

Local Law-Based Advocacy: The Counter-Hegemony of Samin Ethnic Sub-Group

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31603/variajusticia.v19i2.7840>

Submitted: June 21, 2023

Revised: July 25, 2023

Accepted: August 22, 2023

ABSTRACT

Keywords:
Counter
Hegemony;
Mother Earth;
Samin People;
Local Law;
Environment.

This research aims to understand the claim of the Samin community in Rembang Regency against Governor's Decree No. 660.1/17/2012 which permits the development and exploitation of natural resources in the Kendeng mountains. This dispute does not only show a lawsuit but more broadly is the counter hegemonic movement between local law and national law which is marked by the victory of the Samin people at the Judicial Review level at the Supreme Court. The research was carried out by observing, interviewing, and reviewing the literature which was intended to explain local and national legal disputes which were analyzed qualitatively using legislation, unwritten law and Gramsci's Counter Hegemony approach. The results of this study show that first, local law disputes against national law in Rembang Regency occurred due to the domination of national law over local law which only recognizes indigenous peoples only when mentioned by law. Second, the Samin Indigenous people still adhere to traditions, myths and ecological principles called Saminism which only allow them to do farming and as a cultural identity, because of that they are unlikely to be able to survive if they have other professions; and Third, Amar the judge's decision in the form of a caliph on earth is influenced by the spirit of the mother earth community of the Samin community and forms a new norm so that it becomes a new hegemony against national law.

1. INTRODUCTION

The relationship between citizens and the state does not have a normative connotation, meaning that the relationship between them is always based on rights and responsibilities, so that the dialogical process may run harmonically by following the norms required by the constitution. The state often presents itself as a reality of dominant political power through the institutions that monopolize the facilities for the physical coercion of civilians. Economic space is fundamental. However, the political world, which is an arena of hegemony, also displays the highest development moment of a class's

history.¹ If this relationship is in a conflicting area, citizens are always in a weak position. The state will hegemonize society through their normative regulations so that the legitimization can flow from society to the state.

The process of coerced legitimization often results in conflicts between the state which has its own normative regulations and citizens who have their own local wisdom principles that they comply with from generation to generation. Hegemony manipulates people's awareness, making those under the reign accept those in power as a normal and rightful thing.²

The state and capital owners always have the interests and authority to accumulate great amounts of capital and control the natural resources by applying territorialization strategies to natural resources. Karl Marx calls this a basic superstructure.³ The state's control of natural resources is carried out by forming constitutional regulations that regulate the state's control of the land. The state separates forest and non-forest areas. It also politically determines territorial borders. Thus, territorialization will create a political forest. The state claims all land that is owned by anyone as state forests. Thus, if corporations or the state manages the natural resources, it will create a conflict between the corporations that are supported by the state as a dominant power and the indigenous people who own that customary area with their local wisdom principles.⁴

There was a legal conflict that happened in Rembang Regency, Central Java, between PT. Semen Gresik and the Samin people (an ethnic sub-group of the Javanese ethnic group) in Rembang. It must be remembered that the dispute between PT Semen Gresik was one of a series of disputes that occurred from 2006 to 2015. In 2006 PT. Semen Gresik started to influence the government to ask for an exploitation permit in Pati, but because of being questioned by Samin residents, PT. Semen Gresik finally transferred the karst mining permit to Rembang. However, the legal process continued until 2017. In 2010 PT. Indocement obtained a license in Pati. In 2014 PT. Semen Indonesia succeeded in setting up a factory in Rembang even though some Pati, Rembang and Samin residents have resisted and filed lawsuits to date.⁵

¹ Fajar Muharram, "Ethics And Power of Indonesian Social Media Users: A Study Based on Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony and Electronic Information and Transaction Law," *European Journal of Political Science Studies* 4, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.46827/ejps.v4i1.977>.

² Suparlan Al-Hakim, *Budaya Lokal Dan Hegemoni Negara: Legitimasi Kuasa Di Balik Kearifan Lokal (Local Cultures and State Hegemony: The Legitimacy of Power behind Local Wisdom)* (Malang: Intrans Publishing, 2019); Nezar Patria and Andi Arief, *Antonio Gramsci: Negara Dan Hegemoni (Antonio Gramsci: The State and Hegemony)* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015).

³ Abdellatif El-Aidi and Yahya Yechouti, "Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Cultural Hegemony in Edward Said's Orientalism," *Galaxy: International Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 6, no. 5 (2017).

⁴ Myrna A. Safitri, *Untuk Apa Pluralisme Hukum?: Konsep, Regulasi, Negosiasi Dalam Konflik Agraria Di Indonesia (What Is Legal Pluralism for? Concepts, Regulations, Negotiation in the Agrarian Conflicts in Indonesia)* (Jakarta: Epistema Institut, 2011).

⁵ Tia Subekti, Konflik Samin vs PT. Semen Indonesia, *Jurnal Transformative*, Vol. 2. Nomor 2, September 2016

The Samin people are a community that inhabits Rembang Regency, Central Java. The southern part of Rembang Regency is exposed to mountains that elongate from the west to the east, which is part of the Rembang-Madura mountains. Its location aligns with the Karst Sukolilo Mountains or what is more commonly known as the Karst Kendeng mountains. The north of Rembang Regency has a phenomenon of karst landscape. This area is the largest recharge area or groundwater basin in Rembang Regency. It is commonly known as Watuputih Mountains or Karst Area (Figure 1).

