

P-ISSN: 2338-8617

E-ISSN: 2443-2067

*Jurnal Ilmiah*

# PEURADEUN

Vol. 12, No. 1, January 2024



SCAD Independent  
Accreditation by IAO since 2014

**JIP**

The Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences  
[www.journal.scadindependent.org](http://www.journal.scadindependent.org)  
DOI Prefix Number: 10.26811



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**Ideological Conflict in Rembang  
(Case Study: Cement Mining Conflict in Rembang)**

**Sidik Puryanto<sup>1</sup> & Romi Siswanto<sup>2</sup>**

*<sup>1,2</sup>Department of Social Studies, Open University, Indonesia*

**Article in Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun**

Available at : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1043>  
DOI : <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i1.1043>

**How to Cite this Article**

APA : Puryanto, S. & Siswanto, R. (2024). Ideological Conflict in Rembang (Case Study: Cement Mining Conflict in Rembang). *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, 12(1), 377-402.  
<https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v12i1.1043>

Others Visit : <https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun>

Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun (JIP), *the Indonesian Journal of the Social Sciences*, is a leading peer-reviewed and open-access journal, which publishes scholarly works, and specializes in the Social Sciences that emphasize contemporary Asian issues with interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. JIP is published by SCAD Independent and published 3 times of year (January, May, and September) with p-ISSN: 2338-8617 and e-ISSN: 2443-2067. JIP has become a CrossRef member. Therefore, all articles published will have a unique DOI number. JIP has been accredited by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, the Republic of Indonesia through the Decree of the Director-General of Higher Education, Research and Technology No. 164/E/KPT/2021, date December 27, 2021. This accreditation is valid until the January 2026 edition.

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## IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN REMBANG (CASE STUDY: CEMENT MINING CONFLICT IN REMBANG)

Sidik Puryanto<sup>1</sup> & Romi Siswanto<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Department of Social Studies, Open University, Indonesia

<sup>1</sup>Correspondence Email: [sidik.puryanto@ecampus.ut.ac.id](mailto:sidik.puryanto@ecampus.ut.ac.id)

Received: April 24, 2023	Accepted: December 1, 2023	Published: January 30, 2024
Article Url: <a href="https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1043">https://journal.scadindependent.org/index.php/jipeuradeun/article/view/1043</a>		

### Abstract

*The ongoing conflict in Watuhputih has escalated into a contentious and complex issue that continues to capture public attention. The debates have given rise to a fierce clash of ideas, concepts, and interpretations of laws, ultimately leading to numerous lawsuits. This study uses a qualitative research approach with Wehr and Bartos analysis to analyze conflict dynamics in the cement factory conflict case in Rembang, Central Java. The qualitative method used a case study. Data collection techniques used in-depth interviews with sources from 20 informants and documentation from various mass media. The results of this study indicate that conflict dynamics are divided into pre-conflict, confrontation, and crisis. This study concludes that the conflict in Rembang has turned into an ideological conflict. Each group claims that the ideology understood the most correct between environmental sustainability, traditional and modern, capitalist. A dark history of conflict and prolonged dynamics causes ideological conflicts. The record of the conflict's journey into a social movement in Rembang is a series of conflicts between the community and small-scale mining companies previously in conflict areas from the 90<sup>th</sup> year.*

**Keywords:** *Dynamics of Conflict; Ideological Conflict, History of Conflict.*



## **A. Introduction**

Puryanto et al. (2018) state that since 1996, several companies have been trying to conduct mining activities around the Watuputih Mountain area, precisely in Gunerm, Rembang. Although categorized as small-scale mining companies, due to their existence, they influenced social life around the mining locations. The environmental impacts were significantly influenced since there was an interaction between the mining location and the citizens' houses. Besides the environmental impacts, there was also anxiety about the sociological relationships of society.

The conflict began due to the eradication of the citizens' land areas by any in-relation parties to the mining companies. It was described using heavy tools and vehicles that passed through the area on the paths. They were enlarged and took the surrounding land area owned by the citizens. It caused the citizens' land borders to be breached. Their complaints were not well responded to and seemed to be ignored by any related employee of the companies and their supporters. They ignored and excused them.

The dynamics causing social movement were grown by addressing some environmental issues and air pollution (Puryanto, 2018). The transportation factor, addressed since it frequently passed through the area, started with trucks carrying mining materials, bringing air and sound pollution problems. It was due to the use of bombs to detonate the mining area (Suharko, 2013). The dust caused by the passing trucks made the citizens think about the negative impacts of mining.

The social environment became the target of negative impacts from various emerging perceptions around the mining area (Suyahmo. & S. Puryanto, 2019; Suharko, 2016). The society was grouped into several groups: the pro-side and the contra-side groups. It was seen from the faded cooperative spirit that once occurred and had become the life principle of the citizens. Idealism about their opinions and stubborn natures due to their realizations created social gaps among them around the mining area.

