

The Samin Community in the Globalization Era: Role the Religion of Adam in the Post-Cement Industry Advocacy

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Abstract: Religion often understood as an opposite and irrelevant thing to the globalization. This paper, however, seeks to explain the different perspective. By examining the Samin movement in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, the local faith of religion of Adam had proven that it was an important aspect in the current era. It had been emphasized to the believe that the earth is mother for all, the Saminists or *sedulur Sikep* had played a significant role in the cancellation the cement company or industry and activities the post-cancellation by doing reforestation. It is using a narrative method of writing, this paper elucidated the history of the Samin movement and the current dynamics of its activities, either in the local, national, and global context. Through the successful of the environment advocacy program, the Saminists now is on the crossroad of its position in community, particularly dealt with the education and teaching transmission in the future.

Keywords: religion and globalization, local faith, religion of Adam, the Samin or *Sikep* movement, cement industry and environment, social advocacy, Central Java.

I. Introduction

This paper aims at traces the history of the Samin community –afterward, it could be called as the Saminists or the *Sikep*, particularly those located in Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java, Indonesia, and its religious faith; and how today do they adapt and negotiate it amid of globalization. Then, how they transmit the core of the Saminism (teaching) to the younger people of community? What media they are using to transmit the teaching? Additionally, regarding the cement company or industry that used to be planted in the area nearby the Samin community, how they give response to the company that is a representative of global capitalism? Does local faith they adopted perform active communication to resist the hand of political and economic global power? This paper seeks to interrogate the question.

By implementing a kind of illiterate stance, the Saminists in the past had tried never to pay taxes neither engaged in social services to the Dutch government. Observing a different faith with other religious group, *abangan*, *santri* and *priyayi*, the Samin community was developing a way of life of free and equal style of life among members internally. It had been living in isolation with other community, the Saminists giving an impress that they are adopting ignorance, either in social or cultural life. They do not go to school, and arranging marriage on their own style of rites, and building a funeral site or graveyard separate with others (Castles 1969).

The Samin movement or Saminism believe that Samin Surosentika was born, probably in 1859, in a village near Randublatung in the southern part of Blora regency, Central Java was the founder of the movement. He was an

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ordinary peasant, the owner of 3 *bau* (about 5 acres) of ricefield. Started about 1905, Samin and his followers began to withdraw from common village life, refusing to contribute to rice banks (*lumbung desa*) or to keep their animals with the common herds (Castles 1969, 210). Since then, this movement bring about administrative problem to the Dutch colonial government. Even though it was not categorized as national movement, however, Saminism was felt a threatening movement. The origin of this movement is influenced by some factors, either economy or poverty (Castles 1969), or political related to the concept of messianic or *Ratu Adil* (Korver 1976). In this context, dealt with the economic background of the Samin movement, first we need to look back to the Cultivation system as historical background.

II. Cultivation System and the Samin Movement

The Post-Java War (1825-1830), the Dutch undergone an economy bankruptcy (Koentjaraningrat 1990, Lombard 2000, Ricklefs 2007), and therefore, to solve such a situation, the Dutch Government promoted Johannes van den Bosch to implement *Cultuurstelsel* –the cultivation system. This system itself was an effort of the government to develop a sort of an agricultural industry to mobilize and empower the rural Java sources (Fasseur 1992, 26-27, Niel 1992, 64).

In terms of policy, this system was construed that the government was seeking to gain agricultural products in the price as lower as possible and then to sell them in the higher price in international market (Fasseur 1992, 27). It could be defined as a form of industrial exploitation of rural Java with which the government using power and its influence on force farmers developing the export-oriented tropical crops (coffee, sugar cane, indigo and then followed by tobacco, tea, pepper, and other crops in smaller scale). By selling these crops in higher price in international market was in order to fulfil the government cash that was at time was empty (Fasseur 1992, Vlekke 2008, 319-395); this system implemented by using the traditional pattern of power i.e. loyalty, corvee and other traditional community services to generate a productive that headed by Javanese traditional elites and controlled and guided by European administrative officer (Niel 1992).