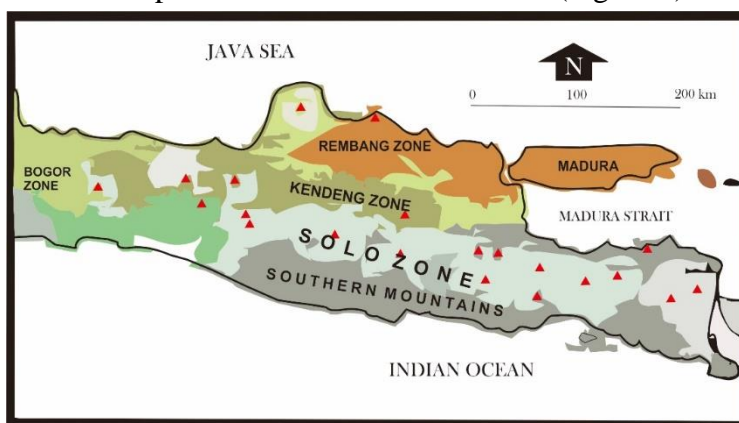


Figure 1. The Karst mountains of Rembang act as a groundwater basin for the surrounding areas

The karst area is a landscape which has a hydrological system that functions as a provider of water resources.⁶ This is because this landscape consists of limestone, gypsum, dolomite, and other rocks that are easily dissolved.⁷ This landscape and hydrological pattern have special characteristics of the formation of caves and underground rivers. Many lake springs were formed, including closed basins and ancient stream tracks (flute rock outcrops). In the karst landscape area, the hydrologic system is dominated by the subsurface flow system (endokarst) compared to the exokarst system.⁸

The domination of the subsurface flow system results in limited water resources on the karst surface. The surface water is usually in the form of lakes with a relatively small amount of water debit.⁹ This is what makes the surface of the karst area seem dry

⁶ A. Cahyadi, E. Ayuningtyas, and Bayu Argadyanto Prabawa, "Urgensi Pengelolaan Sanitasi Dalam Upaya Konservasi Sumber Daya Air Di Kawasan Karst Gunungsewu (The Urgency of Sanitary Management in the Effort to Conserve Water Resources in the Karst Zone of Gunungsewu)," *Indonesian Journal of Conservation* 2, no. 1 (2013): 23–32.

⁷ R. Endah et al., "Karakteristik Sistem Hidrogeologi Karst Berdasarkan Analisis HidroKimia Di Teluk Raja Ampat (The Characteristics of the Karst Hydrogeological System Based on the Hydrochemical Analysis in Raja Ampat Bay)," *Bulletin of Scientific Contribution* 15, no. 3 (2017).

⁸ T. Adji, "Peranan Geomorfologi Dalam Kajian Kerentanan Air Bawah Tanah Karst (The Role of Geomorphology in the Analysis of Karst Underground Water's Fragility)," *Indonesian Cave And Karst Journal* 2, no. 1 (2006).

⁹ Priyono, Choirul Amin, and Arif Jauhari, "Strategi Adaptasi Masyarakat Terhadap Bencana Kekeringan Di Kawasan Karst (People's Adaptive Strategies on the Drought Disaster in Karst Area)," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Geografi UMS* (Surakarta, 2016).

or critical, even though under the surface, it holds great potential for water debit. The karst zone that consists of limestone or other easily dissolvable rocks has the ability to absorb and store rainwater for a long time. This capability cannot be separated from the role of the epikarst zone. The epikarst zone in the karst zone has the best ability to store water in the limestone zone. The epikarst zone is located near the land surface that is prone to damage due to human activity. One of the most common forms of damage is the activity of limestone mining.¹⁰

Agung Wicaksono, a staff of the Tegaldowo Village Office, Gunem District stated in an interview that the Regional Secretary of Rembang at that time, Hamzah Fathoni, stated that he was ready to help if PT. Semen Indonesia wanted to carry out mining activities in Rembang. The Rembang Regional Government wanted a large-scale investor to invest in that area to decrease the poverty rate in Rembang. At that time, more than 40% of the Rembang population lived in poverty and no large-scale investors have invested there. There were only small mines around the foot of the limestone mountain. Such mines surely do not generate significant profits for the local government and people. Up until 2013, 23 small-scale mines have operated there, as shown in the Table 1 below.¹¹

Table 1. The list of mining businesses in Rembang Regency up to 2013

No.	Name of Company	Location of Mine	Business Permit Number	Commodity
1	CV Alam Megah Putih	Tahunan Sale	503/46/C/2005	Limestone
2	CV Andesit Tras Makmur	Terjan Kranggan	503/583/2010	Pozzolan
3	CV Batu Permata	Pamotan	503/456/2010	Quartz sand
4	CV Driji Kencana	Sidomulyo Sedan	503/473/2010	Marble
5	CV Mitra Sukses	Tegaldowo gunem	503/02/C/2003	Limestone
6	CV Sinsantuk	Sudan Kranggan	503/585/2010	Pozzolan
7	CV Sumilir Jaya Kembar	Terjan Kranggan	503/580/2010	Pozzolan
8	CV Wahyu Manunggal	Tegaldowo Gunem	503/251/C/2005	Limestone
9	CV Zen 99	Terjan Kranggan	503/803/2010	Pozzolan
10	Koperasi Aneka Tambang	Sendangmulyo Sluke	503/516/2010	Pozzolan
11	Koperasi Wreda Sejahtera	Terjan Kranggan	503/582/2010	Pozzolan
12	PT Kawi Aria Putra	Terjan Kranggah	503/584/2010	Pozzolan
13	PT Sinar Asia Fortuna	Tahunan Sale	503/171/2004	Limestone
14	PT Sinar Asia Fortuna	Tegaldowo Gunem	503/170/C/2004	Limestone
15	Sdr. Basirun	Kedung – Pancur	503/599/2010	Andesite rock

¹⁰ Falah and Adiardi, "Mengenal Fungsi Kawasan Karst (Understanding the Function of the Karst Zone)," *Indonesian Cave and Karst Journal* 2, no. 1 (2016).