Various perceptions had been developed along with the increasing numbers of both groups, the pro-contra side groups. The native citizens

inhabiting the area were aware of the impacts caused by the small-scale mining companies. It undoubtedly influenced them when the company was large-scale. It made them think about the enormous impacts on their surroundings and life sustainability, which heavily depends on agriculture. For any new citizens who did not have any field, the existence of large-scale mining companies gave them advantages, especially in dealing with job vacancies.

According to citizens who are aware of their environments, better social changes were made through protests and strikes. A structured social movement was needed to ensure that the voices that disagreed with the mining activities were accepted and considered. The primary purpose of the research is to determine why the mining conflict in Rembang is not solved. This research analyzes conflict and social movement dynamics in Rembang dealing with cement factory cases and how ideology frames all the people who fight for mining cement factories, which has not been explained in the research conducted by Puryanto (2018) and Suharko (2013, 2016).

Conflict dynamics are called conflict stages. They are seen from the conflicted parties' quality and quantity of action models. Wehr and Bartos (2003) state that conflict dynamics can be seen from *coercive action*. Escalation of conflict will be higher when the intensity of coercion is higher and dreadful. Conflict will deescalate when the coercion level lowers (Susan, 2009).

Susan (2009) concludes that to understand conflict dynamics can be seen from two contexts. The first is from the source of conflict, and the second is the relationship between various conflicting parties. The source of conflict is a potency demanded by subjects or other concerned parties. Conflict potencies include natural resources, religious interpretation differences, and perceptions. Meanwhile, the characteristics of conflict relationships are examined by looking at conflict sociological contexts, such as positivistic, criticism, or humanism.

According to Fisher et al. (2001), stages of conflict dynamics consist of pre-conflict, confrontation, crisis, and post-conflict. *Pre-conflict* covers the initial period where the targets are inappropriately between two parties or, more so, conflict occurs. Conflict is hidden from a general perspective even



though each party realizes each other's existence of confrontation and/or the possibility of tensions among several parties, but they tend to avoid any contact or confrontation with one another. *Confrontation* covers an open stage of conflict where various confrontational actions emerge. *Crisis* is called the climax of conflict. It is a developed conflict from various harmful actions done intensely and massively. In this crisis stage, conflict will be assumed as a broader battle. One of the parties may win or lose. Any negotiation stage has been done, and then it depends on the conflict-handling process. *Post-conflict* is when conflict is ended by each conflict-handling method to end harmful tensions, and the conflict deescalates.

Dealing with the cement Rembang case, the conflict dynamics had three stages, and now the conflict continues. Unfortunately, there have not been any certain efforts to handle it. The stages of the conflict involve pre-conflict, confrontation, and crisis. Meanwhile, the post-conflict has not been realized. The pre-conflict stage involved conflict with small-scale mining or C - excavation, which has existed since 1996. Then, it was followed by an increasing number of mining companies around the Watuputih area. Confrontation is a stage where society has started their protest, bringing up their protest, which was experienced due to the impacts of mining. It was more intense when society discovered that mining factories would be built there. The conflict stage developed during the crisis era when various strike actions had been organized and sustainably done until now. Conflict handling such as mediation, negotiation, discussion, and forum discussion have been done until now, but the conflict continues. Since the handling stage is ongoing, the conflict has not concluded who the winner and loser are.

The study discusses mining activities and their associated social and environmental impacts around Watuputih Mountain in Gunung Rembang, Indonesia. It also highlights the conflict due to these mining activities and the struggle to resolve it. The research goal is to understand why the conflict related to mining in Rembang has not been resolved and to analyze the dynamics of conflict and social movements in the context of a cement factory case.



## **B. Method**

This research was conducted in Rembang Regency, Central Java, Indonesia. This research used a qualitative approach based on Wehr and Bartos's analytic review. The qualitative method is a case study. The case study is a qualitative approach that aims to understand cement factory conflict cases, analyze cement factory conflict dynamics, and find a final analysis of cement factory conflict cases. The data source was collected through documentation and deep interviews with 20 informants joining the mining-refusing movement. In-depth interviews were conducted using structured questions: Why has resistance been carried out until now? Is there a leading actor who pushed it? Is there a mystical power that helps social movements? Also, documentation data was taken from the news. Before being used, the data result was triangulated in terms of its source, methodology, and technique. The data analysis used Mile and Huberman techniques by first reducing the data, verifying, and concluding.

## **C. Result and Discussion**

### **1. Result**

#### **a. Pre-protest**

Since there have been many mining companies in Tegaldowo village, Gunem district, Rembang, Central Java since 1996 by PT, SAF (Sinar Asia Fortune), it was followed by other mining factories (Puryanto, 2019). It caused various problems that became conflicts and developed quickly due to various motivations from the surrounding society, which refused the existence of mining companies. Since then, twenty mining companies have legally been permitted to build factories.