Contrary, in Javanese perspective, this system was an obligation and even more compulsory for farmers or villages to submit one-fifth of their land for the crops that the government had been selected and do free-wages community service for 66 days per annum (Koentjaraningrat 1990, 61). Therefore, people called this system was *Tanam Paksa* (forced cultivation), and to implement, the forced mobilization of labour was the important key (Simbolon 1995, 115).

As it was noted by Max Havelaar, instead to rise profit for people, this agricultural system was caused a great deal of hardship and discontent (Penders 1984, 13). The creative ideas and trade-economic activities has been achieved by Javanese community in the previous era now totally loss and what was remained was a kind of slave mentality: no initiative, wait for a command, and compromise. Indication for such a situation was the more Javanese people prefer working as *babu* (female slave) and *jongos* (male slave) in the house of the Dutch families (Lombard 2000, 82-83) than working as merchant or trader. Now, social role of merchant or trader was taken over by hand of Arabic and Chinese people (Fasseur 1992, 26-55, Ricklefs 2007, 25).

The government report of 1850 stated that there was a kind of power abuses taking place in all plantation area thoroughly, particularly dealt with land taxes and labour mobilization (Castles 1969). The aggregated implementation of the system among village head and *priyayi* (aristocrat) had been caused people had to paid more than normal. This situation, according to the report, give result local leaders were gaining more profit, while people were on hard or difficult situation (Fasseur 1992, 41, Lombard 2000, 75, Niel 1992, 83-84). This showing that there was a process of impoverishment coming to people many times and subsequently. On the one hand, the Dutch colonial implemented a policy that come to an end of vanishing of food sources due to rice field had to be changed into industrial field. In the other hand, the local elites exploited the taxes system to enrich themselves. In Java, where the cultivation system was in force, some people moved from one area to another where the system was not in existence (Penders 1984). Or, if were not able to move because of poverty, they

were seeking to avoid the local elites or Dutch government by implementing a passive resistance as the Samin community was doing it (Castles 1969, Vickers 2005).

The Samin movement that started its activity in Blora also was construed as a reaction to the hardest situation of economic, in the form of millenarism (Korver 1976). They were facing such hard situation wanted to have a better one in the future, and role of the leader was important to lead them go forward to the ideal or dreamed situation. What the leader done were an example and they should follow them to be a means of salvation. Refuse to pay taxes, disengage to community services, and proceed a group separate from other group in community were the forms of socio-economic activities, and it was a kind of soft resistance to the hard situation (Castles 1969) resulted from the implementation of the cultivation system thoroughly in Java.

III. Local Faith in the Global Context

To develop and proceed the further life, the Samin community emphasize a kind of believe or faith that stressing on the self-reliance: disengage and defy to others. This faith is a kind of identity and it gives them a different image with other community. By keeping this faith, the Samin community seeks to survive and, in some degree, to develop a relationship with other groups in the surrounding community. Even though, the relationship had been made them undergone a kind of discrimination, and moreover, the worst, they are stigmatized as a group that was as an underdeveloped one.

Therefore, it is important to locate the Samin community in the framework how the local faith survive in the global context; how the faith they have –that are not linked to the world religion—do support the Samin community to navigate itself in facing the changing age today? In addition, does it possible by implementing such a local faith, that is based on the spirit “to improve behaviour and keep the utterance”, the Samin community still relevance to resist the material-based spirit today? If so, how they do implement the resistance to the global-support corporation, particularly the Germany-based cement company? How the religion of the Samin community is playing an important role by emphasizing that the earth as mother of people? How the faith that based on sexuality does become an important key in analysing the rise of the new spirit of the environment movement? How the Samin community, eventually, does play a decisive role of the non-violent resistance in the field of the environment movement?

