Wandita that the mining industry is masculine, where physically the mining industry uses heavy instrument penetration to gut the earth, and the job characteristically needs sophisticated technology, strength, and power of destruction which all have masculine traits (Candraningrum, 2014:132). This condition will shift women farmers in Sukolilo from their jobs. The patriarchal culture has already shifted women’s existence in managing the environment and affected all aspects of women’s lives and society in general (Hunga, in Candraningrum, 2013:xii).

Sobirin (2012) stated that the government’s plan to build a cement factory in Sukolilo is a form of colonialism and the modernization of farming ala the New Order, which is a part of the beginning of the story of women’s isolation from the concept of nature management. First, women are at the forefront as the vulnerable group in facing the negative results from this large scale mining project. Second, the greater the limitations in job choices because of the presence of certain large scale companies, it will be followed by building many kinds of infrastructure, such as houses, health facilities, among others which will convert agricultural land to become residential land.

The loss of jobs and farming land is a worrisome threat for all farmers in Sukolilo. This background has made the Samin and non-Samin society in Sukolilo

² In-depth interviews with mbak Gn on January 9th 2015 in mbak Gn’s house, Ngawen, Mbowong.

refuse the government's plan to build a cement factory on their agricultural land. Based on the principle "Ketika lingkungan selamat, berarti awake dewe sak anak putu sing keru mburi yo selamat"³ (When the environment is safe, we and our children will be safe), the Samin and non-Samin women farmers in Sukolilo strive to maintain the Kendeng mountain range and their farming land, which will be used to build a cement factory. In the Samin community's viewpoint, although building this cement factory is in the name of economic and infrastructure growth, in its development later the local people will not benefit at all from it. This project will just benefit private parties. It will even just exploit and destroy nature, produce contaminated water, and cause high pollution. Likewise, Shiva (1990) claimed that when nature is considered as a lifeless system with objects to be exploited, then inherently, the structure of modernity legitimizes the power over and manipulation of nature. This conceptual framework then produces nature as products within a commercial capitalization system (Candraningrum, 2013:9).

The government's plan to build a cement factory in the Sukolilo region not only threatens the Sukolilo community's farming land, but the cultural sites around the location of that cement factory will also become extinct. Consequently, the local culture and wisdom that they possess will be left to the wayside and maybe even become extinct. This condition makes the Sukolilo society feel uneasy and worrisome. This concern by the Samin community has merit because of the risks of man-made natural disasters, which are a reflection of uncontrolled exploitation. Meanwhile, on another side, human lives are an integral part of nature. Therefore, human dependence as a part of the natural ecosystem needs to have its values reborn and reconceptualized urgently, so that the accumulation of natural resources cannot be reduced and can be accompanied by an ecological healing process (Candraningrum, 2013:7). The fear of the Sukolilo society began to abate when lik Drt and several Samin people began explaining to the society about the plan to build this cement factory. At this level, women have a very significant role in approaching and explaining to the society. Related with this, mbak Gn stated, "Pernah waktu arep aksi, aku yo ngomong karo ibu-ibu sing arep melu aksi supoyo ora wedi lan teteg". (Once when we were going to engage in a social action, I talked with the women who were going to be involved in the movement, so that they would not feel afraid and still had enough courage to express their opinions through the social action).

This motivation, which was given by mbak Gn, was able to build bravery and encourage the Samin and non-Samin women farmers in Sukolilo. Through the communication done, mbak Gn is able to motivate the Samin community members who are involved in the movement. Quoting from a statement by Karen Beckwith (2007), in this social movement 'who' has a very influential role in the success of a movement. Karen Beckwith stated, "It may be helpful to classify women's

³ *Ibid.*

movements by answering three initial questions: (1) Who are the actors? (2) Who are the leaders? and (3) What are the gendered identity claims? First, women's movements involve women as the primary core actors. Second, women's movements are a subset of social movements generally." According to Karen Beckwith's opinion, the women's movement done by the Samin society in a social movement context in opposition to building a cement factory can be understood from three aspects. These three factors are: who are the actors in the movement, who is the leader of the movement, as well as how does this group provide a gender related identity. Within this understanding, a movement is considered as a women's movement whenever women have a very important position and involve other women as primary actors in the movement. In addition, a movement is considered to be a women's movement when it is part of a social movement.

By emphasizing the principle of who becomes the actors, who is the leader, and how the group shows its identity in a gender context, the women farmers of Sukolilo then devise strategies inside the movement. Wieringa (1999:75) stated, "This women's movement is often modified when it interacts with their daily lives, politics, or power".

