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The ‘Bakul Gendong’ as a communication strategy to reject the construction of a cement factory in Central Java

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ABSTRACT

Since 2006, one of Indonesia’s biggest corporations operating in the cement industry has been trying to build a factory at Sukolilo village in Central Java, Indonesia. The potential for of environmental damage caused by mining and the construction of this new factory is the main source of conflict between the public and the giant corporation.

The focus of this research was the communication strategy adopted by women in the community to reject the construction of the cement factory in Pati, Central Java, Indonesia. This research used a qualitative method through a case study approach. Interviews, observations, and literature studies were used as data collection techniques for in this research.

We found that the practices of the “Bakul Gendong” communication strategy were effective in developing women’s awareness of environmental issues based on the values they believe in. Through the women peddlers, women’s awareness of the risk of environmental damage caused by the cement factories was successfully developed. They also created female farmers’ group named “Simbar Wareh” to strengthen cooperation between them and to better-organize their resistance. The women’s movement to resist the cement factory was also conducted by building a network, meeting authorities, demonstrating, displaying traditional symbols during celebrations such as the “Agustusan” (independence day celebration) and Kartinian (women’s day) as their sites of resistance. The local government and PT. Semen Gresik tended to use technical and economical communicative approaches, while the people mainly refer to local know how PT. Semen Gresik did not use the right communication strategy to understand the conflict that arose and how to handle it, until after 10 years of trying to build a factory in Sukolilo.

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1. Introduction

Since 2006, one of big companies from the cement industry in Indonesia has tried to build their factory in Sukolilo village in Central Java, Indonesia. The environmental damage that would be caused by the mining activities and construction of the new factory was the main cause of conflict between the communities and the company. Public interests are often marginalized in the assessment of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). EIA evaluations also tend to be biased in favour of companies that are supported by the local government. Local community that will be impacted by the proposed developments are rarely involved in EIA, hence their interests are basically neglected in the results of the EIA. For this reason,

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the people in these communities were forced to fight for their interests by any means available to them. To that end, building awareness of the risks of environmental damage needed to be conducted thoroughly, and especially by women.

The reason behind the rejection of the plan to build a cement factory is mainly that people wanted to preserve the natural environment and their homes. According to the locals, although the construction of the cement factory was claimed to be in the name of economic growth and development, the future development of the local community had not been taken into account, and they would gain nothing from it. They felt that this project would only benefit private parties while destroying nature and causing contaminated water and high pollution. The people of the area had grounds to reject it as the area designated as the location of the cement factory is arable land used for the livelihood of communities in Sukolilo and it is still actively cultivated as productive farmland.

According to Arif and Hartati in *The daily 'Kompas'*, (August 1, 2008), the cement factory will be established in the mountainous region of northern Kendeng. Administratively, the region covers four districts, namely the districts of Sukolilo, Kayen, Cork and Margorejo. Of the four districts, the area designated as the mine site and cement factory spreads over thirteen (13) villages with a total area of 1,560 ha of land. In the original plan, PT Semen Gresik will use the traditional land of 1560 hectares for limestone quarrying (900 ha) of land mining clay (500 ha), a factory for the production of cement (75 ha) and transport/roads (85 ha) (Arif & Hartati, 2008).

Moreover, in the area planned to be used as the cement factory grounds there is a population of 1197 Samin people in the community, sometimes referred to as *Sedulur Sikep*. *Sedulur Sikep* is an indigenous person who is dubbed an upholder of the culture, customs and the environment in which they live.¹

Historically the formation of the Samin community has formed a forum for farmers. They call themselves the *Sedulur Sikep* term that means fellow relatives. According to a movement figure in Sukolilo, "In 2005, an association called *sedulur* (a family) or also named *Sedulur Sikep* was created. At the time, the 10 people who gathered to set it up included my relatives and me. Prior to this association, there were KTM (*Karya Tani Maju*). KTM is a group of farmers from Mbombong and Ngawen. At that times the elders *Sampir* and *Tarno* were still alive".

According to the wisdom of the *Sedulur Sikep*, protecting the environment is part of maintaining a balance between humans and nature. As one of the top figures in *Sedulur Sikep*, Omah Kendeng, stated on February 6, 2015, "Earth is like a mother (mother earth) who cares and nurtures. The sky is a father that fulfills. Like the plant, if there is no light, it cannot grow. If we care and protect the bottom, the top will also safe and secure. If we love the earth, it will also love us. Mother earth has unbounded kindness".

The teachings to love and preserve the environment are taught from one generation to the next. Consequently, when plans to build a cement factory is deemed to pose the threat on environmental degradation, the people of Samin, young and old are all involved in this resistance movement. The focus of this study was the communication strategies adopted by women in the Samin society to reject the construction of the cement factory in Central Java, Indonesia.

2. Literature review

Research on *Bakul Gendong* in Sukolilo cannot be separated from the cultural and historical context in this society, specifically the Samin community. The Samin community is one of many indigenous people who live in Sukolilo, area of Pati, Central Java. In the Sub-district of Sukolilo, the Samin people live scattered in several villages throughout Mbombong, Ngawen and Nggaliran. Of these three villages, most Samin people live in the Mbombong village. In view of its history, the Samin community was formed as an indigenous people's movement against the Dutch colonialists. In 1908, under the leadership of Samin Surosentiko rural communities around the teak forest in Blora, Cepu, Bojonegoro, Ngawi and Pati took on the fight against the Dutch government.

