

Resistance in Murals: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Local Movement in Rejecting the Establishment of a Cement Factory in Rembang

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Abstract. This research examines the discourse on rejecting the establishment of the Semen Indonesia factory in Rembang. Taking the murals in Tegaldowo Village, Rembang, as the object study, this study discussed the production of knowledge about the rejection of the factory establishment and power relations in such conflict over the factory establishment. This study applies a visual discourse analysis model developed by Gillian Rose, which includes several essential elements in the text: key themes, justification strategies and their effects, contradictions, positions of the subjects, and location and time of production. This research finds that the movement against the establishment of a cement factory, in addition to going through legal channels, was carried out through cultural media, including by forming discourses that strengthened this rejection. The justification for refusing the establishment is generally based on both traditional and modern ecological discourses. The subjects presented in the text represent the polarization of interests and groups within the local communities, between groups that are pro and contra to the construction of the cement factory, as well as justifying that the cement factory establishment causes such polarization.

Keywords: environmental conflict, discourse, Semen Indonesia, murals.

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Introduction

The plan to establish a factory PT. Semen Indonesia, which is located in Tegaldowo Village, Gunem District, Rembang Regency, Central Java Province in 2010 reaped pros and cons from the surrounding community. The plan was widely heard in the people of Rembang Regency, precisely in early 2013. However, without the knowledge of the wider community, the licensing process has been going on since 2010 with the issuance of the Mining Business Permit Area by the Regent of Rembang M. Salim, numbered 545/68/2010 (Falah and Rahmadi, 2015).

The wave of rejection is getting more massive. The struggle of the community against cement began to be known by the public when Tenda Perjuangan stood at the entrance to the PT. Indonesian Cement. Precisely June 16, 2014, the protest action in the tent area of struggle was carried out by the community on the basis of their rejection of the cement

factory invasion which threatened the farmers' living space and water availability. During the action, the Rembang Police and TNI personnel were on standby to deter and intimidate the residents. Some residents were swept away by the police and thrown into the bushes (Apriando and Saturi, 2014)

In order to strengthen the movement, the people who opposed the cement factory used cultural strategies and litigation to thwart the establishment of the factory. Efforts to take legal action started from a lawsuit by the residents of Rembang to PT. Semen Indonesia through the PTUN Semarang with Number: 064/G/2014/PTUN.SMG dated April 16, 2015. The lawsuit filed by residents was rejected by the PTUN on the grounds that it had expired.

Then, based on the Supreme Court Review Decision issued on October 5, 2016 with No. Register 99 PK/TUN/2016 on the case of PT. Indonesian Cement in Rembang. The review was won by the residents. Thus, the Supreme Court granted the request of the residents of Rembang for the cancellation of the environmental permit of PT. Semen Indonesia issued by the Governor of Central Java, Bibit Waluyo (Taufan, 2016).

In its movement, the people who reject cement factories carry out various actions such as *blowing up* ecological issues, creating movement actors, mobilizing institutions, revitalizing the role of women, incorporating elements of religion and wisdom in the movement, mobilizing opinions through alternative media, strengthening identity networks and formal legal strategies (Sufyan, 2015). In addition, the narrative of rejection is also materialized in certain media, for example in existing traditions, stage arts, istigosah, environmental reading, tahilan, cultural rituals, Javanese songs, unen unen (sounds) from the mortar, Kendeng Lestari jargon, caping reject cement, posters, billboards, stickers, graffiti on people's homes and several murals produced with SeBumi.

The conflict over the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia also triggered community polarization. This can be seen from several times of simultaneous action to voice aspirations between the people who reject it and the people who agree with the existence of the factory. In the community, the labeling of pro and community rejects is very prominent either through symbols around the house or the scope of social interaction. In addition, the discourse battle that exists between the people who reject and support the cement factory has their own legitimacy.

The people who reject cement doubt the Amdal of PT. Semen Indonesia which contradicts the Central Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2010 concerning the 2010-2030 Central Java Provincial Spatial Plan and the Rembang Regency Regional Regulation Number 14 of 2011 challenging the Rembang Regency RTRW in 2011-2031 that the Watuputih CAT groundwater basin is part of the area. geological protection. Apart from that, the establishment of PT. Semen Indonesia in Rembang has obtained a permit from the

Regional Government of Rembang Regency and the Governor of Central Java (Cipta and Ardianto, 2015).