ACTORS IN THE MOVEMENT

The social movement done by the Samin and non-Samin communities in Sukolilo to reject the building of a cement factory places women as important actors in the movement. This can be seen from every social movement, starting from meeting with the Village Head, Regent, and even the Governor and People's Assembly at the Regency, Province, and Republic of Indonesia levels, to place women as the primary actors. The Samin and non-Samin women farmers of Sukolilo even met with the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the President of Indonesia. At this level, the women farmers are the main actors of the social action movement.

On May 1, 2009, the Samin and non-Samin women farmers from Sukolilo acted as the primary actors, who appeared as heroines of Kendeng mountain range. When the AMDAL constituent team finished conducting its tasks and its documents were ready to be officiated, outside of the room there was a pickup truck with a banner spread out on it with the writing "Reject the building of a cement factory in North Kendeng Mountain Range". On top of the truck, there were seven women engaging in a quiet protest while bringing their crops like corn, cassava, bananas, and beans from North Kendeng Mountain Range. The crops that were brought by these heroines seemed to refute the assumption that North Kendeng Mountain Range is barren land⁴.

⁴ Mokh Sobirin. Simbar Wareh: Bergerak di Tengah Ancaman Pemiskinan. Srinthil, 23rd ed., 6 January 2012.

LEADERS IN THE MOVEMENT

Women leaders have an essential role in the social movement conducted in Sukolilo. This was applied in the resistance action movement done at the Pati Regent's house, at KPK, and even at a social ceremony. In every social protest, women are designated as the leaders.

When going to the Pati Regent's municipal house, the Samin and non-Samin women farmers brought various kinds of plants. The leader and representative of the Sukolilo society to meet the Regent was dhe Msl. This was stated by mbak Gn, "Dhe Msl met with the Regent. Dhe Msl represented the Samin community to give a plant to the Regent."⁵ According to dhe Msl, the reason for giving the Regent a plant was to remind him about the environment.

"I wanted to remind the Regent about the environment. At that time, I gave him a srikaya plant. Then dhe Kamsri gave him a soursop plant. Then I said to the Regent, 'Mr. Regent, this is a srikaya plant. I hope you will accept it and plant it in the Kendeng mountain range.'⁶

In this resistance movement strategy, women are the symbol of the movement done by the Samin community. Women are representatives of the Sukolilo community to meet with and remind the Regent through the plant symbol that they bring. Through the srikaya plant and soursop plant, Samin women who represent their community want to remind the Regent that when the Regent is in office he only seeks wealth (this is signified with the srikaya plant – 'sing di sir mung koyo' – who only seeks wealth). So the natural riches in the area will be lost (signified with the soursop – will be gone).

When doing a resistance movement at the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) office, women played a significant role as leaders. In an in-depth interview, mbak Gn stated:

"Women also conducted an opposition movement at KPK. At that time, I went inside KPK and gave them a jug filled with water and jackfruit. That jug was made from the land which is filled with water. Land and water are sources of life."⁷

Women were also involved in this social movement when the Samin community did a protest movement at the KPK office. When doing the resistance social movement at KPK, women were not only participants in the movement, but they were also leaders.

⁵ In-depth interview with mbak Gn on March 10th 2015, at 16.30 in dhe Ic's house.

⁶ In-depth interview with Dhe Msl on March 10th 2015, at 16.30 in dhe Icuk's house).

⁷ In-depth interview with mbak Gn on January 9th 2015 in mbak Gunarti's house, Ngawen, Mbowong.

Another strategy in a resistance social movement that places women in a crucial position is a community ceremony. A community ceremony is a flag ceremony, as what is done by society in general. However, this ceremony is carried out in a simple manner by the farmers in Sukolilo. In every community ceremony, women are always placed in an important position and have a primary role. When carrying out this community ceremony, women are the ceremony leaders and procession leaders. The Samin community has the viewpoint that women have an essential role in this life like Mother Earth who is nurturing. The community ceremonies that have been done by the Sukolilo community in an effort to reject cement factory construction are commemorative ceremonies for Kartini Day, Mother's Day, and Earth Day. In an in-depth interview, mbak Gn stated,

“The residents here also hold a ceremony in remembrance of Kartini Day. All the residents of Sukolilo will join. There are representatives from sellers and herders. The ceremony is held at Ronggoboyo Cave. The leaders are Samin people. The purpose of this ceremony is to listen to the aspirations and opinions of the community members who are opposed to the planned building of the cement factor. In addition, this ceremony is held so that there is a unified voice and understanding about how to behave. The ceremony participants are informed about what should be done when they act. During the action, they are not allowed to use violence or loud voices.”⁸

COLLECTIVELY PROVIDES AN IDENTITY RELATED TO GENDER

The social protest done by Samin and non-Samin communities in Sukolilo is different from common social movements. This social protest is carried out by using cultural symbols which convey a cultural identity and gender related identity.