¹¹ Interview with Agung Wicaksono, Staff of Tegaldowo Village Office, Gunem District. 2020.

16	Sdr. Djuwaro	Ngulahan Sedan	503/1013/2010	Andesite rock
17	Sdr. Fatimatuz Zahro	Terjan Kranggan	503/501/20108	Pozzolan
18	Sdr. H. Achyar	Gesikan Sedan	503/458/2010	Quartz sand
19	Sdr. Sarip	Sidomulyo Sedan	503/470/2010	Quartz sand
20	Sdr. Sekar sari	Terjan Kranggan	503/579/2010	Pozzolan
21	Sdr. Siti naula	Terjan Kranggan	503/706/2010	Pozzolan
22	Sdr. Supriyanto	Ngolahan sedan	503/1012/2010	Andesite rock
23	UD Jago	Sendang Mulyo Sluke	503/586/2020	Rocks and sand
24	PT Semen Gresik	Tegaldowo, Kajar, Timbrangan, Pasucen, Gunem District	503/0230/2013	Clay
25	PT Semen Indonesia	Gunem District		Factory establishment

Source: Walhi (2015) in "Peran Perbankan dalam Pengembangan Industri Semen di Cekungan Air Tanah (CAT) Watuputih Rembang [The role of banks in developing the cement factory in the Watuputih Groundwater Basin, Rembang]."

The interest of PT. Semen Indonesia (Persero) Tbk to invest in Rembang was welcomed by the Rembang Regional Government. According to Wagner¹² in an interview, at that time, there have been many permits issued by the local government to establish a cement factory, for instance:

1. The Decree of the Rembang Regent No. 545/68/2010 Regarding the Granting of Business Permit Areas for Explorative Mining (WIUP) to PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk.
2. On January 18th, 2011, the Rembang Regent also issued Decree No. 545/4/2011 on the Explorative Mining Business Permit under the name of PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk.
3. On November 18th, 2011 the Rembang Regent issued Decree No. 591/040/of 2011 on Granting a Location Permit to PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk to establish a cement factory, land for mining raw materials, and other supporting facilities. PT. Semen Indonesia (Persero) Tbk was also declared feasible on April 30th, 2012 with the issuing of the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/10 of 2012 on the Environmental Feasibility on Mining Plans and Cement Factory Establishment by PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk in Rembang Regency, Central Java Province.
4. The issuing of the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/17 of 2012 on June 7th, 2012 on the Permit for Mining Activities and Cement Factory Establishment by PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk in Rembang Regency, Central Java Province. This decree gave the PT Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk the legality to undergo mining activities.

¹² Interview with Ivan Wagner, an activist of the Semarang Legal Aid Agency in Semarang. 2020.

Rembang citizens, especially those who lived around the location admit to having never been involved in the process of making this decision. According to Wagner,¹³ they have started to concentrate on carrying out rejection and resistance.

The great potential of Kendeng led society to use natural resources as a source of living. The abundant underground water was used by many of the local people as a source of irrigation, as most locals work as farmers. Apart from working as farmers, they also take care of livestock, which is also inseparable from nature. With the fact that most locals work as farmers, the development of a cement factory is very unfortunate due to the effects that will harm their profession. One of the locations that will be directly impacted by the mining activities of the cement factory is Gunem District which has a population of 2.079 people and an area of around 8.020,34 hectares. Around 15,83 percent of this area (1.269,33 hectares) is categorized as agricultural land, while the rest namely around 84,17 percent is categorized as non-agricultural land (6.751.01 hectares).

People of Tegaldowo village and several villages under the Gunem district Rembang and the Sedulur Sikep community in Rembang that are associated with JMPPK (Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng/Community Network for Kendeng Mountains' Cause) rejected the establishment of that cement factory.¹⁴ The Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/17 of 2012 has violated the Spatial and Areal Planning (SAP) of Rembang Regency, the SAP of Central Java Province, the National SAP, as well as the Presidential Decree that regulates the protection of the water reservoir area. But, this mining activity has obtained permits from the Rembang Regent through the Regional Regulation of Rembang Regency No. 5 of 2006 on the Management of General Mining Businesses and it was strengthened by the Decree of the Rembang Regent No. 28 of 2007 on the Guidelines and Requirements of Mining Authorization Permit. Thus, environmental permit No. 660.1/17 of 2012 does not violate the law. The jurisdiction ambiguity happened because the environmental permit issued by the Central Java Governor overlaps with the applicable laws.

According to Ruwiasuti, these issues bring vertical and structural conflicts to customary communities. In this case, the structural dispute happens between the indigenous people who have power over economic resources such as forests, rivers, mines, cattle pasture, shrubs, and agricultural land and the state or the government and/or the interest of project companies with great capital that were born from transactional politics.¹⁵ The counter-hegemonic movement was a form of resistance that indigenous people intentionally and consciously carried out in their subordinate condition against a

¹³ Interview with Ivan Wagner, an activist of the Semarang Legal Aid Agency in Semarang. 2020.