The faith the Samin community develop is dealt with sexual activity or life. They called the religion they observed, which is the faith derived, as “*agama Adam*”, the religion of Adam. What they mean here as Adam is utterance. It means the religion of Adam is dealt with how the utterance is to be practiced in the real life. Furthermore, in one interview on the religion and faith, it was stated as following:

“Agama niku ageman/gaman/ugeman; Adam pangucap. Agama Sikep niku: mbecikna laku, ngugemi ucap; Agamane wong Sikep niku, ya ngugemi ucape dewe; punika butuh temenan!”³

Religion here means as a cloth –to cover the body, a weapon –to do a sexual activity or earn some money, an utterance –to perform a personal identity. For the Samin community religion is behaviouristic religion or practical religion. Religion is to be a meaningful religion if it has a function. Therefore, the function of religion is to improve the behaviour and to keep the utterance. How does the Samin community practice their religion?

Gamane wong lanang rabi, gamane wong wedok lathi: gaman kanggo apa? Kanggo nglakoni Sikep.⁴

³Religion is a cloth/weapon/utterance; Adam is a kind of utterance. The religion of Sikep is to improve behaviour, keep the utterance; it means the religion of Sikep is to believe what they are speaking in the real life; it is need a serious effort.

The man's religion or weapon is to marry, and woman's is to keep and manage of her tongue. Both weapons are to set a family. A family is set up after man's and woman's weapons are meet each other in the sexual intercourse. This is the rite should be taking place after a man, who want to marry a woman, submit a kind of proposal to her parent of overstay voluntarily. Once the sexual rites are taking place for the first time, since that both persons are officially as family, and they had been done an action of *Sikep* –meaning literally is to embrace.

“Wonten kalih tatanan utawi ajaran: Yen bengi tatanane wong, yen rino toto nggauto; punika tatanan wong sikep sing pun nglampahi pirukun”⁵

When Saminist doing a *Sikep*, embrace, a new family has been set up. Since then, the teaching of Saminism or *Sikep* is fully applicated. In the day, man ploughs and cultivates the land, and in the night practices the sexual activity.⁶ Both activities are implemented in the same spirit or mysticism of sexual activities, the underlying motives are love and steadfastness. Moreover, sexual and mystical beliefs of the Saminists were accompanied by simple ethical teachings, as follows: they do not be idle; do not steal; do not commit adultery; then, they behave patiently; if insulted remains silent; not ask money or food from anyone; but if anyone asks food or money of him, he gives it (Castles 1969). In addition, the Saminists accorded their women far more respect than was true of their *abangan* neighbours, an attitude quite in accordance not only with the movement's stress on matters marital and sexual but also with its egalitarian notions in general (Castles 1969, 228)

This is the sexuality-based religion that assume to enable them to survive in the global context today. Why? Globalization, which is emphasizing secularity and modernity, had systematically shifted the role of religion from public area –that is lived up by the logic of rationality (Beyer 1994). It gives result that religion is becoming something more personal or had been privatizing. In the global context that the more complicated, the private religion is no longer playing at all. Therefore, to be a relevance one, religion should apply the public performance (Beyer 1994, 102). Consequently, the mode of communication approach is necessity. How religion or faith that is personal does able to communicate through the media to support professional performance so that it could give a positive contribution (Adi 2017), particularly in the social movement at large?

The Saminists believe that the age is not changing, what seen changing is the people itself. Therefore, the personal quality of people is the key to facing the world today. The more people know and understand to the self, the more she/he able to adapt the life. Today, they are no longer neither paying taxes nor deny to the government, but still they keep the distance with other people of the surrounding community to maintain the religion they observed socially. What they practice, particularly in the environment, now giving an impact to community: the Saminists played a significant role in the advocacy programme to resist the existence the cement company or industry by emphasizing on the earth as mother, or kind of fertility cult in the past. It was inspired by the value of the religion of Adam, the Saminists had been important actor of the pre-and post-cement industry advocacy activities.

