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Configuration and the Role of Community Leaders in the Conflict of Natural Resources of Limestone Mining for the Cement Industry in Rembang Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the conflicts of natural resources in Kendeng Rembang, Central Java and how the position of ulama in the conflict. This study is a field research with a qualitative approach. Data was collected by interview, observation, and document study methods. Documents stored on the internet are widely quoted sources. The analysis uses qualitative descriptive. The results of the research show that the conflict occurred because residents refused limestone mining carried out by PT. Semen Indonesia (PT. SI) in the Kendeng Mountains which are rich in natural resources. Residents are concerned that mining limestone - as a raw material for making cement - can damage the environment. This conflict is a vertical and structural conflict. The main actor is citizen dealing with PT. SI and the government. Approval and ulama support are contested by both parties. As a result, the ulama's view of the conflict was divided into two parts.

Keywords: Conflict, Natural Resources, Kendeng Mountains, Mines, Limestone, Ulama

JEL Classifications: Q34

1. INTRODUCTION

Countries that are blessed with abundant natural resources such as oil, gas, mining, minerals and so on are like getting windfall of natural resources from the sky (Van der Ploeg and Venables, 2011). For the country, the existence of natural resources is like a treasure worthy of thanks. The economic potential is so large that many investors are competing to get it. Their presence was invited and facilitated by the government with various policies that made it easy. Collaboration between employers and the government is based on development and welfare arguments. The doctrine that is believed is - as stated by Rostow (1959) - utilization of natural resources will make developing countries have the ability to make the transition from underdevelopment to take off of development as in developed countries.

With development, economic growth in a country and community welfare increases (Davis and Tilton, 2002; Wall and Pelon, 2011).

Studies conducted by Bravo-Ortega and De Gregorio (2005) show that natural resources have a positive effect on the level of income and welfare of the community. With good management, these gifts can improve community welfare and national economic growth (Gylfason, 2006; Stiglitz, 1974; Dasgupta and Heal, 1974). The term blessing used by researchers is an acknowledgment that the state and society will get many benefits and benefits from natural resources owned (Brunnschweiler, 2008); Van der Ploeg, 2011); Arezki and Van Der Ploeg (2007).

Indeed, some countries have succeeded in obtaining benefits and benefits from their natural wealth, but most others cannot leverage national economic growth and are actually a curse for the country (Van der Ploeg, 2011; Frankel, 2010). The Kangning and Jian (2006) study in China explained that abundant natural resources were not a factor that benefited economic development, but instead thwarted economic growth. Papyrakis and Gerlagh (2007) conducted research in the United States with the conclusion

that abundant natural resources can cause negative growth and increase corruption. Ross (2015) emphasized that the natural wealth possessed actually had a negative effect on the country concerned: authoritarian regimes strengthened, rampant corruption and conflict triggers. Nigeria's experience shows that the natural wealth in the form of oil and minerals owned does not have a positive impact on the country's economic growth (Sala-i-Martin and Subramanian, 2013). Countries that have abundant natural resources such as oil, minerals, mining and others have failed to show good economic performance (Frankel, 2012). Countries that are too dependent on natural resources are prone to conflict until civil war occurs because of the fear of obtaining natural resources. Armed conflict that occurred after World War II was driven by the struggle for natural resources (Le Billon, 2001; Lujala, 2010; Bannon and Collier, 2003; Gleditsch, 1998). Natural resource conflicts are common in rural areas of Africa due to increasing competition for diminishing and scarce natural resources (Turner, 2004).

Conflicts regarding the distribution and control of natural and environmental resources also occur in Southeast Asia (Pichler and Brad, 2016). Theoretically, this conflict can be referred to as socio-ecological conflict, namely the struggle associated with injustice of access to, distribution of and control over natural resources (Le Billon, 2001; Pichler and Brad, 2016; Turner, 2004). As one of the developing and resource-rich countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia is a country that investors are interested in investing in here. For the government, the presence of investors is a blessing because they will establish an industry that will absorb labor and increase national economic growth. On the other hand, their presence causes conflicts between citizens and companies and countries (Oktaviana, 2015; Maarif and Imron, 2014).