It is interesting then to understand how the people who reject the cement factory produce various texts to narrate the discourse of rejection and strengthen the truth. In the practice of the rejection discourse, language is used to make statements about the validity of refusing the cement factory. In addition, language is used to narrate and justify the need for PT Semen Indonesia to be present in Rembang.

This study will see how the texts produced by the community who rejected the establishment of a cement factory PT. Semen Indonesia in the North Kendeng Mountains, Rembang, Central Java, as a discourse strategy to reject the presence of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang and seize the truth. This is interesting to study because some people have a high level of political literacy. In addition, in the academic realm, research that examines local texts produced by the community is still very rare.

The approach taken in this research is Foucaultian critical discourse analysis, where in discourse there is a relationship of knowledge, power and truth. Discourse will produce certain truths and knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge is not something that is value-free or neutral, but contains and creates the effect of power, so that knowledge and power cannot be separated. Each power will produce and provide its own narrative of truth through which the audience is directed to believe in the truth that has been established and formed.

Research Methods

The author uses the Foucaultian critical discourse analysis method to see the discourse practices used by the people who opposed the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang through various murals in Timbrangan and Tegaldowo villages. Critical discourse analysis can show the meaning of language in power relations and social relations, so this research will examine how meaning is created in certain socio-political contexts, examine the role of the speaker's or author's or writer's goals in the construction of the discourse.

According to Foucault, in discourse there is a relationship of knowledge, power and truth. According to Foucault, power is not owned but practiced in a scope where there are interrelated strategic positions, that is where power is at work (Eriyanto, 2001). The organizer of power according to Foucault will always produce knowledge as the basis of his power. It is almost impossible for power without being supported by a political economy of truth (Aditjondro, 1994, p. 58). Power produces knowledge and not only knowledge is useful for power, there is no knowledge without power, and there is no power without being supported by knowledge (Bertens, 1985, p. 487). This is where there is correlation,

knowledge contains power, and power contains knowing. It is impossible for knowledge to be neutral or pure, knowledge is always political (Bertens, 1985, p. 488).

In this study, visual critical discourse analysis is used to examine texts produced by local communities and texts made with SeBumi by paying attention to objects in detail without involving assumptions that arise from researchers, identifying key themes in the visual objects studied, explaining justification strategies and effects. which is generated from visual media, explains the contradictions of the text on the object of study, sees the positioning of the text both visible and invisible and explains the social production of objects, namely the producer and location of the text, time, place and the intended audience (Rose, 2007, p. 107).

The message conveyed by the sender to the recipient can be packaged verbally with words or nonverbally without words. Communication whose messages are packaged verbally is called verbal communication, while communication whose messages are packaged nonverbally is called nonverbal communication. So, verbal communication is conveying meaning by using words. While nonverbal communication does not use words. From the two meanings, besides being seen in interpersonal communication, namely, face-to-face conducted by two or more people and contains various aspects in it both verbally and non-verbally.

Results and Discussion

Public resistance against the establishment of a cement factory PT Semen Indonesia has been going on for years which has been manifested in various movements, both through litigation and non-litigation movements. In carrying out the resistance, people are willing to sacrifice their energy, physical, material to life. This is motivated by the community's unwillingness if the land is mined because it will threaten human living space. The community has one determination to protect this living space from the threat of destroying nature, namely PT Semen Indonesia and its cronies. The following is a knowledge system and justification strategy behind the movement to reject the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang which was narrated by the community.

Modern Knowledge of the Movement to Reject the Establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang.

The community's persistence in fighting for the preservation of the North Kendeng Mountains is reflected in the knowledge produced. Through the various relationships they have, the community knows holistically what is in the mountains, both historically, natural potential and the culture that lives in them.