This resistance began when Samin Surosentiko saw the suffering of the people as a result of oppression by the Dutch government. People are in a state of distress and deprivation. Agricultural and livestock owned by the people were taken away by the Dutch government. Seeing how the condition distressed the people, Samin Surosentiko intervened and lead the people to take action and fight. Given that the human resources as well as the weapons they had were very limited and not in any way capable of countering the Dutch forces, they then resorted to a peaceful way to rebel against the Dutch by pretending to be insane (Darmastuti, 2015: 125).

The movement later gave birth to a new icon named after Surosentiko Samin, the surrounding community then called that community the *Samin community*. This society later developed into a very strong indigenous people known to resiliently uphold their principles especially against people and things that are considered life threatening to them. Therefore, social movements among the people of Samin became part of their lives. Some forms of resistance they used consisted of a variety of symbols and rituals that were blended into their daily life and among social groups in their society, including groups that consisted mainly of women.

This type of Resistance carried on by the Sukolilo Samin community today is in line with the results of James Scott's research in Sedaka, Malaysia. According to James Scott, debates on matters related to the political sphere where a group of people in power tries to impose its will on a party they perceived as weak, can occur anywhere, including towards the poor. In a small and poor village, people who are deemed weak often lose against arbitrators and strong exploitative economic

¹ Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng (JMPPK) Networking.

and political groups. The resistance strategy is undertaken by poor farmers in the rural areas where the resistance itself is dominated by struggles between social classes and ideological domination which in turn gives practical and theoretical significance. The resistance arise due to problems associated with the gap between rich and poor and also because of the people's struggle in dealing with issues associated with work and property rights as well as opposing the injustice that befell upon them as a result of actions and behaviors carried out by a group of people who treated them unjustly (Scott, 2000; 511).

Social movements have been powerful forces in modern history and have influenced public opinion, public policy, and increases in citizen access and social consciousness (McHale, 2004). The Social movements undertaken by the Samin community is a unique social movement which originated from a very closed and private society, which then turned into a society that motivates movements through various means of mobilizations and conducted its activities without the use of violence. In addition to being non-violent, this movement also involves a lot of women using a variety of strategies integrating their daily activities as well as local rituals that are laden with symbols. Actions taken by the Samin community are not different from the opinion of McCarthy in his writings about the structure of mobilization. In his writings, McCarthy revealed that the structure used for mobilizing social movement merged collective group actions, including movement tactics and forms of social movement organizations. The structure also includes placing people who have social positions in the community's daily life in positions of leadership and mobilizing them into the micro mobilization structure. The goal is to find people with strategic locations in the community to be mobilized. In this context, family units, a network of friends, associates volunteer laborers, workplace units and elements of the State itself become locations for micro mobilization structures (Situmorang, 2007: 7).

In addition, our society also needs to understand their social structure, because the social structure will form the social, political, economic and cultural actions. The Structural Functional Theory by Herbert Spencer is one theory that can be used to map the phenomenon in the Samin community life. The Structural Functional Theory is consistent with the characteristics of Samin community in that it prioritizes social balance or harmony. The harmony is based on a religious doctrine that prioritizes '*riyo marang sepada-pada*', or 'no harm to other people'. This is in accordance with the principles of the religious life of Java, which is centered on the concept of *selamet* (safe and sound). The *selamet* concept can be understood as one of the teachings of harmony. To get along, the one thing that should be done is 'not prioritizing' the differences that exist in society, but taking the similarities as the basis of living together. If the members of community highlight their differences among them, there is a high probability that it will result in conflicts. Meanwhile if they highlight similarities as the basis of their relationship then it will build an understanding among them.

The functionalism approach is similar to a study conducted by Hildred Geertz. In her book *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kinship and Socialization*, Hildred Geertz identified two rules of the most decisive social patterns of Javanese society. The first rule, in every situation people have to understand and be conscious of who they are, in order to be able to adjust according to their rank and position in society. Rule number two is being respectful (Geertz, 1961: 146). Both rules have a very important role in the Javanese community interaction patterns. Franz Magnis Suseno, in his book *Javanese Ethics (Etika Jawa)*, called both these rules as the principle of harmony and respect. The attitude of harmony and respect can be achieved if they are based on three feelings: *wedi* (fear), *isin* (shame) and *sungkan* (shy) (Suseno, 1993: 23).

As a community, the Samin community can be categorized as a humble community. One of the characteristics of a simple society is having a social relationship that is based on organic solidarity and harmony. Imbalance will occur if one member does not function properly. This is in accordance with the view of the theory of functionalism, which sees society as a network of groups that work together in an organized manner, and work according to a set of rules (working rules) implemented by most people. So, the theory of a structural-functional view of society is a network of groups that work together in an organized fashion and work according to a set of working rules implemented by the community. Here the community is seen as a stable system with a tendency toward equilibrium.