¹⁴ Nur Kholisoh and, Sisca T. Gurning. Construction of Samin's Local Wisdom in the Video "Samir V.S Cement 2015" on YouTube. *Saudi J. Humanities Soc. Sci.*, Vol-3, Iss-3 (Mar, 2018)

¹⁵ Maria Rita Ruwiasuti, *Sesat Pikir Politik Hukum Agraria (The Wrong Thought on the Agrarian Law Politics)* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2000).

hegemony carried out by the state through their legal legitimacy. The Gramscian counter-hegemony concept basically works to identify, read, and analyze the social power and dominant culture that are hegemonic and powerful. Then, it maneuvers to gather power to resist or counter the hegemony. It is an effort of resistance to reduce or eradicate; and even strive for a new hegemony.¹⁶

This research will not only see how a person or a group of people move, form, and strive for their own hegemony in an effort to resist certain domination, but also the reasons behind these counter-hegemonic movements. The groups that were formed as a basis for people's advocacy such as JMPPK (Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng/Community Network for Kendeng Mountains' Cause) was created from the reciprocal relationship between the Sedulur Sikep Community (the Local Brotherhood Community of the Samin People), Forum Rembang Damai (FRD/The Peaceful Rembang Forum), Gerakan Pemuda Masyarakat Rembang (GPMR/Rembang Youth Social Movement), and Paguyuban Pengajian Desa (Association for Village Qur'anic Recital) that are named as new historical blocks. Then, the reasons for the Samin indigenous people's resistance are principles and norms that become the basis for the movement to counter the corporate and state hegemonies. In accordance with Victor T. King,¹⁷ the Samin people resistance to the state law has been going on since the colonial period and this resistance was a reason of their existence until now.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This research combined the doctrinal (normative) and the non-doctrinal (sociological) methods with the counter-hegemony approach.¹⁸ The normative method analyzed research objects from constitutional regulations that were applied from the central to the regional governments. Then, the sociological method analyzed the reality of the law as a norm that applies in society that embraces local traditions, behaviors, attitudes, and histories. According to Soejono Soekanto, sociological methods are to identify unwritten law and effectiveness of law.¹⁹ Thus, this research employed the counter-hegemony analysis, observation, as well as in-depth interviews with Samin people. For Gramsci, hegemony is exercised by the ruling class not only through coercion but also through consensus, managing to impose their worldview, a philosophy of

¹⁶ Heru Hendarto, *Mengenal Konsep Hegemoni Gramsci Dalam Diskursus Kemasyarakatan Dan Kemanusiaan (Understanding Gramsci's Hegemonic Concept in the Discourses on Society and Humanity)* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1993).

¹⁷ Victor T. King. *Some Observations On The Samin Movement Of North-Central Java: Suggestions For The Theoretical Analysis Of The Dynamics Of Rural Unrest*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel 129, 4de Afl. (1973).

¹⁸ William K. Carrol, "Crisis, Movements, Counter-Hegemony: In Search of the New," *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 2, no. 2 (2010).

¹⁹ Dyah Ochterina Susanti, 2014, *Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta : Sinar Grafika, p. 18

customs and 'common sense' that favour the recognition of its domination by the dominated classes.²⁰

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Long before the Indonesian independence, the Samin people have embraced an ecological norm as noble teaching called the Ibu Bumi (Mother Earth) local norm. This value was the spirit of their resistance. In their discursive practices, the Samin or Sedulur Sikep community actively gave an understanding of the meaning of that local norm to the grassroots societies that supported them. Even, in each of their acts, Kendeng farmers always chanted the song, "Ibu Bumi wis maringi, Ibu Bumi dilarani, Ibu Bumi kang ngadili," (ibu bumi has given [us nature], ibu bumi was hurt, ibu bumi will punish).

The understanding of these teachings illustrates that the Samin people highly respect the earth and what it contains. This is because they obtain food and clothes for their daily lives from the earth. If the earth is hurt through environmentally-damaging exploration activities, the earth will punish those destroyers. According to Gunretno, "Departing from the customary principle of ibu bumi, the Sedulur Sikep Community always cling to and uphold their land as how they honor their mothers." In their history, no Samin person agreed to sell their land or their ricefields. They are very careful in their actions that concern nature.²¹ They highly consider cultural values as well as principles of natural resource management and conservation to maintain ecological balance.²² This was highly visible in the actions of the Sedulur Sikep farmers who have high regard and respect for the natural environment that is inseparable from life.²³

The counter-hegemony act was carried out by the Samin people by setting up resistance tents that were filled with JMPPK This can be viewed as the creation of a new historical block. Bureaucrats have also been able to play an intellectual role and create a historical block.²⁴ This historical block was created from a reciprocal relationship with various strategic alliances such as Sedulur Sikep Community (Komunitas Sedulur Sikep/KSS), Forum Rembang Damai (FRD/The Peaceful Rembang Forum), Gerakan Pemuda Masyarakat Rembang (GPMR/Rembang Youth Social Movement), and

²⁰ Eugenio-Enrique Cortes-Ramirez, "Cultural Hegemony Today. From Cultural Studies to Critical Pedagogy," *Postcolonial Directions in Education* 4, no. 2 (2015): 116–39.

²¹ Interview with Gunarti, a coordinator of JMPPK in Sambung Village, Macan, Blora. 2020.