Construction of a cement plant and mining conducted by PT. Semen Indonesia (PT. SI) in the Watuputih Mountains (also called the Kendeng Mountains) Rembang, Central Java, has caused conflict with some communities. The location is a hilly area rich in mining materials (limestone [karst], tras, sand, marble, andesite, quartz, and sandstone [sand and rock]) (Ardianto, 2016). In fact, the area is a protected conservation area (geological protected area) (Central Java Regional Regulation Number 6 of 2010 concerning Regional Spatial Planning for 2010-2030). The karst underground layer contains water (aquifers in the karst) and the area below the surface of the karst is called a cave. In this area there are many sources of springs (some find up to 200 springs) which are very important for life. Biodiversity is also abundant in this region. There are at least 24 types of flora that grow and 57 species of fauna such as birds, mammals and others. This Kendeng Mountains stretches and crosses 5 (five) districts in Central Java, namely Grobogan, Pati, Rembang, Blora and Kudus (Oktaviana, 2015). These five regions are rich in limestone quarries, so investors are contested to build cement factories.

According to the calculation of the Regent of Rembang Abdul Hafidz (2015-2020), for limestone as a material for making cement, the limestone hill in Gunem sub-district is estimated to be \pm 2,000 hectares. If mined 100 m deep, 5000 million tons will be obtained. If the assumption of cement production is 3 million

tons per year, it means that for 50 years it has been able to mine 150 million tons of limestone. Not surprisingly, this region became the target of many cement companies, both local, national and even multinational (Suara Merdeka, 2010).

After failing to build a cement plant in Sukolilo-Pati in 2013, PT. SI shifted its business in Rembang. Licensing and legal-formal aspects have been obtained from the Governor of Central Java. Environmental studies in the form of analysis of environmental impact assessment (EIA) were declared feasible (Rembang Regent Decree No. 591/040/Year 2011 and Central Java Governor Decree No. 660.1/10 of 2012), studies of economic prospects and welfare were also carried out. The company and the government believe that this mining business will not damage the environment, can open jobs because investment in and welfare for the community can increase.

Conversely, some people who refuse limestone mining have very strong reasons. They believe that the exploration and exploitation of limestone and other wealth will certainly cause environmental damage. Water, soil, air and environment must be polluted. Mining can threaten springs, the source of livelihood for the majority of residents from agriculture. In this area there are sources of springs in rock fractures, underground streams and karst areas that serve to store water (Category B Groundwater/CAT) that crosses the Rembang and Blora Districts (Dwicipta and Ardianto, 2015). Welfare as a result of limestone mining is a social myth that is deliberately created by the state (Ardianto, 2016).

This natural resource conflict has divided the community into two camps, some have agreed and those have refused. Kiai or ulama as respected figures and informal leaders in social life (Dhofier, 1982; Isma'il, 1997) is expected to be able to cool the atmosphere of the conflict (Dirdjosanjoto, 1997; Farchan, 2005). Unfortunately, scholars also responded to the construction of a cement industry that would mine limestone in the region. One cleric supports and approves the development narrative for the welfare of the community, other scholars reject it because development will only damage the preservation of nature. Based on the explanation above, the purpose of this article is to analyze why mine conflicts occur in Rembang and what the root causes are, as well as how the position and role of scholars in the conflict.

2. METHODS

This article is field research. The approach used is socio-legal approach. Data is collected in three ways. First, in-depth interviews (indept interviews) to parties who are pro and contra of the construction of cement factories such as companies, governments, communities, and religious leaders. Second, utilizing documentation in the form of a record of the journey of conflict and its resolution. Internet media is a key witness and an important part in storing documents, dissemination of ideas, and solicitation to reject or accept the project. Third, observation to observe actions taken by both parties. Data analysis was carried out by qualitative descriptive method.