Watuputih CAT is part of the North Kendeng Mountains which is designated as a geological protected area based on the Rembang Regency Regulation Number 14 of 2011 concerning the Rembang Regency RTRW in 2011-2031 and as a water recharge area based on Central Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2010 concerning Regional Spatial Planning Central Java Province 2010-2030. This legal product further convinces the public that PT Semen Indonesia should not be in Rembang.

Local Wisdom Behind the Movement to Reject the Establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang.

The limestone mountains that stretch out and cover parts of Pati, Rembang, Grobogan and Blora regencies (Central Java), as well as in Tuban, Bojonegoro and Lamongan regencies (East Java Province) are named by residents as the North Kendeng Mountains. There is a living metaphor in society about the mountains as “a sleeping dragon”. That the North Kendeng Mountains are a unitary living being that must be supported, respected and should not be hurt. If nature is disturbed because of human activities, it is not impossible that nature can be angry and rage, like a dragon that is angry because it is disturbed from its sleep. This metaphor is manifested in a Javanese song entitled Mother Earth (Mother of the earth has give us, Mother of the earth destructed, Mother of the earth will judge, La ilaha illallah Muhammadur rasulullah) as a prayer, praise of nature and is used in every action as well as the spirit of the movement to save the North Kendeng Mountains.

For the people around Kendeng, farming is an identity. Socio-cultural agriculture cannot be replaced by material, nature is not to be exploited and rice fields are a cultural process and result of historical heritage. In addition, the welfare of society is not an accumulation in the context of capitalism, but rather the inner wealth and independence that is embraced from the ancestors. Natural law and local knowledge in the North Kendeng community believe that humans and nature have an essential relationship philosophy with the principle "Land is lost, we are extinct". So uprooting society from the living space (land) is the same as negating its existence.

History has recorded precisely in the 14th century, the area around the North Kendeng Mountains such as Demak, Pati, Rembang, Lasem, Gresik, Surabaya as a place for the spread of Islam by the guardians. The guardians embraced the teachings of Islam by being Javanese and becoming the property of the Javanese themselves or referred to as Javanese-Islam. Javanese Islam practices a ritual about the cycle of life which is commonly referred to as a salvation. A celebration of the salvation that God has given and the good life between humans and humans. In addition, the celebration of gratitude to nature that has

given life and safety is often called by the surrounding community as Sedekah Bumi or Brokohan.

Another history that tells about Kendeng is the existence of the just queen movement which is closely related to forced cultivation, precisely in the 19th century when the Dutch imposed taxes. A prominent figure in the North Kendeng Mountains is Samin Surosentiko by refusing to pay taxes and carrying out non-violent resistance. This had such a significant impact that the colonial government had to intervene to crush this movement.

These various historical dimensions and local knowledge shape the community through a long process of civilization. The process of civilization is ultimately embodied by the community in every movement of rejection with simplicity which is a condition of community identity. So for people who work as farmers, the presence of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang is not useful for them.

In order to justify the narrative, SeBumi and the community as the producers of the text use phrases as a justification strategy to strengthen and explain the resistance carried out by residents such as "spill blood, don't take it, mboten tiyang stupid farmers".

For the sake of the children and grandchildren of the community against the establishment of a cement factory.

As a place to rely on life, it is not impossible that the Kendeng Mountains will be damaged along with the natural wealth that has given human life if it is mined. So maintaining the preservation of kendeng is the same as ensuring the sustainability of human life in the future, including the future of our children and grandchildren.

The natural resources stored in the North Kendeng Mountains are utilized by the community to survive. For example, springs are used by residents in 14 sub-districts and 40% are used by PDAM Rembang. The government must think if it wants to give permits to industries or investors who want natural resources in the North Kendeng Mountains, treasures for thousands of human souls who rely on life in these mountains. Because the welfare of the people is a fixed price above everything that must be paid in full, including the interests of investors who aim to expand market share in the North Kendeng Mountains.

In order to confirm the above knowledge, the justification strategy used by the mural producers is the selection of phrases such as spill blood, don't take it, mboten tiyang bodho, for the sake of posterity, the future, kendeng belongs to the people, kendeng sustainable, treasures for the people, the use of phrases that explain that The resistance was carried out by the residents for nothing but for the sake of their children and grandchildren, the future, kendeng belonging to the people, sustainable kendeng, property for the people, land for farmers.