²² Eny Kusdarini and Alil Rinenggo. The Preservation of Samin Community Local Wisdom in Indonesia. ICSSD 2020, August 04-05, Yogyakarta, Indonesia Copyright © 2020 EAI DOI 10.4108/eai.4-8-2020.2302413

²³ Enkin Asrawijaya and Bambang Hudayana. The Power of a Leader in the Samin People's Opposition Movement to the Development of a Cement Factory in the North Kendeng Mountains. *Humaniora*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (February 2021)

²⁴ Ratih Ariningrum, Meutia Farida Hatta Swasono, and Irwan Martua Hidayana, "Application of the Hegemony Theory from Gramsci: A Case Study of the Success of Recording Death Data in Bumiayu Subdistrict, Brebes District, Central Java," in *Advances in Health Sciences Research, 4th International Symposium on Health Research (ISHR)*, vol. 22 (Atlantis Press, 2019).

Paguyuban Pengajian Desa (Association for Village Qur'anic Recital) that consisted of several social classes and powers. The Sedulur Sikep Community has succeeded in internalizing their values to these grassroots organizations, so that in the end, they had the same awareness and perspectives in facing the hegemony of the cement factory in the Kendeng mountains of Rembang.

According to Gunarti²⁵ JMPPK was formed due to the awareness and the need to protect and preserve the environment. JMPPK's struggles were not merely to reject the establishment of the cement factory as a manifestation and an actualization of the *ibu bumi* customary norm. But it was also about how they can participate through the legislation to protect the Kendeng mountains as a common effort to preserve the natural environment as well as maintain the balance of the earth in the future. The type of movements carried out by these organizations started from social (non-litigation) movements. These movements were carried out through the following methods:

1. Discursive steps to give understanding to grassroots societies on the importance of the earth (agricultural land) of Kendeng as a source of their living. This discursive practice was no less than an effort from the organic intellectuals of Sedulur Sikep/Samin to plant their very well-known values of customary norms, namely the "*ibu bumi*" customary norm.
2. The mutual awareness to develop a network of cooperation from several social classes that were involved in rejecting the cement factory in Rembang was based on the concern to protect and preserve the environment they lived in. The JMPPK was also formed to facilitate for all groups of society, such as farmers, traders, factory labor, and planters to voice their aspirations as well as strengthen the act of resistance against the plan to build a cement factory.
3. Setting up resistance tents on the border of the access to enter the cement factory, carrying out long marches to the Office of the Governor of Central Java, and demonstrating while carrying out the first and second editions of the activity in cementing some people's feet in front of the State Palace. This action acted as a symbol while delivering a message to the government that the arrival of the cement factory in the agricultural area of Kendeng Mountains, Central Java can inhibit and damage their source of making a living.
4. JMPPK also maneuvered by visiting (sowan) to the homes of two charismatic Islamic scholars (ulama), namely KH Maemun Zubair in Sarang Islamic Boarding School (pesantren) Rembang and KH Musthofa Bisri in Leteh village. The JMPPK visited the homes of these two aged ulama to ask for prayers and moral support for their resistance against the cement factory in Rembang. The exclamation of these two charismatic ulama to the development of the cement factory in Rembang caught the attention of the local government.

²⁵ Interview with Gunarti, a coordinator of JMPPK in Sambung Village, Macan, Blora. 2020.

5. JMPPK's struggle also obtained support from Asia-Pacific countries such as the Philippines, Myanmar, India, Thailand, Pakistan, and New Guinea, as well as Canada and Germany that were involved in the Asia Pacific Gathering on Human Rights and Extractives event in Semarang. This event that was organized by Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (JATAM/Mining Advocacy Network), Koalisi Rakyat untuk Hak atas Air (KruHA/People's Coalition for the Rights to Water), Indonesian Global Justice (IGJ), Justice, Peace, and Integration of Creation (JPIC), Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI/The Indonesian Environmental Medium), and VIVAT International Indonesia carried out visits to Timbrangan and Tegal Dowo Villages, Gunem District, Rembang Regency, as a form of support towards the struggle of JMPPK in rejecting the establishment of a cement factory and karst mine in the Watuputih mountains of Kendeng.
6. Another unique strategy is the involvement of women in this resistance movement. The Samin women play a role in *ndolani* (interpersonal communication) to spread the importance of protecting their land rights and to fight agitation from pro-factory parties that provokes them to leave the farming profession. These women work as *mbok* basket carrying (traveling women) who carry crops in the form of vegetables on their backs loudly declaring that farming is a noble profession.²⁶

The arrival of the Asia Pacific Gathering on Human Rights and Extractives to support the JMPPK showed that the struggle of the Samin people was not merely to protect its land from corporations, but it was also a struggle to save their ethnicity, community, and culture from extinction, as ethnic minorities have become an 'imperative' to avoid cultural loss in multicultural societies.²⁷

Apart from that, JMPPK also carried out the litigation method, namely by filing a lawsuit on the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/17 of 2012 on the Environmental Feasibility on Mining Plans and Cement Factory Establishment by PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk in Rembang Regency, Central Java Province through the State Administrative Court (SAC), starting from the process of filing an environmental dispute lawsuit to the SAC in Semarang, up to submitting a Request for a Judicial Review to the Supreme Court in Central Jakarta.