IV. Illiteracy and Ignorance: Samin's Social Faith

⁴The weapon of the man is to marry, and the weapon of the woman is to speak; both weapons are what for? It is all to embrace (doing sexuality).

⁵There are two order or teaching: night is for people (doing a sexual relationship), day is for working; these are the life order of *Sikep*, those who had been marriage

⁶ It was based on his research, Castles stated that the account of Saminist beliefs cannot claim completeness. What for instance, lies behind the formula "Bumi, adji, djaman" (Earth, incantation, age) which new converts to Saminism had to pronounce? Quoted from Onghokham, Castles (Castles 1969) suggested that such a teaching supposedly, were dealing with a relic of an agricultural fertility cult.

The sub-group of the Samin movement of Pati supposed the origin was recalcitrant Saminist headed by Karsijah (Castles 1969, 213, Korver 1976, 252), that had been emphasized on to defy the government. However, previously, in Blora there was an accident that Samin Surosentiko –the founder of Saminism—had been arrested by the Dutch government as to on a charge of the assume the title of raja, at the Satu Suro accident, 14 February 1907. After such an accident, it was told that no taxes would have to be paid and teak wood could be taken from the forests at will (Castles 1969, 212-213). This incident was liable to explode a violent, and finally, forced the Saminist in Blora scattered or dispersed to another area in Central Java, included those who flee to Pati.

The Samin movement of Pati still continue to emphasize on two important things: no pay taxes and disengage in collective work in rural level. Of course, these give result social political impact, for instance, people threaten to bring them to jail or to drive out them from the land they occupied –a kind of ostracism. In facing such a situation, the Saminist develop two social mechanism to prevent them make a contact with community: (1) not go to school, and (2) not trading to earn money. Both are a kind of siege to protect them from social activities and not to make a contact or conflict with other member of community.

The Saminist, subsequently, develop an attitude of ignorance or illiterate to survive their life, so with no make trading is to prevent a social contact between people. It means they had ignored the social connection among community members. It had been emphasizing on the endogamic marriage, the Saminist enable to perpetuate the teaching and way of life that they inherited since the Dutch colonial time, and it stressed on the egalitarianism (Castles 1969, 215). In addition, no make trading beside to avoid social contact, such a thing is inexplicable due to in their perception it has no good values in ethical outlook. The Saminist is very emphasizing on the honesty (Dewi Setyaningrum 2017), therefore, trading is potential to be a means of do away from cultivating the land, as farmers. The Saminists lived in hope of a "Lord of the Land" –that in the past they thoughtfully: at whose coming they would inherit all the best things, when the Dutch and Javanese officials would be dispossessed or humiliated (Castles 1969, 229).

It is worthy to note that illiteracy and ignorance are kind of social faith to develop the life. By implementing social faith, it is a social strategy to navigate the social life; and adopt these, people let them develop a different style of life. Yet, other community is not intervening the life the Saminist lived out. On the one hand, illiteracy and ignorance are the means to protect Saminism tradition and teaching; but on the other, they undergone a social exclusion. Today because of the changing political context, the Saminists now had been considered and paid attention by the government, either at the village or provincial level. Even though, social exclusion is no longer taking place, social relation they had developed is not bringing about a deep relation between the Saminists and other members of community.

What the most important here is how the Saminists, particularly the children manage a distance with the formal school, when the world is really opened for all? Dealt with the education, how the Saminists pass down the teaching to the next generation if they do not have any record and mechanism of transmission? Do they possible to keep distance with the formal education and manage the movement of the anti-school or education –that in the past was explicated as an alien and need to make a distance with them? We will discuss in the following pages.