In association to the development of the movement that aims to achieve their goal through a variety of communication strategies, it can be said that it is consistent with the theory of uncertainty reduction. Berger, in his *Uncertainty Reduction Theory* said that when we communicate, we make a plan to achieve our goals. We plan our communication with others based on our goals as well as the use of the information we have about others (Littlejohn & Foss, 2012: 218). Berger expressed some techniques we can do to get information about other people. It includes using a passive strategy, an active strategy and an interactive strategy. Passive strategy uses observation. Two strategies can be done through passive strategy. First, observe reactivity (reactivity searching). Here individuals are aware that they are actually being observed doing something – reacting to certain situations. Second, free observation (dis-inhibition searching), this strategy watches people in informal situations, where they are less aware of being observed and behave in a more natural way.

Active strategy also uses observation. This strategy includes asking others about the targeted person and manipulates the environment to allow the person to be observed. While interactive strategy includes interrogation and self-disclosure (Littlejohn & Foss, 2012: 218). Understanding the various concepts and theories above, can be the basis for understanding the dynamics of the Sukolilo society (Samin and Non-Samin), where the Bakul Gendong strategy is developed. The movement to resist the cement factory in Sukolilo was initiated by a local community called the Samin people in Sukolilo. That is, the Samin society and communities' sense of responsibility towards preserving the mountains in Kendeng became their passion that drives this movement. They also invite other members of Sukolilo society to protect their environment. The dynamics

of the community helps to theoretically understand the basis of finding the uniqueness of people in Sukolilo in achieving their goals, which includes how they fought against the injustice they experienced.

3. Method

This research used qualitative method through case study approach. The qualitative approach was chosen because the case was unique, contextual and historically tied to the society (Lindlof, 1995). Interviews, observation, and literature study are used as data collection techniques in this study. Interviews were conducted through 11 informants consisting of both male and female activists from social movements, rural community leaders, villagers, local researchers and environmentalists. The observations were made in the Kendeng region where this phenomenon occurs. Observations were also made to study forms of resistance by the people through various forms of activities such as community meetings and a variety of local ceremonies and events. The residents of Kendeng towards various things that they do not approve of carried out studies to discover the history of resistance. The literature also collected data correlating to the culture of Kendeng, especially the Samin community as well as results of other research that also study these issues at hand, the Samin or Kendeng society as a research subject and historical development of the plan and the refusal of the cement plant. Lastly literature studies against important concepts used in the study and several theories used as the basis for understanding or analyzing the issues being examined. Subjects were activists of social movements that developed a variety of non-violent approach in creating and developing the social movement against the cement factory in the Development Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, Indonesia. This research was conducted since January 2015 to May 2016.

4. Result

The year 2006 was the beginning of PT. Semen Gresik's plan to build a cement factory in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java. This plan was rejected by the Samin people, one of Sukolilo's communities. They were afraid it would threaten their farms and sources of water. Since 2005, the Samin and other Sukolilo people rejected the construction of the cement factory and that was also when conflicts started between the local government (who gave permission to PT. Semen Gresik to build the cement factory), PT. Semen Gresik through their representatives, the community that agreed to the construction of the factory, and the people of Sukolilo who rejected the construction of the cement factory.

There is something unique and exciting from the Sukolilo community action during the cement rejection movement in that women have played a very large role in the success of this movement. It can be seen though the involvement of many women actively rejecting the construction of the plant during their movements.

4.1. Why Women are involved in The Cement Factory Rejection Movement?

PT. Semen Gresik, causing tremendous fear among the people who owned the land that would serve as the mining area and factory site when conducting the process of land acquisition. Threats and intimidations further fueled people's fear. A non Samin villager from Kedu confessed, *'At that time, all the brothers (men) who attended became frightened. Because at that time the issue that spread was those who were not willing to sell their land would be harmed'* His confession was supported by other non-Samin villagers from Kedu, *'Our brothers here were intimidated into selling their land to the cement company. The land was only priced at 25 thousand Rupiahs per meter square (a little less than two US dollars per meter square)'*.

That price is different from what an executive from PT. Semen Gresik offered which was about US\$3.50 per meter square (Rp. 40.000,-). This executive added that the people of Sukolilo had asked US\$15.00 for per meter square (Rp. 200.000,-). Meanwhile one of the female public figures in Samin stated the rejection towards the construction of the cement factory was not due to the low price that was offered but that the land is their source of livelihood as farmers and that having land and source of water in the area were basic needs as farmers. Besides that, they need to maintain their land so as to be able to hand it down to their children and grandchildren because the land was also inherited to them from their parents.

Fear among the people of Sukolilo and Kedu began to wane when some people began to approach and explain to the public about this cement factory construction plan situation. At this stage, women began to play a very large role in spreading the news and explaining the situation and approaching the public. It turned out that the motivation given by an activist helped build courage and spirit among housewives for putting up resistance to fight and protect their land.

Through in-depth interviews conducted by the researchers on January 9, 2015, an activist said, *'Once when we were about to make a move, I spoke with the women who will front the movement so as not to be afraid and take steady steps. I asked the women to talk to their husbands like this: 'at the very least I will get hurt, at the very most I might die, please accept whatever consequence (fate) I will face'*.