3. ROOTS, ACTORS AND PATTERNS OF CONFLICT

Location of the establishment of the cement factory PT. SI and limestone mining and other mines are in Tegaldowo Village and Timbrangan, Gunem District. PT cement factory SI has been established at this location (2017) and plans for limestone mining will be carried out in the area around the factory. Until 2018, the factory had been operating by processing limestone into cement, where limestone was imported from outside the area. While exploration and exploitation of limestone quarries in the area has not been implemented due to awaiting a government decision.

The conflict narrative began when the shadow puppet show was held in the local village square on Friday, February 15, 2013. This performance symbolized the commencement of the construction of a cement factory owned by PT. SI. The message on that stage is that the company seeks to build cooperation and harmony with community culture. The hope is that citizens have the same view on limestone mining. The company also distributed 4000 basic food packages to surrounding communities and contributed to the construction of a local village hall.

That day is an important day for the company. They get the location of the construction of a cement factory and a mining area that is very rich in limestone as if the PT. SI, after being rejected by the Pati, was cured. The Governor of Central Java and the Regent of Rembang (at that time, Bibit Waluyo and M. Salim) were also very happy because they had worked hard to facilitate the presence of a cement factory in Rembang (Suara Merdeka, 2009, 2010). Throughout his life, Rembang has never had a large industry that will process the natural resources that it has. So far, limestone quarries have been traditionally managed by local entrepreneurs.

Some residents also welcomed the presence of the cement industry. They believe in the government and PT. SI that the factory will absorb thousands of workers. Compared to being a farmer, it's better to become a big company worker. Moreover, the land in the location is in the form of rocks that are not suitable for planting rice or other crops. Conversely, for other residents, that day is a day of mourning. This is the day the mining conflict began between some residents and companies and the government. The day was also the day the division began between residents who were pro and those who were contra mining. That day was the day the struggle began against the construction of a cement plant which residents believed could damage the environment.

At that time, PT. SI lacks socialization to the public. Residents fret because there is no complete and official explanation from the government and the company regarding the news of the establishment of a cement factory in the region. Only the village elite knows, the rest do not understand the government's big plans (Hidayatullah et al., 2016). According to Achmad (2015), the socialization of the establishment of the mining industry already existed but did not consider the psychological aspects of society, especially regarding awareness related to the environment and nature preservation. To explain the reality of the ecological impact when the plant operates, the company

uses methods that are less transparent, not dialogical and not humanistic.

The impact of minimal socialization and the absence of intensive dialogue between residents and the company and the government sparked a negative public reaction. Large projects with large environmental impacts should require massive socialization to the community and sufficient time. In fact, the distance between the decrease in location permits and land preparation for the establishment of the plant is relatively short. The Regent of Rembang issued Decree No. 591/040/2011 concerning Granting Location Permits to PT. Semen Gresik (Persero) Tbk for Cement Plant Builders, Raw Material Mining Materials and other Supporting Facilities was dated November 18, 2011, while land preparation for construction was on February 15, 2013. More or less, the socialization of factory construction in the area to residents was only approximately 13 month. Such a short time is not enough to convince the public that a large industry that attempts to mine limestone in the bowels of the earth does not damage the environment and other negative impacts.

After the inauguration, there was mobilization and consolidation of people's understanding of the project. Community opinion is influenced and directed to support or reject the project. Supporting the establishment of the cement industry in Rembang uses various instruments to convince the public, such as legal reasons that the government has issued mining permits, and academic arguments that research teams from universities have concluded that the environmental impact of the limestone mining industry can be minimized. In addition, supporters of the construction of cement factories also expressed social and economic reasons that the majority of citizens and religious leaders supported the establishment of the factory. Moreover, they believe cement factories can create new jobs for residents.