Society Rejects: Successor to the Struggle of RA Kartini and Soekarno

Excerpts of Ir. Soekarno "The revolution has not been completed" means that towards social welfare there are various stages, including the national revolution and the social revolution. The movement against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia was nothing but an effort towards a national or social revolution that Soekarno wanted.

Kartini's figure is clearly visible in the mural at the Liberation Command Post. Kartini's fighting spirit lives in the community because of her closeness to both movement and historical orientation, where Kartini was married by the Rembang Regent and was buried not far from the location of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia. If Kartini used to fight against feudalism through ideas and writings, it was different with women who fought against the destroyers of the North Kendeng Mountains to save nature. Both aim to liberate society. This then formed the narrative that the women who rejected the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang were dubbed the New Kartini or Kartini Rembang.

The presence of the figures of RA Kartini and Soekarno is nothing but a justification that what the people are fighting for is to continue what RA Kartini and Soekarno have fought for to fight oppression towards prosperity and social justice for the people of Indonesia.

Rembang is an Agrarian Region

Two-thirds of the people of Rembang have an agricultural household. The Kendeng Uatar Mountains as the largest water contributor area are certainly very vital for the lives of the Rembang people. In addition, socio-cultural agriculture over the years has shaped society with all the processes of civilization created. So land as a medium for farming is very important for the people of Rembang. As an agricultural area, people can live without cement because cement is not their main need. In contrast to land, most of the people's lives depend on the land.

Land as a necessity for the people of Rembang is manifested in murals that use common sense, the truth that is believed by everyone, as a justification strategy including the farmers of this country's food barn, everyone needs land, we can live without cement.

Understanding the concept of community resistance against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia.

If it is observed, the variety of resistance carried out by the people who opposed the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia almost never used violent means. Some forms of resistance carried out by the community are using songs, mortar sounds, local community traditions, murals etc. This diversity cannot be separated from two historical things in the North Kendeng Mountains.

First, the North Kendeng Mountains are close to the spread of Islam in coastal cities. In addition to being the center of maritime trade, the area is also the residence of the guardians who brought Islamic teachings to Java. Islam teaches new things about the relationship between humans and God and humans with nature, without shifting the teachings from Hinduism and Buddhism that have been believed by the Javanese for thousands of years.

To this day, the area believes in the teachings of Javanese Islam (a synthesis of Islamic teachings that came from outside by the Javanese and was Javanese, embracing it into something new belonging to the Javanese themselves). Islam-Javanese practice a variety of rituals related to the cycle of life (from the womb to the grave) called slametan. The substance of salvation is a celebration of two things, first, a celebration of gratitude for being given salvation by the Almighty, and secondly, a celebration of life together both between humans and between humans and nature. The earth alms tradition is an example of a form of salvation that celebrates gratitude to nature which has given life and safety to all villagers and is almost practiced by the Javanese community.

The second tradition is closely related to the social history of the Ratu Adil Movement, or can be classified as a millennial movement. Javanese history records that the birth of the Ratu Fair movement could not be separated from the implementation of the Cultivation System at the end of the 19th century which was considered miserable for Javanese farmers. This unrest resulted in a peasant rebellion against the Dutch colonial government. Based on data from the National Archives, peasant rebellions in Java in the early 20th century occurred almost evenly in Java, including in Tangerang, Pamanukan, Sukabumi, Ciasem, Kuningan (West Java), Pekalongan, Gombong, Semarang (Central Java). Mojokerto, Sidoarjo, Kediri and Jember (East Java). In what we now call the Kendeng Mountains, one of the most prominent resistances centered on a charismatic figure named Samin Surosentiko in the early 20th century. Samin Surosentiko carried out a different style of resistance than other Javanese peasants without violence, namely refusing to pay taxes to the Dutch colonial government. The Samin Surosentiko movement spread among farmers in the Mount Kendeng area and had such a big impact on the Dutch colonial government that it was necessary to suppress this movement.