²⁶ Rini Darmastuti, et al. Samin Women's Resistance Movement Against Cement Factory Construction: A Case Of Sukolilo In Indonesia, *Man In India*, 96 (11) : 4903-4918

²⁷ Alicia Ferrández Ferrer and Jessica Retis, "Ethnic Minority Media: Between Hegemony and Resistance," *Journal of Alternative and Community Media* 4, no. 3 (2019).



Figure 3. International support from the Asia-Pacific Gathering on Human Rights and Extractives in Semarang.

In the first-level SAC trial in Semarang, JMPPK and WALHI lost. Through Decision No. 064/G/2014/PTUN Smg, the SAC judge in Semarang rejected the people's lawsuit as it was expired, as it has passed the grace period of 90 days. This stipulation on the expiry of the grace period in filing a lawsuit was regulated in Law No. 5 of 1986 on the State Administrative Court. At the appeal level, they also experienced a similar loss. The Decision of the Judge Assembly of SAC Surabaya No. 135/B/2015/PT.TUN.SBY strengthened the decision of the Semarang SAC who also declared that the people's lawsuit has expired.

JMPPK and WALHI tried to file a cassation but it was rejected as they had passed the grace period in filing it, as stipulated in the law. Even though the cassation filed by the people was rejected as they had passed the determined grace period, the people never lost hope.

The defeats at the district court, the Semarang high court and at the cassation level show that positive law has dominated the cultural interests of the Samin people. This domination is demonstrated by the tendency of judges to prioritize purely formal aspects, namely because the Samin people or their representatives filed a lawsuit after the 90-day deadline due to the Central Java Governor's Decree No. 660.1/17 of 2012 dated June 7 2012, has been socialized from 2012 to 2013, so according to the court it is not true if the appellate party (JMPPK) only knows the object of the dispute on June 18 2014. For the Samin people who do not know the expiration date of the lawsuit and have limitations information technology 90 day deadline is a problem in itself, they do not have sufficient education to understand the problems and complexities of the formal logic

After new evidence (*novum*) was found, JMPPK and WALHI finally filed for a judicial review to the State Administrative Court Secretariat of Semarang on May 4th, 2016. The Request for Review found new determining evidence on January 15th, 2016. This evidence was a ticket and a boarding pass that was equipped with a flight statement letter that was validated by Alisa Marselini (staff of the ticketing section of Garuda) Garuda Indonesia JKTKLGA 9740 on January 26th, 2016. But when the case was examined, the evidence was nowhere to be found.

Prianto,²⁸ a judicial review applicant stated that on October 5th, 2016, the contents of the Supreme Court's decision on the judicial review through the Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016 issued the decision to grant the plea for a judicial review from the applicant, namely Joko Prianto, Sukimin, Suyasir, Rutono, Sujono, and Sulijan as well as the Indonesian Environmental Medium (WALHI). The judge assembly of the judicial review also revoked and declared the cancellation of the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/17/2012. The Governor of Central Java was also imposed by the obligation to revoke that environmental permit. The Supreme Court's Judicial Review Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016 caused PT. Semen Gresik to stop their production activities for several months.

In Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016 the judicial review judge assembly used the legal norm contained in Law No. 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management to determine the expiry of the lawsuit filed by JMPPK. Article 89 clause (1) of Law No. 32 of 2009 stated, "The deadline of expiry to file a lawsuit to the court follows the deadline stipulated in the Civil Code and it is calculated since it is found that there is environmental pollution and/or damage". This norm simultaneously became an entrance for the judicial review judges to state in their legal consideration that JMPPK's lawsuit did not exceed the deadline. Thus, the lawsuit's subject matter was to be examined.

Apart from that, in the Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016 on the legal interest of the Judicial Review Applicants, the Judicial Review Judge Assembly stated in the legal consideration page 109 of the Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016, "According to the stipulation of Article 67 of Law No. 32 of 2009 which states the obligation of every person to maintain the preservation of the environmental function and control pollution and/or environmental damage is a feasible obligation for humans in their function as leaders on earth that must protect the universe, thus according to the stipulation of Article 70 clause (1) of Law No. 32 of 2009, people have the same and the broadest rights and opportunities to actively participate in environmental protection and management."

This *ibu bumi* local norm became a strong basic of legality from the legal standing of the judicial review applicants in filing an *a quo* lawsuit. Even though among them, some had different legal standings on the potential impacts that may happen, they still

²⁸ Interview with Joko Prianto, a judicial review applicant in Tegaldowo, Gunem. 2020.

had the right to obtain legality as a plaintiff to file an a quo lawsuit. Here, it can be seen that the spirit of the ibu bumi local norm strived for by the Sedulur Sikep Community has succeeded in influencing the judge's belief in rationing and in arranging the legal consideration. Thus, in the Decision of a Judicial Review No. 99/PK/TUN/2016, much of the Judge Assembly's consideration supported the winning of the Judicial Review Applicant

Indeed, the ibu bumi local norm was not part of nor was it directly accommodated in the legal consideration of the Judge Assembly's decision to substitute the legal norm used by the previous *judex factie*. But there was the phrase, "is a feasible obligation for humans in their function as leaders on earth that must protect the universe" in the legal consideration of Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016. It showed that the Judge Assembly discovered a new awareness as a basis for forming the legal norm on the human function as leaders that must protect this universe. This legal norm was similar to the ibu bumi local norm of the Sedulur Sikep Community regarding the obligation of humans towards the universe (the earth), namely to protect and take care of this earth just as how they protect and take care of their own biological mother.