Cultural symbols were also used in this movement when the women farmers from Sukolilo went to the KPK building. At that time, they wore a traditional blouse and cloth as well as farmer pleated hats. The clothing they wore was symbolic with that used to build their identity as women farmers from Kendeng mountain range.

At that time, the women farmers went to the KPK office to give a kendi (water jug) and jackfruit. A kendi is a symbol of life because it comes from the ground and is filled with water. Land and water are two primary elements that are greatly needed in life. Meanwhile, jackfruit is a symbol that Kendeng mountain range is fertile land, which is proven with jackfruit as an agricultural product from Kendeng mountain range. When doing this resistance movement at the KPK office, only mbak Gn entered the KPK building, while the other women farmers from Sukolilo waited outside while singing the traditional Javanese song “Ibu Pertiwi”.

⁸ In-depth interview with mbah Tln, Lik Pur and mbak Gn on February 4th 2014, at 12.30, in mbah Tln's house, Nggaliran.

Cultural symbols to build their gender identity are also used when they do a social protest by using a community ceremony as a way to show their social protest. A community ceremony is an insinuation that all people have the same rights to conduct a ceremony, including farmers. The ceremony is done by using Javanese cultural symbols that are laden with meaning and accompanied by *tembang* (Javanese traditional songs), which consist of advice and criticism related with environmental preservation. The community ceremony is done in a simple way by involving all layers of society, whether from the Samin community or non-Samin community members in Sukolilo. When doing this community ceremony, all of the women participants wear cloth, traditional blouses, and farmer hats as symbols to establish their identity as women farmers.

COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The success of the movement is done by Samin and non-Samin women in Sukolilo by conducting a social protest of this cement factory by using a communication strategy. The communication is done informally through interpersonal communication or a group network. Berger, in his uncertainty reduction theory, stated that when we communicate, we make a plan to reach our goals. We devise our communication plan with other people based on our goals, just like in using the information we have about other people (Littlejohn and Foss, 2012:218). Berger revealed that there are several things we can do to get information about other people. These ways are by using a passive strategy, active strategy, and interactive strategy. A passive strategy involves observation. There are two strategies that can be done in this passive strategy, which are first, reactivity searching. Here, an individual is intently observed doing something. Second, disinhibition searching is a strategy which observes someone in an informal situation, in which the person is not really limiting one's behavior and acting in a more natural way.

At the beginning of a social protest, an informal communication strategy is used in interpersonal communication and group network communication. The purpose of this is to utilize an approach that can embrace the Sukolilo society. According to mbak Gn,

“The Samin community does not go along with the Sukolilo community in doing the opposition movement. It is actually the Samin community who encourages the Sukolilo community to partake in the opposition movement. It is the Samin community who tries to get the Sukolilo community to save the earth. I will go from house to house and meet with the Sukolilo residents to persuade them to save the earth. I will visit them and explain about the environmental damage that will occur if the cement factory is built.”⁹

⁹ In-depth interview with mbak Gn on January 9th 2015 in mbak Gunarti's house, Ngawen, Mbowong.

This statement by mbak Gn shows a very unique phenomenon related with the role of the Samin community in the movement. Up until now, the Samin community is known as an exclusive and closed community. Therefore, it is very interesting when in this social movement the Samin community present themselves as initiators and boosters of a movement. Mbak Gunarti stated that Samin people do not go along with Sukolilo people in protesting. In contrast, it is the Samin community that encourages the Sukolilo community to engage in a cement factory protest movement. At this level, Samin women are tasked to influence the Sukolilo community to join them in the movement.

The attitudes and encouragement of the Samin community to encourage and embrace the Sukolilo community in a protest movement is an expression of their life philosophy. As a community which holds their farming profession in high regards, the Samin community has a viewpoint that agricultural land is an inseparable part of their lives as farmers. The ground, water, the environment, and farming land are the 'mother', who must be protected. Therefore, when their farming land is threatened by building a cement factory, they will rise to action. This Samin community movement is a reflection of what was stated by Ballis Ball in the assumption of the symbolic interaction theory, "People make decisions and act in accordance with their subjective understandings of the situations in which they find themselves (in Littlejohn and Foss, 2001:145). Referring to an opinion by Herbert Blumer, this Samin community action is closely intertwined with the meaning of agriculture and farming land for their lives. In one of the three primary premises of the symbolic interaction theory, Blumer stated that "Humans act towards something based on meanings found in something for them" (in Soeprapto, 2002:120).