Without understanding the local social historical traditions in the North Kendeng Mountains, as briefly described above, it will be difficult to understand how the characteristics of some people in the North Kendeng Mountains oppose the government's policies. The rejection of the Kendeng farmers against the establishment of a cement factory without using violence must be seen not only as a form of resistance to the narrowing of their living space as farmers, but also a series of history that shapes people's attitudes.

Subjects Positioned in the Mural

Based on the results of the overall analysis of the mural against the rejection of the establishment of a cement factory in Rembang, it was found which subjects were positioned in the mural. There are two kinds of subjects positioned in the mural, namely visible subjects and invisible subjects. The subjects positioned in the mural are grouped into the following categories:

1. Farmers

The subjects positioned (whether visible or invisible) are farmers as subjects who struggle to defend their land and preserve the North Kendeng Mountains for future human life.

2. PT Semen Indonesia

PT Semen Indonesia is positioned as a subject that becomes a source of disaster for the community and becomes an enemy of the people. In addition, PT Semen Indonesia is also considered a liar as well as a destroyer of the environment and a trigger for community polarization.

3. Capitalists, political elites, corruptors

The establishment of the cement factory PT Semen Indonesia did not stand alone but involved various political elements. The licensing process, of course, goes through several bureaucracies, including the local government that issues mining business permits and the provincial government that issues development permits and environmental impact analysis. The political elite in this case is the bureaucracy that has a role in passing the plan to establish a cement factory in Rembang. In addition, the elite is considered an enemy of the people because it causes misery, injures various existing legal products and there are indications of consuming people's money or acts of KKN. The next enemy of the people is the capitalists or the owners of capital and their cronies. In addition, the political elite in murals is often depicted as a wolf and a pig or a mouse. The symbol illustrates that the political elite is nothing but a greedy and cunning human being.

4. Police-soldier

The presence of the police-army in the case of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia clearly shows that he is a subject who is at the forefront of protecting PT Semen Indonesia and its cronies. In addition, the police and soldiers are part of the actors who take repressive actions against the community, so that they become one of the many enemies of the people.

5. Ganjar Pranowo

The name Ganjar Pranowo is the only political elite whose name is clearly visible in the murals produced by Sebumi and the community. The mural was produced in 2014 so that since the beginning of this case, Ganjar Pranowo has been designated by the residents as an enemy of the people because of his lame utterances.

6. Political parties

Political parties in this case are positioned as elements that must be resisted by the community because they are used as tools of power for entrepreneurs to expedite the investment process.

7. The community rejects

The community's rejection is nothing but the preservation and care of the northern Kendeng mountains, continuing Soekarno's struggle that in order to achieve social welfare, revolution must still be carried out and as the successor of RA Kartini to free society. The woman who fought against the establishment of a cement factory in Rembang was called the New Kartini.

8. The pro

community The pro community in this mural is positioned as a loser because they just stand by and watch the damage that threatens human survival.

9. Workers of PT Semen Indonesia

Another subject who is positioned in this case is the workers of PT Semen Indonesia who received a title from the community who refused to be a pest for farmers because they were the culprits of damage and disrupted farmers' productivity.

10. RA Kartini and Soekarno

The presence of the figures of Kartini and Soekarno in the mural is positioned as a subject for which today a new Kartini and a new Soekarno have been born to continue their struggle.

11. Artists

Artists are positioned as someone who has to defend the oppressed people, live the culture owned by the people, not the culture manipulated by the government.

In the conflict over the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, it is often seen on the surface that there are categorizations in society, namely people who reject and

people who accept the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. It is hoped that if a cement factory is established in Rembang, it can improve the economy of the surrounding community, create jobs and prosperity. This is believed by the people who accept the presence of PT Semen Indonesia. On the other hand, people who reject the establishment of factories believe that mining will destroy human living space. Watuputih CAT as a place to rely on people's lives has become the foundation of human survival with all the wealth that is stored. So maintaining the living space is the same as inheriting and maintaining the next generation of humans.

Furthermore, in the rejection movement, there are many parties who imply the existence of power relations in the discourse of rejection. The big discourse that was echoed was the rejection of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia for the sake of environmental sustainability. The definition and transformation of the discourse is certainly very varied. "The aim of the movement is to make people aware of the importance of preserving nature through tahlil congregations and other gatherings." (Zamroni, 2017).