According to one of the female leaders, the involvement of women in this movement is due to two important reasons. First, the involvement of women in this movement to resist the construction of the cement factory is to minimize casualties. Armed forces as well as hired thugs were used in Sukolilo to stop the people's resistance, they were deployed and was free to use physical force as well as threats and fear strategies. The villagers succeeded in avoiding violent contact because village women were deployed to execute peaceful demonstrations so that the only confrontation they faced were women crying and yelling.

At a cultural level in Indonesia, it is very difficult to use violent aggression against women. Even thugs were unable to remove the women from the demonstration area as they all hung on to the thugs, crying out their situation. Often confrontations became a process of oral debate at best. Unable to physically remove the women by force, they were unable to maintain their ground. One such propegator explained that they were aware that confronting the cement factory was not an easy task and it would take a long time to accomplish their target. The women's movement with its various forms of peaceful demonstration was seen as the most successful way to raise and maintain the confrontation among the public.

Second, the involvement of women in this movement is more effective because women can support the movement by their husbands. As one activist pointed out, when both the women and the men are actively involved in the movement then that movement will surely be difficult to stop. Resistance surrounding land disputes usually fail and easy to stop when only the men are involved. Officers or armed forces will not hesitate to use force to detain and or disperse demonstrators when men take to the streets ready for an all out confrontations. But if women are also detained then they fear the children will be neglected at home and male officers are less willing to hurt women who demonstrate peacefully. Aside from the above reasons, women are easier to be aware of environmental issues because women's daily chores constantly depend on the condition of their environment. Such as clean water supply and food.

The women were aware that as a woman in Sukolilo they are culturally responsible for all household activities such as cooking, taking care of the home and children. These roles make them very familiar or interested in the availability of water or preservation of all sources of water and food in their environment. Therefore, they should be aware that environmental problems are the women's burden. So that their daily activities and responsibilities as women can run well, the women need to be actively involved in preserving the environment. This view is conveyed by an activists, who said that at the time, they were building awareness among housewives (women) saying, "*The environment, water, and earth issues are everyone's problems. The women stay in the house more often, they are the ones who take care of their children and their houses.*" (Ujianto, 2012)

4.2. 'Bakul Gendong' as an effort to build awareness

Awareness about the environment is something fundamental that must be built in the community so that people feel the need to maintain or to protect the environment. Indonesian people, including people in Sukolilo consist of collective communities that have shared values, illustrated in the term 'guyub' and 'gotong royong'. *Guyub* means togetherness, it means people are supposed to live as a group that binds each other or to have and care for one another. *Gotong royong* means cooperation, an attitude of mutual benefit helping one another or a collective effort to overcome the various problems that exist in their society.

Based on such a culture, the efforts to bring awareness towards environmental damage must be something that is also of common interest and must be carried out by all parties. One community leader affirmed that societies must be aware that "saving the environment also means saving ourselves. Meanwhile, if we save ourselves it may not necessarily mean that we save the environment". This was conveyed to other villagers around Sukolilo by visiting them directly. The plans to mine and build a cement factory required a vast area of land. Thus according to a women leader in Sukolilo, to resist the construction of a cement factory, the people must unite to refuse to sell their land. Each person who sells their land to the cement factory will jepordize the stance of other members of the village in resisting to sell their land. Each plot of land succesfully bought by the factory will be closed as well as road access of lands that have not been bought by the factory. When most of the people agree to keep their land then the cement factory do not have any strong reason to build their factory there.

The awareness that it was imperative to not sell their land was verbalized personally by the leader of the *bakul gendong* peaceful movement. To raise awareness the words she used, "*To protect everyone's land. Don't sell the land just because you are blinded by money. You can quickly use up your money, but not land. Since our ancestors time our people need land, water and food. We did not need cement. It is better to have a cement crisis than a food crisis. Only the rich need cement to build their houses and buildings, bamboo is enough for villagers to make their houses, the important thing is we are able to eat.*" (Watchdoc, 2015)

These words were personally spoken to open the eyes of others to the fact that the women were ready and willing to maintain their land. Although this method is effective enough in motivating the men within the community, the effort also had limitations in terms of time as well as area coverage. Head of the women's movement in Sukolilo used other means, "*Another way that I use this movement and to raise awareness on environmental issues, I use the 'Bakul Gendong'.*

Bakul Gendong are usually women who go door to door to sell daily needs such as vegetables, spices and snacks. Otherwise known as bakul bronjong, these peddlers come from house to house from 9am to 11am, when women and housewives prepare what to cook for the family for the day. The resistance movement used the bakul gendong women in Sukolilo (to help) because they often go far and meet many women in Sukolilo. Through bakul gendong the effort to spread awareness about the environment, and more importantly, raising awareness of the need not sell their land expanded and escalated.

According to the head of the women's movement in Sukolilo, if women or groups of women are able to understand, hopefully they will be able to forward the message to others. This way the women's awareness to protect their environment and resist the construction of the factories will spread to others.

Women's awareness and willingness to be actively involved in resisting the cement factory is in itself the Sukolillo's effort to strategically minimize violence when resisting the cement company. According to one activist in the women's movement, if they had used men at the frontline then surely there would have been casualties inflicted by officers who tried to stop their movements.