Previously, in the legal consideration of Decision No. 99/PK/TUN/2016 page 108, the Judge Assembly also considered the "education level" and "habits" of the villagers in Gunem District, Rembang in considering the capability of the Gunem people in obtaining information. The perspective of the Judicial Review Judge Assembly on this factor of "habit" showed that the customary norms influenced the Judge Assembly's perspective in developing their legal reason. For the people of Sedulur Sikep, being a farmer as a habit is their cultural identity and outside of work, they consider it to be full of cheating and injustice.²⁹ So that if relocation occurs to other areas or urban areas they do not have the ability to defend themselves and adapt, they are only supported by very traditional and low-creativity agricultural technology.³⁰ Badrut Anggara Putra has researched aspects of the settlement of the Samin community. In his research, it was concluded that Samin's ability to accept modernity was very low.³¹ The Samin communities acquire physics concepts through their cultural values and beliefs. They think that houses, like humans, need to breathe (ambekan houses), so they choose wood as building materials.³²

²⁹ Eta Yuni Lestari and Tutik Wijayanti, Social Conservation of Local Wisdom on Samin Tribes at Kudus Regency Indonesia, *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture*, 12(1) (2020)

³⁰ Kridawati Sadhana, et al. Study of the Adaptation Process as a Local Community Strategy in Social Transformation of Samin Group of Indonesia, *International Journal of Advances in Scientific Research and Engineering (ijasre)* DOI: 10.31695/IJASRE.2021.33957, Volume 7, Issue 1 January - 2021

³¹ Badrut Anggara Putra, et al. Identification of physical changes in the house in Samin Blora community based on Habraken's theory. *ARTEKS : Jurnal Teknik Arsitektur*, Volume 6 Issue 3, December 2021 pISSN 2541-0598; eISSN 2541-1217

³² R. D. Handayani, et al. An identification of indigenous knowledge related to the thermal physics concept. *UNNES Physics International Symposium 2018 (UPIS2018) IOP Conf. Series: Journal of Physics: Conf. Series 1170 (2019) 012042 IOP Publishing doi:10.1088/1742-6596/1170/1/012042*

Because of that they have no other choice but to create a movement against the permit to build a cement factory.

Besides that, Samin people of Rembang use that water spring for their daily lives, including for farming. The Samin people embrace the traditional principle, "Wong sikep sekolahe karo pacul", which means, "The local people obtain education through farming".³³ According to Nikatur Rohmah, the Samin community's economy is driven by the anvil tradition, which divides crops and livestock in two, involving children in their families.³⁴ This traditional principle contains the tradition of Samin people to not have businesses. They farm for a living. Because of that, their lives highly depend on the land.

When JMPPK's win in the SAC dispute trial was a win that very seldom happens. So far, from the many cases of environmental dispute that were filed to the SAC, it was very seldom for the Judge Assembly to make the plaintiff win. Apart from due to the difficult evidencing method, the plaintiff was also faced with corporations with strong capital and governmental elements as lawmakers. This fact showed how the regulation for mining permits and environmental dispute trials has hegemonized the policy on natural resource exploration permits as well as the court decision on the conflict dispute brought to SAC trials.

The Republic of Indonesia's Supreme Court Decision No. 99 PK/TUN/2016 on October 5th, 2016 has also ordered the Central Java Governor to revoke the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/17 of 2012 on June 7th, 2012 on the Environmental Permit for Mining Activities by PT Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk, in Rembang Regency, Central Java Province. The Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/30 of 2016 has also shown Ganjar Pranowo's partiality to PT Semen Indonesia (Persero) Tbk rather than his obligation to provide legal protection to all community members in Kendeng mountains.

After undergoing the second-edition demonstration in cementing feet in front of the State Palace in Jakarta yang menewaskan Patmi (48 tahun),³⁵ to reject the Decree of the Central Java Governor No. 660.1/30 of 2016 and support the Republic of Indonesia's Supreme Court Decision No. 99 PK/TUN/2016 on October 5th, 2016, President Joko Widodo, at last, asked Teten Masduki as a Presidential Staff to undergo a Strategic Environmental Analysis on Kendeng Mountains (KLHS). This Strategic Environmental Analysis that was issued by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry contained an anthropological analysis. It was found that the farming activities of the people of Kendeng

³³ Interview with Gunarti, a coordinator of JMPPK in Sambung Village, Macan, Blora. 2020

³⁴ Nikmatur Rohmah, et al. Economic Learning within Samin Community in Blora Regency, Education In The 21th Century : Reponding Current Issues, International Conference on Education, (2016)

³⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39324831>, accessed 13 Juni 2023, 10.35 PM.

mountains were about forming an identity. In this anthropological analysis, some important points were discussed,³⁶ namely:

1. The socio-cultural aspect of farming cannot be compensated with material items. The loss of land and its supportive power threaten the loss of living space and identity. In people's eyes, nature is not deemed as a resource to be exploited. Ricefields are the results of historical inheritance and cultural processes. Such socio-cultural aspects of the farmers are protected in the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution Article 28 letter (e) clause (1) which states, "Every person has the right to embrace religion and worship according to their religions, choose education and teachings, choose occupations, choose nationalities, choose the place of residence in the state area and leave it as well as having the right to coming back."
2. Kendeng farmers believe that true life worthiness and prosperity are not built upon accumulation and competition in the capitalist context, but rather, they are based on the independence and spirituality that they embrace from their ancestors. Spiritual resilience and independence that determine life worthiness and prosperity is in essence a manifestation of the "independent village" in the Nawa Cita program [a governmental program] that is protected by Article 27 clause (2) of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution which states that, "Every citizen has the right for proper occupancy and sources of living for humanity". This is also supported by Article 28 letter (h) clause (1) of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution which stipulates, "Every person has the right to live in prosperity both physically and mentally, they have the right to shelter, to live in a good and healthy environment, as well as the right to obtain healthcare services."
3. There is local knowledge and customary law that is embraced by the Kendeng farmers on the philosophy of the true relationship between humans and Mother Earth, the universe. There is the principle, "If the land is gone, we are extinct." It means that separating land from their living sphere is the same as committing genocide against them. This is a violation of the Republic of Indonesia's 1945 Constitution Article 281 clause (2) on the respect for cultural identities and rights of traditional societies.