The conflict between society and small-scale mining companies was started by a land area conflict that involved various parties. The conflict was started by despotic action from certain persons who took over land owned by the people to be used as an entrance to mining by heavy vehicles.



Any concerned persons accepted any interest from mining founders. They thought *such things brought grist to his mill*. In other words, what became the concern to make the mining process run *smoothly* was welcomed by several concerned persons to gain many profits by any means. They did not care if it did not align with society's interests.

The village government did not adequately accommodate this social objection to such attitudes of the persons. It created hidden anger. The information access from the village to the government was closed. Thus, the society could only keep their objection, which led to the strike due to the existence of the cement factory, PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk.

This refusal of action toward small-scale mining companies or C-excavations has emerged since PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk's factory exists in Tegaldowo Village. The action gained support from the nearest societies, Timbrangan, Pasucen, Suntri, Dowan, and Kadiwono villages (Puryanto, S., et al., 2018).

Cement Gresik company (before it turned into Semen Indonesia) failed to build its factories in the Pati regency area in 2009 due to society's refusal, which was supported by local SCO and NGOs that did not want any large-scale mining companies. They were considered companies with principles to develop and enlarge their areas for their advantage and to be called the great dominator and distributor of national cement, so they needed to enlarge their area. Since 2011, Rembang has become the next area orientation.

Rembang is a resourceful city, full of natural resources and various mining minerals – from karst, andesite, limestone, split stone, quartz sand, and others. The small-scale mining companies spread to all districts in Rembang, starting from Sarang until Kragan, Sluke, Lasem, Sedan, Pamotan, and Gunem.

The increasing numbers of mining companies reached their distributive top numbers since H. Moch Salim era, the major officiated there. He was known as a landowner in Rembang. During his two periods as the major, Rembang had improved welfare, but it was only experienced by the middle and high economic classes. Massive exploitation occurred in Rembang until the present day. There are many mountains flattened into the land. There are



several missing ecosystems because mining companies no longer think about them. They did not realize that humans would face the impacts by themselves. Dominant economic concerns lured them.

The question is: If the mining companies can support the economic level of Rembang citizens, why are there still many poor areas in Central Java province? Who is the rich man and the poor man? Thus, if the domination of such companies is continued, it will only make the high-level people richer instead of the low and moderate people due to the depleted natural resources. On the other hand, the number of human resources remains still. They will face problems due to the depleted natural resources.

It is normal and a must if several people intentionally refuse the permission of mining company in Rembang regency since Rembang's nature has been critically endangered. Several remaining mountains are not equal to those owned by merchants whose mining rights. In other words, capitalism is not only born, but it has been their soul. They are full of capitalist desires that breach the essence of capitalism.

This current era is no longer the 17th-century era nor the 18th-century era, where capitalism became the icon that had to be gained without considering other aspects and only prioritizing its benefits. In other words, capitalism in Rembang is *reckless*. The essence of capitalism has deviated from its original meaning. Marx's gaps appear again in Rembang in the middle of the modern era. Thus, it triggered the Marxism movement in Rembang since there were several classes, such as brogues and proletarian, poor, and high class.

The social movement in Tegalwado seems as if it was in the Marxism era, where capital power tricks, excavates, and sucks with no mercy until the weakness points. The economy becomes dominant in each action since it can determine everything. It is different with several perspectives of Tegaldowo citizens. They experienced a high satisfaction level with all agriculture products. The fertile soil provides a resourceful economy for them, and it is not because of mining companies that have been running for 20 years – with no better impacts but only negative impacts on nature.



For about 20 years, they were kept silent and full of objection, and it is getting worse no matter what. The citizens of Tegaldowo seem to face the danger that could annihilate them with no traces. It is all due to capitalism's desire.

Changes bring them new spirits, although they are depressed and frustrated. Some citizens have learned from their previous experience that the intention to rebel begins to appear. Moreover, due to their time learning various situations and conditions around their environment, they fight against the world that annihilates their civilization. Each of them has realized that they are trapped in a tear prison that has deviated from their cultures.

To be visually and mentally literate, they are awake from the nightmare covering them. That was the description of the society's determination, which has been saturated due to the existence of PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk.

Their fight back then was not shown off. They seemed to keep it secret because they had their cultural system built in the form of primordialism – to keep patient without any action, to accept sincerely, to keep living out although being pressured, intimidated, to keep patient in facing uncertainty, injustice, to stay low although they disagreed.

This capitalist cultural system done by several capitalists created pure capitalism without meaning. It was a regression of a mechanism that the founding fathers had fostered. They saw the mechanism of capitalism from the outside parts, ignoring an integration principle: justice, righteousness, humanism, and prosperity. The term *Kant* was mistakenly understood from a narrow perspective.