4.3. Movement organization: Simbar Wareh

Women's awareness to protect the sustainability of their environment must be formed into a movement. An organized group was needed to raise awareness among the women of Sukolilo to effectively resist the construction of the cement factory. In 2008 the women of Simbar Wareh held a meeting of women's group in Kedumulyo village, in the District of Sukokilo, that involved women from several villages from Samin and non Samin people (Sobirin, 2012). The women's group from Simbar Wareh helped made the Sukokilo women's movement become more developed and organized.

There are three things that the Simbar Wareh group did to help. First, they tried to raise awareness on environmental issues among women in Sukokilo. Second, they developed micro financial self-sufficiency through local savings and loans to avoid the entrapments of debt collectors who lends money with 10% interest per month. Through savings and loans, members from Simbar Wareh could borrow a maximum of US\$20 (Rp. 200.000,-) with only 4% interest and they were able to pay it back in credit instalments over 4 months. This was greatly needed in order to support the women's movement in that women would not be trapped in debt by loan sharks that may lead them to sell their land. Third, the Simbar Wareh women's group also planned and organized women's involvement to refuse the construction of the cement factory through several forms of resistance movements.

The organisation of Simbar Wareh formed, a group called Women's Group for Environmental Concern (Kelompok Perempuan Peduli Lingkungan - KPPL). On May 3, 2009, during a preparatory meeting to meet with the Deputy Governor of Central Java, Rustriningsih, there was a proposal to change the name of KPPL into a name that reflects the struggle of the group. Since the group was created based on their intentions to conserve the springs in the mountains of Kendeng, they chose the name "Simbar Wareh", which combines the names of the springs in Simbarjoyo and the name of Goa Wareh.

According to an activist in Simbar Wareh, there were many activities that takes place within Simbar Wareh. *"Activities in Simbar Wareh included social gatherings as well as savings and loans. Here the women were also taught how to plant medicinal plants and then process them into herbal remedies such as saffron colored rice (beras kencur), turmeric tamarind, etc. The savings and loan meant that women were able to avoid borrowing money from loan sharks. The planting of herbs and processing them into traditional herbal medicine is taught so that people know that the mountains of Kendeng is fertile and cultivable and a place where medicinal plants can be produced"*.

In the women's movement, the Samin community believes that each person has a different task. That is, not everyone should plunge into starting an action. As An opinion leader in Sukolilo mentioned, *"If you cannot join the movement, just come to pray"*. On the other hand in connection with this task distribution, mbah Prw said, *"praying alone means nothing if there is no action"*.

4.4. Various forms of movements to refuse the construction of the cement factory

Their main goal is to protect the Kendeng Mountains and to preserve and protect their environment. This community has a principle, which is embodied in their slogan: *"Pati Bumi Mina Tani"* and their view was that it should not be replaced by *"Pati Bumi Mina Semen"* It means: *"The nectars of earth enrich the farmers,"* it was not meant to be *"the nectars of earth enrich the cement"*. This is one of the reasons they reject the cement factory construction.

The women of Sukolilo used many forms of activities in their effort to resist the construction of the cement factory. For example by consolidating with leaders and the members of The House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat), using symbolism during national day ceremonies, and forming organised movements.

Using networking, meeting the leaders and the peoples representatives

Meeting people who can prevent or cancel the construction of the cement factory is one of the targets the women aimed to achieve. Starting from meeting village heads, district heads, the regional governor, House of Representatives in the District level, the Provincial level, to the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, even to the KPK (Corruption Eradication Commission).

Movements to reject the cement factory had also been made by two Kedu residents by visiting the Regent's house, they brought plants and vegetation from Kendeng. The figure of Sukolilo stated, *"They have met the Regent. They represented the Sikep people to give plants and vegetation to the Regent. According to one of them, the purpose of their visit was to give the Regent a reminder. She said 'This is to remind the Regents about the environment. At the time, I gave fruits and srikaya tree, then I told the Regent, 'Sir, this is a srikaya tree, I hope you accept and plant it in the mountains of Kendeng'."*

In an in-depth interview the top figure of Samin Community told us, *'Women also made a movement towards the KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi.)- The Commision for the aboliion of corruption At the time, I came in to the Commission and brought a traditional pottery jug (kendi) containing water and jackfruit. Kendi is made of clay and it is made to contain water. The clay represents soil; symbolically soil and water are the source of life. Women outside the door for me singing anthems and songs about the motherland incessantly until we came out of the KPK meeting room'.*

The EIA conducted by the University of Diponegoro team (PPLH) failed to involve the people of Sukolilo, but it became reference by local government to pass permission for PT Semen Gresik to build their factory. The people of Sukolilo were aided by Walhi (an environmental NGO) to ask the University of Gajah Mada to conduct another EIA. The result of this EIA by the University of Gajah Mada resulted in not recommending the construction of the cement factory in Sukolilo.