Analysis above explained that for Kendeng people, farming was not merely seen as a source of living, but it was more like the formation of their identity. The farming community that inhabited the ecosystem of the North Kendeng mountains has long developed their local wisdom from generation to generation as part of their cultural identity.³⁷ The local wisdom developed by this farming community became an institution and norms of collective behavior that they uphold up to now.

³⁶ The Indonesian Ministry of Environment, "Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis Untuk Kebijakan Pemanfaatan Dan Pengelolaan Pegunungan Kendeng Yang Berkelanjutan (Strategic Environmental Analysis for Policies in Sustainably Utilizing and Managing Kendeng Mountains)," 1 (Jakarta, 2017).

³⁷ Edy Lisdiyono, Exploring The Strength Of Local Wisdom In Efforts To Ensure The Environmental Sustainability. *International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology (IJCIET)* Volume 8, Issue 11, November 2017

The socio-cultural life of the people of North Kendeng mountains and the Watuputih Groundwater Basin zone it contains reflect a living pattern that from generation to generation was based on a strong perspective and understanding of the integration between humans and the surrounding nature. Nature, or what in this study was represented by the environment, has a dynamic and relational relationship that was equal to society. The changes that happened in the environment will either directly or indirectly shift the relationships between nature and society. In turn, it will influence the socio-cultural dynamics of the inhabitants of the North Kendeng Mountain area.

The resistance of JMPPK in rejecting the establishment of the cement factory in Rembang has been conducted through various efforts, both litigation and non-litigation ones for around five years since 2012. Concerning that resistance, Cutler³⁸ stated that Gramsci's conception of law provided valuable insight into the nature of the relationships between law, society and political economy and the historical effectivity of the law. Because of that, the actors that were involved in the counter-hegemony that works at the litigation level were able to revoke and create a new hegemony with the accommodation of the ibu bumi local norm in the Decision of the Supreme Court and the Strategic Environmental Analysis. According to Duncan Kennedy, the counter-hegemony process carried out by Samin Rembang people was a restructuring process that made the government and politicians shift their political direction concerning Bildung as a form of legal emancipation, which in this context, it referred to the ibu bumi local norm.³⁹ Then for Gramsci, this reality was called new relationships that have grown in the womb of ancient society.⁴⁰ With the disagreement between the central government represented by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, it was shown that the hegemony in Indonesia that was decentralized by the lawmakers as the ruling class can be broken down by a new hegemony from local customary societies that were previously marginalized.

4. CONCLUSION

The counter-hegemony movement of the Samin people in Rembang was triggered by the mutual awareness of the ibu bumi customary norm. If the Samin people had no choice but to leave their land, they will lose the culture that has been passed on from generation to generation for hundreds of years. The reason is that the loss of land in the Samin community also signifies a loss of identity, history, and cultural heritage. They may not be able to compete in the capitalist modern world due to factors like education,

³⁸ C. Cutler, "Gramsci, Law, and the Culture of Global Capitalism," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 8, no. 4 (2005): 527-42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230500205227>.

³⁹ Christine Schwöbel-Patel, "'I'd like to Learn What Hegemony Means' Teaching International Law from a Critical Angle," *Recht En Methode (Law and Method)* 3, no. 2 (2013).

⁴⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1987).

customs, and simplicity. Taking into account their collective consciousness and limited choices apart from resistance, they created resistance camps with a dual emphasis on employing litigation and non-litigation process for resistance. In the litigation methods, they conducted administrative lawsuits against the state from the district court to the Supreme Court. Lawsuits at the first and second levels were decided to lose with the issuance of Decision No. 064/G/2014/PTUN Smg and No. 135/B/2015/PT. TUN. SBY. Meanwhile, at the review level, it was decided by decision no. 99/PK/TUN/2016 which finally won the Samin community. The legal counter-hegemony of the Samin people succeeded as the Supreme Court Decision.

However, this decision did not actually stop exploitation, so they also carried out a non-litigation process, they conducted various campaigns and formed alliances a new historical block with various social classes without differentiating between the ethnic group, religion, and race, including charismatic Islamic scholars and international activists. Then there was a demonstration that killed Patmi. Finally President Joko Widodo ordered Teten Masduki to study this issue so that the KLHS was published. The Strategic Environmental Analysis document adopted the *ibu bumi* local norm as the basis for resolving disputes that revoked the plan to exploit the Kendeng Mountains.

AUTHOR DECLARATION

Author contributions and responsibilities - The authors made substantial contributions to the conception and design of the study. The authors took responsibility for data analysis, interpretation, and discussion of results. The authors read and approved the final manuscript.

Funding - No funding information from the author.

Availability of data and materials - All data are available from the authors.

Competing interests - The authors declare no competing interest.

Additional information - No additional information from the author.

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