Capitalism in the Rembang era deviates from Adam Smith's review – denying the *invisible hand* within the righteous – justice framework but instead, on specific occasions, excusing the use of Adam Smith's capitalist version. *The invisible hand* has a broader meaning. It is not only a tendency of specific negative contexts but also positive. Dialectic plays a crucial role in understanding others' opinions.

The fight against capitalism in Rembang became crucial in dealing with the social conflict of the cement factory, which seemed to be that the

citizens in Tegaldowo refused the cement factory. Then, there was a conflict between the society and the factory. Before the conflict with capitalists of cement factories, conflict with capitalists in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries had emerged. It could be seen in small-scale companies that existed before PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk.

Therefore, this passage describes a long-standing conflict between mining companies and the local community in Rembang, Indonesia. The conflict encompasses economic, environmental, and cultural aspects, with the community expressing its dissatisfaction with the negative impacts of capitalism and resource exploitation. The passage also suggests a growing resistance and activism among the affected community members.

b. Action

As the cause of the social movement explained previously, the conflict between Tegaldowo citizens and PT is known. Semen Indonesia Tbk was caused by several previous conflicts since small-scale mining companies of C-excavation emerged in the middle of the society. At that time, various conflicts were grouped into agrarian, personal, group, and local author apparatuses.

The cause of the conflicts was agricultural conflict back then, which has not been solved until today due to several persons such as brokers and local author apparatus. The initial conflicts occurred since society could not accept any heavy vehicles passing by the street. Such vehicles destroyed their plants on the people's lands. However, they kept it by themselves for years. On the other hand, the mining companies were unaware of it and took over several areas of the people's land.

Their silent attitudes when the companies overtook their land occurred because they were afraid and powerless about their rights upon their owned lands, which were not acknowledged legally by the law. It was getting worse since several parties were threatening them. They would take the people's rights inherited from their elders.

Their weakness in dealing with legal land rights based on the law became an ultimate weapon for specific purposes. The people were cornered



and tricked. Thus, it was easy for those parties to overtake the people's lands. It was intentionally done by exploiting the people's lack of understanding of those parties' profits.

Feeling frustrated, disappointed, and unsatisfied became their reasons to fight against injustice and reclaim their rights. Their rights as minor people were ignored for collective and quantity purposes. It made their hopes fade since the discussion did not get any result because of the principle of the discussion – using the primary party principle instead of the righteous principle.

Keeping all their frustrations for twenty years made them understand well the meaning of becoming victims. *Kabeh ono mangsane* was an utterance back then, which seemed to be the answer to all problems. It was the right time to prove what they believed would bear fruit. The belief about values and principles had been owned for so long and had lots of effort.

Society began to move to get clarity about the hidden things from them. They were motivated to dare themselves to question the existence of cement factories in their area, the local village author. It was presented by five youths meeting the local village author to ask about the news of cement factories.

*“Turene badhe wonten pabrik semen ten Tegaldowo Pak? Nek wonten pabrik semen nasib wong cilik terus piye? Wong tambang cilik sing ono wae lingkungan rusak, opo meneh pabrik sing gedhe”. (Joko Prianto, 1 Januari 2017).*

Translated into *“It was said there would be cement factories in Tegaldowo, right sir? Then, how would we be? Don’t you know that small-scale mining factories have damaged our environment? Imagine when it would be the big one”. (Joko Prianto, January 1, 2017).*

Since around late 2012, several youths dared to ask the truth of the news, but the response did not answer them. The youths and society then co-joint and got more intense in discussing to determine the next steps.

In March 2013, the discussion resulted in a trial to ask the same question to the district government. However, the response from the district author was still the same. Before the action, a similar thing was addressed to the district author. Several representatives of youths observed the situation of

cement factories in Tuban, Eastern Java. They did it twice silently to get accurate data about the truth about cement factories.

The first observation had hindrances and failed because of a lack of information to go to the cement factory in Tuban. Based on the agreement, they decided to go home and come back again on different occasions. After several days, after collecting various information about the factory accesses, they went to Tuban and successfully managed to the location. After looking at the actual field data for their background knowledge, their people about the negative impacts of cement factories.

Several youth groups questioned the questioning action of the district government, but the response did not answer well. Then, a comprehensive dialogue among youths was done by creating a letter to the concerned parties. From the responses received from local village and district authors, it seemed irresponsibly responded. They addressed each other to answer the question. It made the youths more intense to discuss.

A youth organization initiated the first discussion in the village meeting hall to get opinions about the impacts of the cement factories. The discussion failed because the village government argued that the government was not invited. The discussion was then forcefully dismissed. It was done by several apparatus and local thugs.