A leader from Sukolilo also developed his knowledge by seeking information to farmers in Tuban, East Java. The Farmers in Tuban revealed that they felt more impoverished after 20 years period from when they had been forced to sell their land to PT Semen Gresik. They also regretted selling their land because in a short time the money had run out. One of them got the job from the cement factory as a guard and was earning US\$55 (Rp. 750,000, –) per month. The experience of Tuban's farmers became a reference for the farmers in Pati in the effort not sell their land to the cement factory. According to figures of one female from Samin currently living in Sukolilo is that cost of living with two children is about US\$ 150 per month (Rp. 2.000.000,-)

Demonstrations used as a means of resistance

The role of women and their courage in the movement to reject the construction of the cement factory in their environment were shown through the activities they performed. For example on May 1, 2009, when the EIA draft team completed their task and the document is ready for enactment.

Outside the room where the documents were to be ratified, amid hundreds of demonstrators that rallied, there was one pickup with banners and on it was written their rejection of the cement plant in North Kendeng Mountains.

Symbolisms were often used in demonstrations. One example is the “silent demo” where people demonstrate with tape over their mouths. The silent demo was used during the signing ceremony of the EIA symbolising that they had not been heard or was ‘silenced’, not even asked to be involved in making the EIA.

As well as that, they brought with them the fruits of their harvest as a symbol of fertility of the land. This symbolizes their protest against the EIA’s “result” (Undip) that claimed their land was not fertile and so it would be feasible for a cement factory. Various crops ranging from banana, nuts, corn, cassava, vegetables and other plants were laid out in front of the Regency office to disprove insinuations that north of the Kendeng mountains was infertile land.

The use of national day ceremonies as symbols in the resistance

Another method used by women in Sukolilo against the cement factory was the use of various symbols in various national ceremonies or celebrations. The Independence Day celebrations or ‘Agustusan’ (17 Agustus), and the birthday of Mrs. Kartini or ‘Kartinian’ (21 April) are the most popular of the national ceremonies in Indonesia.

During the commemoration of these two events all Indonesians, including the people of Sukolilo, usually hold a parade around their homes. At that time the parade showcased various accessories to attract the attention of the community that gathered for the parade. During these events, the people that reject the construction of the cement factory use accessories that were decorated with symbolic ornaments depicting their fertile land and prosperity and how the cement factory may threaten all that.

One of people in Sukolilo told “*some people wearing farmers' attire complete with the hat that they use in the fields, performed a flag ceremony just like civil servants and employees in the cities do at that time on Agustusan ceremony. It was bit unnerving then, because soldiers –from the army, guarded the ceremony at that time*”.

About the presentation of the ‘Kartinian’ in Sukolilo, a Sukolilo resident R stated as follows, “*Men here also came to commemorate the Kartini Day. All the men in Sukolilo came. There were representatives of men from the traders, and there were representatives from the farmers*”. The ceremony was performed at the Goa Ronggoboyo. The master of ceremony came from Samin. During the ceremony, anthems and songs of the motherland prepared by two people from Sukolilo community were sung by everyone. “*The goal was to convey the voice of the people who oppose plans to build a cement factory. Let their voices be one and may it become a reminder to other people*”.

A string of efforts to build and spread understanding about the environmental damage that people will face if the cement factory is built, these efforts were to be carried out without violence. Efforts to refrain from violence were also in line with ritual awareness about the relationship between humans and nature. The Samin community believes that if people cannot be reminded of the destructive behavior related to nature then nature will give them a direct warning. The people of Samin understood that these warnings might generally come in the form of natural disaster in their area. This view was expressed by an activist who stated, “*The people who came were given an explanation so that they can understand that this action does not use violence or do not use loud chants or yelling. The action taken by the Samin people is important, simply through speeches. The primary purpose of their action is to remind the government. If we can do so by giving them reminders, we will remind them. However, if we cannot remind them, they will surely be reminded directly by the earth itself*”.

5. Discussion

The phenomena raised in this research is about an intercultural conflict among communities who have different points of view. There are the people of Sukolilo who refused and those who accept the cement factory, the academic group that concluded different EIA (AMDAL) results, and then there are the law enforcers that gave different verdicts in deciding whether or not to build the cement factory. Conflicts arose because of miscommunications or lack of communication between local government and the people. The cement factory should have taken into account the social aspects and the local culture and values more seriously *before* choosing a location for the cement factory.

Basically conflicts arise due to different perspectives in understanding the land and life coming from people of different cultural and economical backgrounds, between the planners and supporters and values held by the owners of the land who refuse the construction of the cement factory in Sukolilo. First, in regard to the people of Sukolilo there were various aspects

that the government, those who were involved in the planning of the factory and the cement corporation had misunderstood. The Samin and non-Samin people of Sukolilo be they the pro as well as the cons who rejected the construction of the factory all have a distinct cultural value they believe in regarding to thier way of life and how they relate with their environment. They will only live and fulfill their life needs through farming and only farming related occupations. Based on their belief they should not and will not change their profession. Based on that they will maintain and protect their land and water surrounding that land which give them their source of life as farmers. Their basic daily needs, as far as they are able to, shall be self sufficient and not depend on buying or paying outside intervention such as for food, water, gas as energy source and fertilizers for plants. Meanwhile other people think of farming as just another occupation that can be replaced by other forms of profession. Those who think so may also simply think that work is what one does to obtain financial gain and use their earnings to buy their needs.