There are two communication strategies used in this social movement. These communication strategies are conducted by 'ndolani' (visiting and hugging) and by using 'Mbok bakul gendhong' (vegetable sellers).

The 'ndolani' strategy is conducted by visiting and embracing the Sukolilo community, as what is done by mbak Gn. Besides mbak Gn, there are several other young Samin women who are assigned to visit and embrace the Sukolilo community, such as Yn and Sh. By using a ndolani strategy, Samin women have the opportunity to approach the Sukolilo community, who at that time are not too involved in a movement. In this strategy, informal communication is done through interpersonal communication. While 'ndolani', the Samin community convey information about the importance of protecting, preserving, and maintaining the environment. These messages then let the women farmers in Sukolilo understand why they should protect, preserve, and maintain the environment. After the Sukolilo society understands and agrees with this opinion, the Samin women then develop their approaches by conveying messages related to the movement. Messages that are related with the movement deal with maintaining and preserving the Kendeng mountain range. Slowly, the messages to protect and preserve the Kendeng mountain

range become an interesting topic that starts to be understood by the Sukolilo community. Starting from this understanding, it eventually makes the community and women farmers in Sukolilo act on their attitudes. The Sukolilo women farmers eventually decide to be involved in a resistance social movement against building a cement factory in Sukolilo.

Another communication strategy used by Samin women when they do a protest movement of the plan to build a cement factory is by using 'mbok bakul gendong'. This is what was stated by mbak Gn, in an in-depth interview,

"Another method that I use in this movement and to inform the surrounding environment is by using female vegetable sellers that go door to door. These female vegetable sellers go from one house to another house in Sukolilo. I request the vegetable sellers' assistance if they are in Sukolilo. The reason for this is that these vegetable sellers have to go from one end of the village to the other and meet with many people. In the beginning, I explained about environmental problems and dangers of environmental damage to the vegetable sellers. When they knew about this, they would pass the information along to other residents. I asked the vegetable sellers to tell the Sukolilo community about the environmental problems. This strategy of conveying messages by using women is effective, because women will easily share information to other women."¹⁰

'Mbok bakul gendong' are vegetable merchants who go around from one village to another one in Sukolilo sub-district. There are 5 'Mbok bakul gendong' who are involved in this protest movement. 'Mbok bakul gendong' are the non-Samin community members who live in Sukolilo sub-district or around the Sukolilo district. 'Mbok bakul gendong' are not Samin community members, because not all community members can work as sellers. For the Samin community, working as sellers is not a very noble profession. This is because Samin people believe that sellers are often dishonest when they are selling. For instance, a seller may buy an item for 1,000 rupiah but then sell it for 1,500 rupiah. When a buyer offers 1,200 rupiah for an item, the seller will certainly answer 'I cannot sell it for that price or I will not make any profit'. This kind of a statement by a seller is considered to be dishonest by Samin people. However, Samin people's viewpoint about these sellers does not stop them from working together with the sellers ('Mbok bakul gendong') in a protest movement.

'Mbok bakul gendong' is a very effective communication strategy to reach society from all reaches of the villages in Sukolilo. It was revealed by mbak Gn that when 'Mbok bakul gendong' are selling, they go all over Sukolilo district. When they go around every village in Sukolilo, these 'Mbok bakul gendong' will meet with many people and have enough time to converse with all the buyers. When they

¹⁰ In-depth interviews with mbah Rng, mbah Pwt and mbak in Mbah Rng and Mbah Pwt's houses, on February 5th 2015, at 11.00, Nggaliran.

meet with the buyers and communicate with them, there is an information transfer process. The messages conveyed by 'Mbok bakul gendong' to buyers will be passed on to other residents. This principle of passing on information is used by the Samin community to convey information about the importance of preserving the environment and protecting the environment from the threat of cement factory construction.