Although it was a failure due to the forceful dismissal, it did not make the youths afraid. The action was then continued by sending a letter to the concerned parties. The letter demanded socialization from the cement factories in Tegaldowo, including the district government party.

The letter was sent due to advice from the district author and the youths about what to do. Then, having a dozen youths, they moved to a post office in Rembang while doing a theater as a first realization to fight against cement factories. The sending letter action was firstly addressed to several government institutions, starting from district, regency, province, and country.

The second sending letter action was done while casting out legs in front of the National Palace, addressed to the President, asserting to be



followed up by a decision of the Supreme Court. A lawsuit by JMPPK Rembang won the decision. However, it was not followed up by the Central Java governor dealing with the mining license of PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk.

A group of youths and other people did the protest. It could be called semi-open protest, and cooperation could be achieved through an open discussion. It was done by making an assembly point of the society between pro and contra sides and a discussion place such as *cangkruk*, coffee shop, and by using jargon or symbols to fight against cement factories.

The protest movement from the conflict case in Rembang could be considered a social movement, although it had not been fostered by an organization indicating a movement. However, there were other elements, such as (1) increasing numbers of (and participants) of coercive action and/or structured and unstructured protest (especially in the forms of crowds) appropriately, (2) raising of massive opinions, (3) addressed to several central persons, and (4) being an effort to change macro and microstructures of central institutions (Lofland, cited Ngadisah, 2003).

Therefore, the social movement in Tegaldowo emerged in response to long-standing issues related to land rights, environmental damage, and the presence of cement factories. The local community, especially the youth, initiated inquiries, observations, letter campaigns, and protests to address these concerns and effect change.

### c. Confrontation

On May 22, 2013, several youths agreed to plan to form an organization to ensure their further action into a social movement and counter any perspectives assuming them to be *a group of stupid people*. It was simply intended to avoid any such assumption. The name is the *SUKA DAMAI* community, consisting of youth initiators associated with society refusing cement factories.

The idea to create a community was suggested by a central religious figure who cared about the situation back then, even though the



figure was positioning himself to be neutral. The community – the village government suppressed idea creation. The community was said to be illegal because, in their opinion, it should have passed several requirements, such as a notary certificate.

At the beginning of its emergence, it had no specific purpose. The only idea was that a group of people refusing the factory should be facilitated in one community, a bond with each other. From those explanations, the social community occurred because of the same beliefs, blood, principles, and notions, plus various other factors with the same purposes within law regulation. Then, although they were intimidated, the community remained polite and was not radical since it could deviate if the movement turned radical. Gusfield (1970) states that protests with rebellion, spontaneous strikes, brawling, and walkouts would deviate from the original agenda and purposes.

Although formally, the community was not acknowledged by the village government, symbolically, the community remained still, and it understood better that an organization should not always have law. However, it symbolically asserted that an organization depends on initial purposes, how the purpose consistency could be defended, increasing numbers of members, and structured actions. They thought an organization created politically or with specific purposes would deviate from its original purpose.

Then, the community built by the society could be considered an unlimited community. It was founded upon the mechanical solidarity of each awareness without any specific purposes or intentions.

The community joining JMPPK Rembang was based on collective solidarity among the groups experiencing the same fates about such conflict. The JMPPK consisted of JMPPK Pati, Blora, and Grobogan. The organization got stronger due to the support of various sectors nationally, but it remained within primordial substances and mechanic solidarity. Since then, the action has spread from regional to national levels.

Since the strike in the village on June 22, 2013, several citizens have protested by rallying and visiting the Tegaldowo government office to refuse



the cement factories. It was getting out of control because the village did not respond positively. They were quarreling, and several members were intimidated by the concerned parties.

The rally spread wider. On September 18, 2013, a hundred citizens joined the community, refusing the mining factories of JMPKK Rembang to visit the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) Rembang to insist that the Ministry of Forestry cancel the permit letter to use the forestry area proposed by PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk.

The next protest was due to the deadlock situation of society's aspirations. The rally was continued on February 19, 2014. Thousands of people revisited the DPRD Rembang office. The members of JMPPK Rembang got higher due to support from other areas. Most of them were females. They joined the action by bringing symbols and posters. They were performing at a theater also.

A long march started from the town square of Rembang until the city roundabout in front of DPRD. The action was out of control because their demands to meet the head of the house were unmet. A brawling action occurred between the strike members and security. During the strike, there was a moment of reading demand to cancel support and agreement to build cement factories in Rembang. There was also a demand to re-review the consistency of local regulation, RT/RW, province, and regency, which stated that the Watuputih area is a water ground area and is within a sanctuary area geologically.