At first the issue of the rejection of cement has been responded to by some people, through several stages, including raising public awareness about the importance of nature conservation and manifesting it in a rejection action. Along with the development of the issue, support from various groups has also colored the rejection movement, including the involvement of community leaders in Rembang. The presence of support from KH Zaim Ahmad Ma'sum, KH Ahmad Mustofa Bisri, Yahya cholil Staquf and other community leaders further strengthened the basis of the movement. This is because the typical Remang community respects these community leaders and believes in what is conveyed.

Then, the presence of these figures provided a system of knowledge about the reject movement, namely the importance of nature conservation based on a prophetic perspective through ways such as meetings, istighosah, tahlil and methods that already exist in other communities. "Besides preserving nature, the students want to maintain a pesantren-based culture in Rembang. The presence of PT Semen Indonesia will provide social change for the community" (Zamroni, 2017).

As time goes by, the dynamics of conflict are increasingly complex. The complexity of the conflict requires the community to cooperate with outside Rembang parties, both academics, environmental activists and anyone who has a passion for nature conservation. From this side, various parties began to enter including the Samin community from Sukolilo, LBH, Walhi, academics and students and one of them was SeBumi.

Ubaidillah Achmad, one of the leaders who accompanied the community, explained that the number of parties involved in the case certainly affected the pattern of movement carried out. He acknowledged the existence of a variety of movements through a process of

complementary dialogue between the rejecting community and other elements involved in the resistance struggle. "I will only come if the activity is like *istighosah* or a grand recitation" (Ubaidillah, 2017). On the other hand he also regrets some movements that actually hurt the residents themselves, such as cast legs which have been carried out by the community several times.

In addition, the political constellation at the regional to national levels also colored the complexity of the conflicts that occurred. The licensing process has been running since 2010 with the issuance of a Mining Business Permit issued by the Regent of Rembang M Salim. In 2012 the Governor of Central Java, Bibit Waluyo, granted an environmental permit for the mining and construction activities of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. Both permits contradict the regional regulations of Central Java Province and the regional regulations of Rembang Regency which state that the Watu Putih CAT area is a water catchment area and a geological protected area. However, in reality, the district and provincial governments have ignored these regulations. In 2013 Central Java had a new Governor whose one of the missions was Central Java Ijo Royo-royo. The mission is a breath of fresh air for the community. However, as time went on, Ganjar Pranowo actually worsened the conflict. At first he advised the public to take legal action and the government would accept whatever decision was made. On this suggestion, the community sued PT Semen Indonesia to the Semarang Administrative Court. Based on the decision of the Administrative Court, the public's lawsuit is considered expired because it is more than 90 days from the permit issued. After being rejected by the PTUN, the community submitted a review at the Supreme Court level which in the end the lawsuit was won by the community over PT Semen Indonesia. A few days later, Ganjar issued a new permit for PT Semen Indonesia because the old permit granted to PT Semen Indonesia in 2012 had been canceled by the Supreme Court. In addition, Joko Widodo instructed the Ministry of Environment and Forestry to make a strategic environmental study. KLHS recommends that the Watuputih CAT should not be mined. But again, the decision was not implemented and Joko Widodo tended to allow many violations by the Governor or Regent.

Then the presence of SeBumi which aims to help the struggle of the community through art has also colored the pattern of the movement. The presence of murals in the community is something new. "Those who understand better with the pictures are the ones who make the pictures, I know it's pictures of mountains or things that I often see." (Prianto, 2017). Based on Prianto's explanation, not all the images in the mural can be understood by the public. This is of course an oddity because the original intention of SeBumi was to help the community, but in reality, the public did not understand what SeBumi had created, in this case murals. Based on the researcher's analysis, there are several symbols that will only

be understood by people from SeBumi itself. This shows that the presence of SeBumi also dominates society through the symbols it makes.

Conclusions and suggestions

Based on the results of critical discourse analysis on the murals produced by the community against PT Semen Indonesia and Sebumi located in the Liberation Center and several murals in Timbrangan Village and Tegal Dowo Village, it can be concluded that from a discourse perspective, the conflict was motivated by differences in interests between the government elite and the elite. company with the local community. The government and companies only focus on economic rationality and policy authorities who often ignore the culture of the people and the long-term impact of environmental damage.