V. Unformal Literacy and Negotiation of Dogma Transmission

In one interview, we asked to the resource person on how to transmit the Saminism teaching to the younger generation, if they are illiterate? Gun Narti explained:

“Kula matur kaliyan bapak mara sepuh punapa saged para lare sinau maca-tulis, nggih tulisan Jawa utawi latin umume? Bapak marengaken. Mung bapak weling: ‘Boca-bocah ora kudu melu sekolah!’”⁷

Gun Narti was fortunate, because when she was childhood, her parent allowed her to go to school, until Grade 5 of elementary school. Some insults and mockeries caused her to leave the school. The basic knowledge of literacy is now going to transfer to children to equip them in responding the changing life context. It was of her parent she got a lesson on literacy of Javanese letter –as a means of the Samin community transmission of teaching.

The genuine education for the Samin community is on the life itself. Knowledge is not origin from the book or paper-based material. Knowledge is lying down on the inner or esoteric, *Buku Siten*: a book that was written in a diligent or discipline, *telaten* through utterance, *tuturan* and it was practiced in the form of real action, *kelakuan*. This is what the Samin community called a real school. The school is not in the form of a building or a formal process. Due to:

“Mekaten punika (sekolah) ngedohken lare saking ajaran Sikep; lare malah nggadahi pepinginan lan lali apa maknane Sikep sejati, tata ngauto sandang pangan”⁸

To keep manage the Samin teaching sustained, the best way is the children are not going to school, are not going to mosque, and family is to be a true school of life. It means in the nuclear family children are having a true lesson from their parents. Literacy or capacity to read and write is felt only a means to socialize with others, but the transmission of the Samin community’s teaching and knowledge is on the family itself. Gun Narti provide a literacy class at least once a week. Some teaching materials that are giving to the children are always linked to the values of the Samin or Sikep community, for example, twenty Sikep rules that every *Sikep* must observe – the so-called *angger-angger pratikel* (abstinence of behaviours): they should not have: *drengki* (malice); *srei/kemiren* (jealousy); *panasten* (irritability or hatred of each other); *colong* (stealing); *pethil* (miserly); *jumput* (take (steal) a little; such as shoplifting); *nemu* (find and claim goods); *dagang* (trade); *kulak* (wholesale); *blantik* (broker); *mbakul* (sell); *nganakno duit* (moneylender); *mbujuk* (lie); *apus* (scheming); *akal* (being tricky); *krenah* (give bad advice); *ngampungni pernah* (not return favors); *dawen* (accuse without proof); *nyiyonyiyo marang sepodo* (disgrace others); and *bedog* (alleges) (Putri 2017).

Beside family, a kind of school to transmit the Sikep knowledge and teaching is also conducted through cultural media, for instance traditional music and song (*gamelan dan tembang*), that it could take place regularly on home or collective house of the Samin community. In the last place, the children got lessons on the philosophy of the Samin community in the forms of song and other cultural forms that are sustained by them.

VI. Active Communication as Public Performance: The Post- Cement Company Case in Kendeng Area

The Saminists of Pati that living amidst globalization are not only struggling to navigate of the teaching and themselves to survive. They are also to play an important role in campaigning of cement company refusal and take a significant part after it. When we stayed and observed the Saminist complex in Pati, Gun Narti, the woman Saminist leader, in one Monday morning had been went around to generate the environment programme. They seek to replant the ex-area of teak wood forest and now undergone deforestation. This area

⁷I asked for permission to my father-in-law whether children having literacy, either in Javanese or Latin letter? He gives me permission and stated that the children don’t have to go to school!”

⁸Such a school is making children go away from the Sikep teaching; by doing such a thing, children have ambition and forget to the genuine meaning of Sikep, an order to do a genuine life.

previously would be used as the location for building the cement-company. On the one occasion, dealt with the replanting activities, Gun Narti, said:

“Menawi mboten digarap, mangkih kangelan nukulke bibit; sadaya sedulur Sikep kedah nanem pohon; alas niku sumbering gesang sadaya sedulur Sikep.”⁹

In the past, the Kendeng Mountain was source of magical power of the Saminists. Therefore, for them, Kendeng is a place which they should secure because they assume to that place is the ancestral coming from and where they will go. It is also noticeable that in the past the typical Saminist villages were generally on or near the margins of the forest (Castles 1969, 221), particularly around Kendeng Mountain. Long before, when the forest had not been secure as commercial area, all people free to enter and get some benefits. The Saminists' formula on the land, forest water is: "*Lemah pada duwé, banyu pada duwé, kayu pada duwé*" (Land, water and wood are the property of all). This is the ignorance stance of the Saminists that encourage them free to enter the forest.