Then, several movements were continued in the village meeting hall the next day by having an initial discussion with the local government. They demanded the closure of the mining paths that were frequently passed. The citizens owned the paths and not owned by the miners. They also demanded

the closure of the mining lanes due to sound and environmental pollution. A dialog turned into chaos because several mining owners did not accept it. They hired several thugs to secure and intimidate them.

They faced resistance and intimidation from various parties as they sought to protect their land, environment, and community from the perceived negative impacts of the cement industry.

d. The DPRD's member expulsion

The expulsion occurred after the rally in September 2013. The members of DPRD who visited them were the chief and the vice, accompanied by the district author. They visited Ngablak village, Tegaldowo. They intended to explain cement factories to the people.

Their visits made society listen to what was directed. It was initiated by several questions concerning the society and forced them coercively, which made the society respond negatively, but in contrast. Several of them were coming and bringing anything to expulse the members. Then, they moved to an apparatus house by bringing many clubs. They surrounded the house, but the advisors stopped it.

e. The Setting Up of *Plang or Board* as Symbols to Refuse Selling Land Field to Cement Factories

In March 2012, the community refusing cement factories set up boards (signposts in the form of crossing wooden boards, meaning a prohibition) at their land fields. If it functioned as a symbol that told PT that the land would never be sold anytime to PT, Semen Indonesia Tbk. The people preferred agriculture as their identity and heritage from their elders.

The people did the action as an extension symbolically to express their opinions, to be understood, and to be comprehended by other parties. It was also to make their purposes met. This action was done simultaneously by dozens of people gathering and moving to their land field. They put the symbol as evidence to deny the factories.



The symbols, such as posters, banners, or other things, were frequently set up. They were put at several places around the contra-side parties. It meant that the symbols became their weapons to keep their existence and protect them from other parties threatening or offering them. It was seen that several times, cement factories gave many daily primary needs, but the people did not want to accept them.

The realization of refusing efforts was having spiritual teachings and *istighosahan* conducted by several groups. They invited several religious figures in Rembang. This action was intended as a protest within the religiosity theme and to prove that their actions were not based on strange things but were seen from religiosity factors, the truth.

The religiosity action was done continuously. The first was a general recitation in Mbah Ronggdito's cemetery, a village pioneer. It was attended by hundreds of people from various surrounding villages around Tegaldowo by having *istighosah* to keep the natural environment from destruction. The action was done on October 22, 2013. The *istighosah* was conducted again in a different place. It was in Tegaldowo's field, attended by the same religious figures with the same purposes.

f. Crisis

The movement was getting wider and opened to fight against the cement factories. It could be seen from the dismissal action during the awarding of the price of the healthy walk event done by the community in October 2013. Hundreds of people visited the place of awarding price in the cement factory area in Mantingan forestry, Bulu district.

Several securities blockaded the action, but since they were outnumbered, plus the people who kept fighting, they could breach and keep their planning ongoing.

After arriving at the spot, the awarding price, which the district party attended, was stopped. The stage was dismissed, and the event was forcefully stopped. The district party stated they would mediate between society and the cement factory. The action was ended, and the people returned to their houses.

A series of actions were done until it reached the climax when the first brick was placed as a symbol of the cement factory establishment on June 14, 2014. Many people, dominated by females, marched from Tegaldowo to the cement factory by bringing posters on their chests. They refused the cement factory.

The blockage stopped the factory's heavy vehicles from entering the building project's location. This action was out of control since the securities treated most females coercively. However, they were not afraid but kept the action ongoing.

After the blockage, another action was building tents around the factory entrance. During that time, the females did their daily activities in turns. Moreover, starting at that time, about three years – counted from three times of *Eid Mubarak*- the females stayed in the tents before fire incidents. Thus, the action was stopped.

After JMPPk Rembang's permit claim to PTUN in September 2014, the society tried to blockage the road again in November 2014 since, while waiting for the decision of PTUN, the mining activities were stopped. The factory's party fought this action. They forced the people to stay away. This action was taken since the factory did not respect the legal process followed by JMPPK Rembang. The action done by the females could defend some heavy vehicles and hundreds of employees.

During the lawsuit at PTUN Semarang, JMPPK Rembang, assisted by college students, struggled to refuse the cement factory. Several theaters were done as refusal symbols–society people also did the opposite theater. They brought posters to support the factories.

After waiting for several months, at the beginning of 2015, the judge of the administrative court (PTUN) Semarang decided to reject the lawsuit done by JMPPK Rembang and the Indonesian Environmental Community (WALHI) dealing with environmental permission issued by the Central Java Governor, Decree Number 668.1/17 Year 2012, by the reason – expired.