Mbak Gn, a Samin female figure in the resistance movement towards the cement factory construction, tries to become 'Mbok bakul gendong' as a media in a communication strategy that is used in the movement. In this strategy, at first mbak Gn tried to explain to the 'Mbok bakul gendong' in Sukolilo about the importance of protecting, preserving, and maintaining the environment in Sukolilo as well as the Kendeng mountain range. After the 'Mbok bakul gendong' understood about this issue, mbak Gn then attempted to embrace and encourage the 'bakul gendong-bakul gendong' to help her convey the messages to the Sukolilo residents.

In a chain reaction, the 'Mbok bakul gendong' in Sukolilo will convey messages about the importance of preserving the environment and protecting the Kendeng mountain range to all the people they meet. The 'Mbok bakul gendong' action is a form of their awareness regarding the significance of the environment for their lives. This 'Mbok bakul gendong' action is a self-awareness towards an external situation, like what was stated by Hinkle, in referring to a study by MacIver, Znaniecki, and Parsons in an assumption from the action theory. In the first assumption, Hinkle states that human actions arise from their own awareness as subjects from an external situation in their positions as objects (Ritzer, 2004:46).

For 'Mbok bakul gendong', the information about the importance of the environment that they receive from the Samin women is a very significant message and must be conveyed to all people they encounter. As vegetable sellers that travel go from one house to another one, 'Mbok bakul gendong' share messages about the environment through informal interpersonal communication. This strategy by using 'Mbok bakul gendong' can eventually reduce the uncertainty that occurs in society related to the environment. Slowly, the society has started to realize the importance of preserving and protecting the environment, as well as maintaining Kendeng mountain range. This process eventually builds societal awareness to oppose the government's plan to build a cement factory in Sukolilo.

According to Rogers (1971:5-6), this strategy that is done in the protest movement by using 'Mbok bakul gendong', results in innovation diffusion. "Diffusion is a kind of social change, defined as the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of a social system" (Rogers, 1971:5). Messages to protect and preserve the environment are an innovation that is communicated through 'Mbok bakul gendong' in a social system. The presence of 'Mbok bakul gendong' in a protest movement towards building this cement factor can reduce uncertainty in society. Through sharing information about the significance of protecting and preserving the environment and Kendeng mountain range, uncertainty

in society can be reduced. The society can understand and take action towards the cement factory construction that will be done by the Sukolilo government.

CONCLUSION

Upto now, the Samin society is well-known as an exclusive and closed community. Therefore, one aspect that is very interesting is when Samin people are involved in this social movement, even as initiators of the movement. The Samin women's social movement in rejecting cement factor construction in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, is a unique social movement. In a patriarchal culture, this social movement places women in a very important position. The women of Kendeng mountain range even act as leaders and movers in the movement. In several resistance movements that have been done like in community ceremonies, a protest at the Regent's office, a resistance effort at the Governor's office, and a resistant action at the KPK office, women are placed in the forefront and have the most significant role. This movement uses a communication strategy through an interpersonal communication approach. Interpersonal communication is done informally to build understanding about the importance of preserving and protecting the Kendeng mountain range.

In this strategy, women function to embrace and influence the Sukolilo society that is not involved in the movement. Through interpersonal communication done by 'ndolani', the Samin community conveys messages about preserving the environment and convincing the society about the importance of protecting the environment. The Samin people's attitude and enthusiasm to encourage and embrace the Sukolilo society to participate in a resistance movement is an expression of their life philosophy, which sees farming as the most honorable profession.

Another strategy used is through 'Mbok bakul gendong', who are vegetable sellers that traverse from one village to another one in Sukolilo sub-district. This strategy by using 'Mbok bakul gendong' can finally reduce the uncertainty, which until now occurs in society related to the environment and results in innovation diffusion. Through information conveyed about the importance of protecting and preserving the environment and Kendeng mountain range, the societal uncertainty can be reduced. The society can fathom and take positions regarding the Sukolilo government's plan to build a cement factory.

In this social movement, women play a role in reducing uncertainty and causing information diffusion. This is because women have the ability to manage the information in the movement. In addition, women are very elegant in embracing and encouraging residents to be involved in the movement. Through informal interpersonal communication in a 'ndolani' concept and by using 'mbok bakul gendhong', messages about encouraging them to protect the environment and preserve the Kendeng mountain range can be accepted and understood by society. At a certain level, the Sukolilo residents are made aware of the importance of maintaining their farming land, so that there is a diffusion of innovation.

The Samin and non-Samin movement phenomenon in Sukolilo has become a new issue. There is new insight about the farmers' movement that is dominated by women by using an informal interpersonal communication approach. This issue shifts the assumption that a peasant movement refers to a masculinity one based on the spirit of rebellion and resistance using violence.

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