Second, prosperity in terms of those who are Samins and from Sukolilo is defined as when they are able to support their family through what their land can provide. They are also content with what they have and see themselves as prosperous. To them, education is not something to make a person smart, theoretically smart, to them education is when they are able to understand their life purpose and learn to behave and present themselves as a person with better attitude from day to day. They preceive the result of formal education as a system that creates smart people who aim to outsmart other people. To them prosperity is when they have enough (not abundant) to eat, to have land and enough water.

The Samin community were traumatised by those who had formal education and called them 'the smart people'. The people of Sukolilo generally have low education, they even forbid their children to get formal education. The low rate of education in Sukolilo and many of which are simple villagers make it hard for them to compete in the work force, so they are unable to change their profession other than being farmers. Thus PT Semen Gresik will not offer the people of Sukolilo many choices, but rather, cast them away and make them sink deeper into poverty turning them into farmers without a land.

The beliefs and situation of Samin people in Sukolilo, not understood correctly, became the source of conflicts between the people of Sukolilo including the Samins and people who live by different values, especially those who live by values based on economics. This conflict later created the resistance strategy made by the Sukolilo people carried out by their women. The involvement of women in their resistance against construction of the cement factory aimed to minimize casualties. To do so they must form the grounds by raising awareness among each family through the women (mothers) so everyone understands why they must refuse any offers to buy their lands for the construction of the factory.

Using bakul gendong women is a strategy of this movement in raising awareness about the environment among women. Through these bakul gendong women, other women came to understand of the importance of protecting their land and they were not easily blinded by money to sell their land to the cement factory.

After the awareness stage they formed a force group through an organised movement. The awareness of the women of Sukolilo then gave birth to the Simbar Wareh group, a place where the women enforce themselves and organize a resistance movement through various forms and methods.

The women's success in preventing the construction of the cement factory proved that they were successful in developing a communication strategy that allowed them to build an understanding among the people. The Bakul Gendong became a communication strategy that enables women in the village to engage in a dialog and discuss their concern about the environment. Meanwhile the corporates were unable to build a communication strategy to handle the issues they needed to overcome.

Regarding the construction of the cement factory, there should be some forms of resolutions for the company. Some sorts of communications should have been established between the company, the local government and the villagers. The company as the party with interest should not relied on the local government alone to face the villagers.

They need to develop a strategy that involves direct communication with the people. Direct interaction may have provide an access for the people to have an open dialog with the company as it is also part of their 'guyub' culture. The 'guyub' culture is a way of life that involves everyone in solving problems through an open forum where the issues are discussed and solved together. The 'guyub' culture is deeply embedded within the people's way of life. The company must also adopt the 'guyub' way to act upon their common concern about utilizing the area. Through dialogue, they may be able to build public relations and culturally avoid conflicts, which in turn will provide a larger opportunity to understand the people's point of view as well as obtaining clear information regarding the social and environmental risks they had to deal with in the area. The best course a communicator can take in considering the reactions generated by their messages is to really know their audiences and to understand that beliefs, values and attitudes are culturally derived (Jurin, Roush, & Danter, 2010: 91).

Through better understanding of the issues they face, companies must be able to attain reassurance and resolution for their business opportunity there. If not, then not only the people but also the company are at of a disadvantage due to loose ends and being put into an ambiguous state by the local government. Also, regarding EIA, there should been a more credible team respected by the people, or better yet, that involved the people in resolving the issue.

In this case, those who work as representatives of PT. Semen Gresik were unable to resolve the conflict, but rather increased the friction by their concern in personal gain. Local government did not try to understand the reason behind the people's insecurities towards the factory but tended to focus on the possible investments they could gain from the factory. They failed to understand that the underlying reason behind the people's objection to build the factory was related to the people's values and beliefs and then they continued to neglect to convey this important information to PT. Semen Gresik. For example, the company's executives were lead to believe the people's objection against the factory was due to the low

offer on the land, when in fact it had nothing to do with the offered price. In other words, there are parties outside of Sukolilo that had intentions on corrupting the situation through compensations and they would use any means to achieve it.

And then there is the EIA (AMDAL) that disregarded the community all together in their evaluation, which in the end was objected and challenged by another EIA that did include the community in their process. In other words, PT Semen Gresik again did not get the right information, this time from the first EIA by a team from the Diponegoro University which lacked social and cultural aspects in their evaluation. Their results lost against another EIA conducted by a team from the University of Gajah Mada which took much consideration in the socio-cultural aspect of the community.

At first, the permission to build the factory was rejected when the Sukolilo people won in court at PTUN Semarang on August 6, 2009. Later PT. Semen Gresik succeeded in their appeal when they took it to PTUN Surabaya on November 30, 2009. But the Indonesian Supreme Court dismissed that verdict on May 27, 2010. In the end, the people won their case legally rejecting the construction of the cement factory in Sukolilo.

If from the beginning PT. Semen Gresik knew the strong reason behind the people's objection against the factory, and that legally and socially they have a strong case to reject PT. Semen Gresik's plan, then PT. Semen Gresik did not have to wait and waste 10 years to finally lose under Indonesia's Supreme Court verdict.