*“Penolakan lebih karena penggugat tidak mengajukan gugatan sejak 90 hari waktu Surat Keputusan Izin Lingkungan itu terbit. Surat Keputusan dari*



*Gubernur terbit tanggal 7 Juni 2012 serta disosialisasikan kepada warga Rembang” (Kompas, April 2015).*

*“The denial was due to the plaintiff not proposing any lawsuit 90 days after the decree of the environmental permit was issued. The governor’s decree was issued on June 7, 2012, and was socialized to Rembang citizens”. (Kompas, April 2015).*

Although the Judge of PTUN Semarang denied the lawsuit and the same result was gained from PTUN Surabaya, similar actions continued while waiting for the appeal result done by JMPPK Rembang, accompanied by WALHI. The actions of the females remained still. They did not leave the tents. Thus, they obtained much sympathy from various elements, such as academicians, politicians, and artists from the country. The sympathy toward the theatrical tents done by *sedulur ibu – ibu* or the females was ever visited by several artists.

Resubmission (PK) toward the environmental permit decree of cement factories with Decree of the governor Number 668.1/17 Year 2012 to Supreme Council was enlisted by WALHI and JMPPK Rembang in administrative court (PTUN) Semarang in April 2016. This action was accompanied by theatrical action in front of President Palace casting off their legs by the females associated with JMPPK from Rembang, Pati, Blora, and Grobogan.

The plaintiff party won the filing of a lawsuit about the permission to the Supreme Court (MA) with the MA Decree Number 99 PK/TUN/2016 on October 5, 2016. Based on the decree of MA, JMPPK Rembang and WALHI insisted the government take the environmental permit of PT. Semen Indonesia in Rembang. This situation led to a long march of action by the Tegaldowo people. They were heading to the governor’s office accompanied by other initiators waiting to get involved in the movement.

The pressures by JMPPK Rembang, who cooperated with several elements, college students, and activists from various areas, demanded the government cancel the environmental permit and stop the factory’s



activities for 30 days. The people built tents before the governor's office, waiting for their demands to be realized.

After a long wait and feeling tired, on January 16, 2017, the decree of the Central Java governor, Number 660.1/4 the Year 2017, on the main points, the governor did not obey the MA's decision but instead gave particle to make PT. Semen Indonesia understands the situation. It was used to complete the *addendum* document and the plan of managing the living environment (RKL - RPL) as well as the natural impact analysis (AMDAL) of Central Java Province to assess the *addendum* document and RKL-RPL which are still ongoing to meet the review verdict Number 99 PK/TUN/2016, in October 2016.

The action taken by the governor showed that the governor supported the existence of the cement factory, although the people made various refusals. This action of giving permission again to PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk was not inappropriate because the independent team created by the President (Strategic Living Environmental Reviews) was working and concluding the results. Then, in the middle of 2017, the team stated that Watuputih Mountain, an area of karst natural stone, was prohibited from being mined.

After the blockading action, the climax was on June 16, 2014. The people built small tents at the entrance of the cement factories. The action was a stoppage to keep away any factory activities so that it would be closed soon.

The action was entailed by building up a prayer building (*musholla*). All females sleeping in the tents were assisted by the males every evening. They were bringing up meals to the females. Based on the collective decision, it was agreed to facilitate all forms of needed support. Then, they brought with them many tools to live on daily.

The action of staying in the tents lasted for three years. During fasting months and Eid Mubarak, the females and males kept their fights. The action was stopped after certain persons burned the tents. It was started by the females blocking the entrance as a protest of the long-awaited decision of the



Supreme Court (MA) to stop the factory's operation. The females were forced to leave the entrance in the evening. Then, several persons were intentionally burning their tents and *musholla*.

Therefore, the community's protests against the cement factories in Tegaldowo included disruptions, marches, blockades, legal actions, and extended tent occupations. Despite various setbacks, the community's determination and persistence garnered attention and support from various sectors.

## 2. Discussion

The conflict in Watuhputih Mountain as mining conflict in other world (Astuti, 2012; Mária SJ & Devuyst, 2011; Saenz, 2019; Bebbington & Williams, 2008; Astuti, 2012; Zhang, A., & Moffat, K, 2015; Cheshire, L., & Everingham, J.L, 2014; Holden, W.N. & Jacobson, 2008) becomes hot issues since everyday it is being talked and has latest actions. Fights of ideas, concepts, and laws in every debate were developed into lawsuits. Unfortunately, it has become a deadlock since each party has its principles and understanding. It makes any insecurity of the government, especially the President.

Both the cement factory's party and JMPPK Rembang had their interests. Some of the people were influenced directly. The people joining JMPPK Rembang have kept their fights until now and will always keep fighting when cement factories are in their environment. On the other hand, the cement factory keeps its will to operate because it has built its building there. A lengthy debate about the possibility of the cement factory staying there was caused by incorrect socialization – a socialization that the people could understand. They needed substantial socialization as if they offered a product. It should be balanced between quantity and quality, as stated by the people since the beginning. The protests and rallies were done at various levels from the village until the regency. They demanded socialization because back then, when people asked about cement factories, about the time of socialization, they did not get any answer. Back then,

people were disappointed. If their demands are not realized sooner, they will keep their efforts to fight.