The Dutch government then implemented the law that the forest was the closed and commercial area, and any people who enter the forest should bring with them permission from the Forest Service or Administrator. Since then, any attempt of the Saminists went into the forest give rise any problems. The teak forest was prohibited for any practice of agriculture carried out by outside people. As a result, in many villages where land was scarce the people petitioned that forest land be opened for agriculture, but the Forest Service always refused. Transactions involving the exchange of land between peasants and the service also caused trouble. Sometimes, after surrendering his old plot, the peasant was forbidden to plough the newly cleared plot he had received on the ground that a few teak trees were still standing (Castles 1969, 223).

Today, resulting from the resignation of the cement company, the forest area surrounding of Kendeng Mountain is open for all. Therefore, it had been developed the religion of Adam that emphasized on the practice of agriculture as a source basic of life, the Saminists seek to reclaim and defence the area of Kendeng Mountain functioning as the field of religious practices of agriculture. It looks upon the spreading area of the Saminists that located around Kendeng Mountain how closed they were to the forest life. Even more there had been speak out that Kendeng Mountain is the origin of the Saminists (Putri 2017).

Such a statement is a reality, and it had been proven by advocacy processes which they were bravely to support all stakeholder that involved in the advocacy. This stance is indicated that they seek to defend Kendeng is as a protecting area. As mentioned above, once again, by implementing agriculture or farming as a basic source of life and the practice of the religious faith, the Saminists got support from many stakeholders: NGOs and the environment activists either national or international. In addition, it was supported by scientific research on the environment it had proven that Kendeng is the forest area that need to protect and conserve. The Kendeng significantly is as a water provider and indicator of [soil] fertility that are needed to conserve the Sikep's peasant tradition. For the Sikep protecting Kendeng is also their way to expresses their observance to Agama Adam, or what the Sikepin Pati and Kudus said as a way of keeping up what their ancestors have told them. The Sikep believes that the Kendeng mountains are the mythological place of origin of the Javanese people (Putri 2017).¹⁰

It was based on another social research, the Kendeng area is also archaic site where from the archaeological point of view, there had been archaic people supposed to be here. Therefore, these mythological narratives now accompanied with archaeological ones are supported to the religious aspect of the Saminists' faith on the land and agriculture. In practice, the local people now consider the actual potential and significance of the Kendeng Mountains as the main reason for them to be preserved sustainably; and it is the basic reason why the existence of the cement company had to be rejected. Shortly, these non-material elements of Kendeng then enrich the perceived meaning of the mountains to go beyond a merely physical phenomenon of karst region

⁹If this land is not to proceed, it gives result is hard to grow seed; all brother *Sikep* should plant the tree; the forest is source of life for all people, particularly for the *Sikep*.

¹⁰ Samin Surosentiko predicted would return to Java in the golden age, when many *Sedulur Sikep* would come from Blora and around the Kendeng mountains to Pati. (Korver 1976, 252-253).

and into an entity that consist of karst, springs, biodiversity, and socio-cultural elements that are inseparable from all the living things around it. (Putri 2017, 90).¹¹

Once the cement company discontinue the process building, the empty area surrounding Sukolilo need to be an area of reforestation. The cancellation of the cement company was supported by the Saminists, especially Gun Narti. She went to Germany to accomplish a request of environmental NGO, for instance, 'Watch Indonesia' to do roadshow in ten cities across Germany and perform 'Samin vs. Semen' movie. The main agenda was to talk to the management of Heidelberg-Cement to review and cancel their plan to exploit Kendeng Mountains (Putri 2017, 51). It had been emphasized on the Saminists life was very depended to the land, this roadshow project was gaining a positive result by cancelling and resigning the company from the extractive project of Pati.