In addition, the people who reject the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia have high political literacy. This is evidenced by how the community materializes the knowledge of the rejection of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia holistically, both looking at socio-cultural, movement strategies, wisdom, history and related policies through murals produced right in the area closest to the factory establishment.

Some of the knowledge produced includes knowledge about First, there is modern knowledge produced by the community, namely the Watuputih CAT as part of the North Kendeng Mountains which is a geological protected area based on Rembang Regency Regulation number 14 of 2011 concerning the Rembang Regency RTRW in 2011-2031 and as an recharge area water based on Central Java Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2010 concerning the 2010-2030 Central Java Province Spatial Plan.

Second, there is local wisdom that lives in the community, namely the social construction of limestone mountains that stretch and cover parts of Pati, Rembang, Grobogan and Blora regencies (Central Java), as well as in Tuban, Bojonegoro and Lamongan regencies (East Java Province) named by residents as Mountains. North Kendeng. The metaphor of a sleeping dragon is pinned by the community for the North Kendeng Mountains, that the mountains have a life system like other living things. The meaning of the metaphor is expressed by the community in a song entitled Mother Earth as the spirit of movement and prayer.

In addition, the choice to farm is an identity for the community. The socio-cultural community says that nature is not to be exploited and rice fields are a cultural process and the result of historical heritage. For the community, the independence and inner wealth adopted from the ancestors are manifestations of prosperity. Then, in essence, humans and

nature have a philosophical relationship "Land is lost, we are extinct", so that uprooting society from living space is the same as negating its existence.

In the historical records of the 14th century, the area around the North Kendeg Mountains is a place for the spread of Islam-Javanese (owned by the Javanese) by the guardians. In the 19th century, there was a fair queen movement in the North Kendeg Mountains which carried out non-violent resistance and refused to pay taxes by the colonial government. One of the figures of the fair queen is Samin Surosentiko.

Third, the struggle carried out by the people who rejected the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia was none other than to maintain human living space, for the sake of posterity. The natural resources in the North Kendeng Mountains are a place for human life to rely on it.

Fourth, the people who reject the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia are part of the successor to what RA Kartini and Soekarno dreamed of. RA Kartini fought against feudalism through writing and society refused to fight for the space of human life, both of which were aimed at liberating humans. Soekarno wanted a national revolution and a social revolution aimed at the welfare of the people. The refusal to establish PT Semen Indonesia to maintain natural resources and the human environment is for nothing but prosperity.

Fifth, Rembang is an agricultural area, not an industrial area. Two-thirds of household types in Rembang are agricultural. So that the North Kendeng Mountains as the largest water contributor area have a vital role for the survival of the people of Rembang.

In their struggle, the community also produces knowledge about PT Semen Indonesia itself, including, firstly, the presence of PT Semen Indonesia triggers community polarization. This can be seen by the labeling that exists in the community about "pro society" and "contra society". The labeling affects social relations in society at large.

Second, to the public, PT Semen Indonesia is a liar. This can be seen by not disclosing information regarding the plan to establish a factory. In addition, the welfare narrative that is echoed is not in accordance with the sociological profile of the surrounding community.

Third, the political elite was involved in the conflict over the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia. In 2010, Rembang Regent M Salim issued the PT SI mining business license number 545/68/2010. Then, the Governor of Central Java, Bibit Waluyo, issued a construction permit for PT Semen Indonesia and an Environmental Impact Analysis numbered 668.1/17 in 2012. In addition, the apparatus acted repressively against residents and protected PT Semen Indonesia and the corruptors behind the plan.

Fourth, in the conflict the democratic instruments did not function properly. Political parties and elections that are expected to be able to voice the aspirations of the people in reality only dramatize the existing conflicts. The political constellation at the regional,

provincial and national levels has resulted in a deadlock in responding to the conflicts that have occurred.

Fifth, the existence of PT Semen Indonesia and its workers threatens the productivity of farmers. Water stores, pollinating bats, etc. that speed up farmers' harvests will be lost if the North Kendeng Mountains are mined.