The strength of the JMPPK society in Rembang to keep fighting was their victory after PK from the MA by JMPPK, WALHI, YLBHI, and KLHS. The points tell them that Watuputih Mountain is a karst area. Therefore, any mining activity there should not be allowed. The latest governor's decree told them that PT. Semen Indonesia Tbk could stay there and gain new polemics because of the policymakers' interests. As explained previously, the conflicts of cement factories in Rembang created insecurity for the central government, especially the President. Then, after the review by the KLHS team, there was no action from the President dealing with the cement factory regarding whether it should be stopped or not, as well as its further consequences.

Various social actions, from intimidation, burning the tents, and criminalization, did not corner them to not fight in refusing the cement factories. Their demands to close the factory kept going on. The social movement still exists because of the influences of two ideas: realistic and unrealistic ideas. They deal with development paradigm deviation from *synthesis* into *thesis* caused by deviation of human thought. It has an impact on the development of science and technology. The development initially purposed to get better prosperity, goodness, and social economy (Limakrisna, 2011), and justice turned into different matters in this era where development created socio-cultural destruction and contrary impacts. In other words, the development in this era is entirely dominated by economy and not rationality anymore. It deviates from irrationality since it neglects socio-cultural values and environments.

The social belief toward socio-cultural conversion and environment, which function as life's foundation, has strong reasons compared to temporal economy reasons. The cosmos of such thought is adjusted by philosophy about natural and human existences where interaction is needed by each other. When nature is destroyed, all life will fade and become extinct (Ngadisah, 2003; Silaen Victor, 2006). Other points of view also discuss



supernatural nature, which has much mystery (Liliweri, 2001). Nature is seen as an independent cosmos. It demands peace, beauty, and harmony. Nature has a thinking pattern that encounters any critical situation in its way.

The pattern of its anger could be enormous and destructive to almost all life levels. Nature and the environment as the value of life (Sutrisno, 2005), which protects humans from destruction, have become a means of accelerating human greed due to human activity (Nurjaya, 2008). People's thinking, thus leading to actions to continue to preserve nature. The concept of economic need, which the mining company prioritizes, and developmentalism are not relevant to the conservation concept and natural interaction. For humans, the environment is a place to solve all life problems. Then, the interaction between nature and humans should be adequately kept forever, or extinction will soon be faced. Different paradigms between rational and irrational or vice-versa are still debatable until now. The demanded epistemology by each paradigm demands polarized groups and tends to be fundamentalist and conservative. The question is who wins and loses, nature or humans, or both may be the winners or losers, or both are extinct. The irrational cosmos (mystical power) will be mysterious forever. Interdependence between nature and humans is a mystical power that will not disappear anytime, and no one can fight. Also, the lack of decisive action from the central government, particularly the President, following a review by the KLHS team, has only exacerbated the situation. The government's inaction has contributed to the persistence of social movements against the cement factory.

The ongoing social movement can be attributed to the influence of two contrasting ideologies: realistic and unrealistic. These opposing ideas have emerged due to a deviation from the initial development paradigm, which was meant to bring about prosperity, social and economic justice, and overall goodness. However, in the current era, development has predominantly focused on economic gain, neglecting socio-cultural values and environmental preservation.

The prevailing belief in the importance of socio-cultural conservation and environmental protection is grounded in the idea that nature and human

existence are interdependent. Destroying the environment can have far-reaching consequences, and nature, viewed as an independent cosmos, reacts to critical situations in its own way. The destruction of nature not only jeopardizes the balance and harmony of the environment but also accelerates human greed, ultimately endangering the survival of both nature and humanity. The clash of paradigms, one prioritizing economic needs and development and the other emphasizing conservation and natural harmony, remains a subject of ongoing debate (Arrelano, 2011).

The conflict in Watuhputih has become a protracted and multifaceted issue that has raised questions about governance, environmental preservation, and the balance between economic development and conservation. The ongoing social movement is a testament to the deeply held beliefs of those involved and the complexities of the modern development paradigm. The ultimate resolution of this conflict remains uncertain and fraught with challenges.

#### **D. Conclusion**

A dark history of conflict and prolonged dynamics causes ideological conflicts. The record of the conflict's journey into a social movement in Rembang is a series of conflicts between the community and small-scale mining companies that were previously in conflict areas from the 90<sup>th</sup> year and continued with conflicts with cement factories. Conflicts and social movements in Rembang will continue because the roots of conflict between the community and existing mining companies have not been resolved. The irrational views that have become the paradigm of rural communities create ideological conflicts that are increasingly ingrained and difficult to resolve quickly.

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