The most important point for the cement factory party and the local government to understand is the cultural values upheld by the people and to respect them as well. They had nothing against cement factories construction and developments but they can not let their land turn into a cement mine while they still needed it to live on and especially as a cement factory would not enhance their livelihood. The people from the cement factory and the central government should have taken the people's values and beliefs into consideration, It was their land and they saw no reason why they should be disturbed by this cement project and especially where this fertile land was their main source of livelihood. We need to consider the lesson given by Samin people for PT. Semen Gresik about how to build cement factories where land is seen as an economical asset and as a source of continued income so that they can learn how to be welcomed into a community. The people in this case also thought that the cement factory should not be constructed in Java because Java is highly populated. They reasoned that if building the factory in Java was in order to develop Indonesia then they should construct it where the population is sparse, where the land is vast and uninhabited, such as in Irian (West Papua).

Efforts to build a common understanding between cement company, the government and the people of Sukolilo or any community based on cultural values must be dealt with face to face. In the case of Cement vs Sukolilo, the conflict ran on too long because the communication was built on intermediaries who had no other intention but personal financial gain without thinking of the consequences for either the people's welfare nor the company's interests. Negative assumptions towards the resistance of the people should have been clarified because they were just that 'only assumptions'. This would have prevented disruption to the communication they aimed to achieve.

Finally, there are limitations regarding this research where the main obstacle lies in the position of the researcher in trying to be accepted and trying to obtain accurate information between two parties in conflict, namely the local government and PT. Semen Gresik against the people of Sukolilo. High tension and suspicion on all sides made it difficult for the researcher to dig deeper for information from the parties involved. Field observations became limited because all parties considered the researcher dangerous for their security. Till now the conflict has not been totally resolved because PT. Semen Gresik still has plans to build their factory in neighboring districts from Sukolilo, at Kecamatan Tombokromo and Kayen.

6. Conclusion

The issue of resisting the cement factory and the longstanding conflict between PT. Semen Gresik and the people of Sukolilo is an example of a failed relation between cultures and parties involved. The cement factory executives did not take into account the social, cultural and environmental aspects of the people. PT. Semen Gresik was too trusting towards intermediaries who supported the plan, whilst they seem to be more interested in personal interests or they simply do tasks as instructed. PT. Semen Gresik acted without knowing that a village officials in Sukolilo had been fired for questioning the construction of a cement plant. The Local government focused on incoming investments to their area (US\$265 milion or Rp. 3,5 trilyun), and had not put enough emphasis to understand the reason(s) behind the people's resistance. Those who threatened the people to sell their land were proven to have manipulated the price of land agreed to by PT. Semen Gresik, to get large profits while putting the people at a disadvantage (Laksana, 2013).

Meanwhile the people of Sukolilo, especially the Samin people regarded their land not only as economic assets but more as roots to their belief system. They believe they were meant to be farmers. Therefore they must maintain and protect the land and its environment as their source of livelihood. Education among the Samin people is relatively low, therefore they believe vacancies in factories will not give them fulfilment or even any promise of a better life. They were sure that the jobs would stop them from being a farmer and that whatever job they could get from the company would not cover their needs.

Bakul Gendong became the chosen strategy to reach women and convince them about the concerning issues of the movement, ultimately they understood that it was important not to sell their land to the cement factory. Besides that, women became the main actor in many actions or demonstrations, because in doing so they hope they can minimize violence against their movement to resist the construction of the cement factory.

Meanwhile those from the cement factory were overtrusting towards the authority of the local government and to those who were appointed to represent their interests. People of the cement factory were too focused on using the authoritative approach, they did not monitor what actually happened on the field when their representatives used force or unsympathetic

means. They had also missed the social, cultural and non-economic perspectives of the society in how they perceived their land.

Communicating by means of authoritative and repressive ways are no longer effective in Indonesia, especially after the reformation in 1998. After the reformation there was a significant change in politics and authority. Now the people of Indonesia have more freedom in expressing their opinion. They can now access various media and have more opportunity to obtain information and develop a network consisting of various parties (for example NGOs, DPR (house of representatives), legal institutions, etc). The local government (District of Pati) could not impose authoritarian ways to silence the Sukolilo people. Acts of violence by those who represented the cement factory quickly spread among the people of Sukolilo and in effect sparked sympathy towards the people. This is what sets the difference between what PT. Semen Gresik achieved when they built their factory in Tuban, East Java during the New Order (Orde Baru of the Soeharto era) and what happened in this case.

PT. Semen Gresik should have considered some strategies including efforts to get sufficient and accurate information to understand the situation in the field as to why the people refused the construction of the cement factory. They also need to be careful in choosing the right representatives to conduct intensive interaction with the people who would be impacted by their plan, they should also adopted the local 'Guyub' and 'Sedulur Sikep' attitude which means a family oriented togetherness attitude to interact with the people and not use a bureaucratic approach with top down style. By doing those things, PT. Semen Gresik may have had a better opportunity to understand the people's socio-cultural values and the correct reason as to why they resisted the cement factory. The corporate should not have let itself get so bogged down in this case as it only tainted their reputation in the process as a state owned enterprise in the eyes of local as well as villagers nationwide.

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