There are several subjects in the mural that color the complexity of the conflict, both visible and invisible. The subjects included farmers, PT Semen Indonesia, capitalists, political elites, corruptors, police-army, Ganjar Pranowo, political parties, oppositional communities, pro society, PT Semen Indonesia workers, RA Kartini and Soekarno, artists/activists. The position of the subject is determined by attitude, awareness, work and interests.

In this study, there are power relations that work in the complexity of the conflict. These powers can be seen in the strengthening of the movement against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia. The presence of community leaders, environmental activists, academics, LBH, Walhi, journalists, students provided strengthening of discourse, knowledge and justification for the absence of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. It is impossible for the rejection movement to take place if there is no power at work in supporting the discourse of rejection. On the other hand, the rejection movement will not exist if knowledge about nature conservation and PT Semen Indonesia is not produced by the community. Discourse does not become true without knowledge and power in it.

In the conflict, the community refused to deal with the pro society who was supported by the apparatus and thuggery. In order to launch a plan to establish a factory, PT Semen Semen Indonesia together with the Governor of Central Java, the Rembang Regency Government, village and sub-district officials worked hand in hand to justify the legitimacy of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia with other discourses, resulting in a discourse struggle between the people who rejected the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia. Semen Indonesia with the pro community and all elements involved. Political elites and corporate elites are not directly involved in the conflict, but through the pro community, the apparatus or the thuggery that occurs and the regulations they make.

The conflict in the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, often seen on the surface, is that there are categorizations in society, namely those who reject and those who accept the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. On the surface, the community movement against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia looks uniform. However, it is undeniable that in the rejection movement there are elements involved running according to their respective missions wrapped in the discourse of rejection. The big

discourse that was echoed was the rejection of the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia for the sake of environmental sustainability.

In addition, the murals produced by SeBumi only depict a small part of the conflict. The presence of SeBumi also gives dominance to the community through the symbols and narratives set forth in the mural. This is clearly seen when the researcher asks the public about the meanings in the narrative. However, the public admitted that they did not know the overall meaning of the mural created by SeBumi. On the other hand, the presence of SeBumi provides a new form of resistance for the community to strengthen the strategy of the discourse of rejection.

The movement against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang succeeded in urging a series of important policies to be taken by the government. The resistance movement against the establishment of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang has prompted the birth of a Strategic Environmental Study (KLHS) Policy for the Sustainable Utilization and Management of the Kendeng Mountains. The decision recommends applying the precautionary principle (pre-cautionary principle) and prevention principle (prevention principle) to the utilization and management of the North Kendeng Mountains, especially the disputed area and the abundance of natural resources. In addition, KLHS also recommends the improvement of policies, plans, and programs contained in the National Spatial Plan, Central Java Provincial Spatial Plan, and Regency Spatial Plan related to policies for the sustainable use and management of the Kendeng Mountains. The policy was made at the request of the public to President Joko Widodo.

Then, the community won the lawsuit in MA. The Supreme Court, through its Decision Number 99 PK/TUN/2016, has declared the victory of the Plaintiffs/Appellers/Petitioners for PK, namely Joko Prianto, et al and the Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Foundation (WALHI), which one of the rulings: CANCEL the object of the dispute in the form of a Decree (SK) Governor of Central Java Number 660.1/17 of 2012 concerning Environmental Permit for Mining Activities by PT Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk, in Rembang Regency, Central Java Province after going through a long litigation path.

Such a series of decisions was impossible because of the good will of the government. It is the social movements of the people that encourage policy changes to occur through justifications and the discourses produced.

Reflecting on the Rembang conflict, environmental issues are a political issue because they talk about power and authority that meet in a policy . In order to realize environmental justice, all elements of society must have ethics on the environment. Deep ecology seeks to provide a way out of the impasse of natural destruction by changing the

perspective that all entities that exist in nature are integrated into one unit and have the same value and position.

In addition, examining the environmental movement in Indonesia recently, people who are opposed to corporations use cultural strategies to narrate discourse practices. This is done because the movement will have a long breath and in accordance with the movement of the people.

Notes on contributor

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