Reforestation process of Sukolilo area is an urgency for the Saministas to the spirit of life that locate farming as an important element, either socially or in the mysticism perspective. Therefore, in facing such a situation, the leader of the Saminists need to carry out a leadership action. In this context, Gun Narti is called up to ethical responsibility of reforestation because she takes part in campaigning of the cement-company cancellation in Germany. Consequently, she very actives to perform communication, particularly among NGOs and the member of the Saminists in several groups and stressing the importance the land for the life. Even more, she told them that:

*"Tiyang tani punika ngreksa bumi. Punika ajaran Sikep sing kedah lestari. Kita dedonga lan ngucap kagem bumi"*¹²

It has been emphasized that the farmer is as the earth's protector, Gun Narti bravely stated that the importance of the local faith they adhered as a people of the Sikep or Samin. The main task of the Sikep is to do farming and not trading or any other. They do not have to go to school because it will make them away from the basic calling as farmers, the earth's protector. In such a spirit, she almost went around every day from one and other places to encourage the Sikep reforesting the Kendeng Mountain that left empty by the cement company.

Putri in her research also supported to what we are stating: it was like those in Pati, the *Sedulur Sikep* Kudus also claim to be upholding their peasant identity by keeping their livelihoods as farmers. Because some of their member's farmland is located in Sukolilo and Wotan – Pati, an area which could be affected by the cement industry, the *Sedulur Sikep* in Kudus are inevitably bound to the anti-cement movement due to their consciousness on land, resources, and the vital role of the environment in conserving their peasantry (Putri 2017, 113).

VII. Concluding Remarks

The Samin or Sikep community is still treated by other members community as the group of people in underdeveloped life. The religion they observed also felt as a social deviance, and in some degree is construed as atheist. Consequently, they are object of some discrimination action in the community. However, what for a long time is felt as underdeveloped or backwardness now has given a significant impact, particularly in the advocacy program of the cement company or industry. Even though, they are not the main actor, what they perform is giving a positive and significant result.

¹¹The Kendeng mountains partly located in Pati, a section which would later be known as Sukolilo Karst Region. This part of the Kendeng mountains stretches approximately 19,472 ha, of which Pati alone covers 11,802 ha, and in District Sukolilo with 1,682 ha coverage areas. With this much karstic material found in Pati, this area has the potential for certain extractive industries, especially the cement one. Unlike other mineral-rich areas in Java, the karstic Kendeng mountains are still unexploited (Putri 2017, 76).

¹² Peasants are the earth's protectors. We, *Sikep* do everything to maintain this tradition. When we pray, we speak to the earth.

What they perform along the pre-and post-advocacy of the cement industry program is inspired by the religion of Adam that they observed for years. The religion teaching them how to respect the land by managing and proceed in spirit of love. If people give treatment to the land as if they love the partner of life –in this context as a wife—they can secure the land, and it turns to protect them by giving them a better harvest. The religion of Adam is a kind of mysticism that placing the land and woman as life partner of man in pursuing the life.

In the spirit of egalitarianism between man and woman, respect the land as if the partner of life, the advocacy to protect the forest from extractive endeavour of the government is coming the positive ending. The Kendeng Mountain advocacy supported by the Saminists is a portrait of how the local community and its faith seeks to negotiate with the national or international hand of economic and political power. What they achieved is not the single effort of the local community and its faith, corollary it gives us how the struggle to protect the environment is a collaborative project. In this point the Saminists and the religion of Adam is on the new crossroad because there are some changes that they should answer by themselves, either in regard the education, technology, and other religious values they observed for a long time.[***]

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