Residents who rejected the establishment of a cement factory also mobilized understanding by convincing themselves and their groups that the legality of industrial licensing was legally flawed. The bad impact of limestone mining, in the form of environmental damage, pollution, loss of water sources that are needed by farmers is an important narrative which is the main reason why the added industry must be rejected. Their arguments for rejection are from NGOs and academics who have studied intensively about the potential for natural damage if mining is carried out. This mobilization of understanding allows a change in attitude, from those who refuse to accept or vice versa. This mobilization of understanding produces positive and negative effects. Positively, residents are increasingly aware of the project, both plus and minus. Negatively, the community is increasingly divided and more fanatical about its own views.

A year after the inauguration, residents began to openly protest the limestone quarry. They demanded that the government stop all cement plant construction activities, revoke support and approval of the project, review and be consistent with the Central Java Provincial Regulation Number 6 of 2010 concerning Regional Spatial Planning (RTRW) and Rembang Regency Regional Regulation Number 14. In 2011, the Watuputih Basin was a water recharge area and a geological protected area (Amicus, 2015).

Since then, mine conflicts in Rembang have entered a new phase. Supporters and rejecters expressed their support openly and planned. A harder effort was made by rejecting the establishment of a cement factory. They began to organize themselves and build networks with various parties, both academics and NGOs (local, regional and national). Refusal actions tend to be extreme, unusual and diri hurting themselves 'actors. For example, the action of cementing feet in front of the Jakarta state palace, walking hundreds of kilometers from Rembang to Semarang, and staying for weeks in tents on the site of the entrance to the factory's establishment.

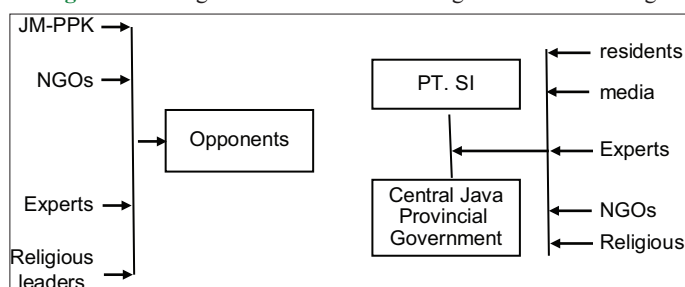
Citizens' concerns about environmental damage if limestone mining is carried out is the reason why conflicts occur. Therefore, residents demanded that environmental permits for PT. SI was revoked because this permit was the basis for the legality of the operation of the company's limestone mining. Environmental permits are also subject to claims by citizens to the Administrative Court, to appeal, and the Supreme Court Judgment (PK) decision. This lawsuit was finally won by residents. Unfortunately, after the Supreme Court won a lawsuit, the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, issued another permit through Decree Number: 660.1/6 of 2017 concerning Environmental Permit for Cement Plant Construction and Construction of PT. SI in Rembang Regency. Until now, this new permit is the legal basis of PT. SI in conducting its business, even though it does not conduct limestone mining.

The conflict in natural resources in Rembang has been going on since 2013. The peak of the conflict occurred in 2015-2017 where conflict entered a manifest stage, when one party openly stated its opposition or hostility to the other party. This conflict involves two main actors. First, residents who refuse limestone mining as the main actor. Behind him, stood the supporters of the people's struggle to claim their rights, namely community elements who are members of the JM-PPK (Kendeng Mountains Community Care Network, in which Sedulur Sikep Pati community), Non-Governmental Organizations (LBH Semarang, Walhi, JATAM, Desantara, HuMa, Kontras, Komnas HAM), experts and academics and religious leaders. His opponent is PT. SI and the Central Java Province government (the main actor) as the party that issued the mining permit. They are assisted by mining supporters, experts and academics, and religious leaders. If the actors of conflict are described as in Figure 1.

There are also groups that only take advantage of the issue of conflict to gain economic and political benefits. Although the number of possibilities cannot be counted, their existence can worsen the conflict situation because of their opportunist standing on two legs. There is also a fourth group that is proportional and moderate in looking at the issue of the limestone mine. This group believes that the potential of the mine must be utilized for the welfare of the community without damaging the environment. This group was not directly involved in the conflict and stood neutral between the two camps.

This natural resource conflict in the Kendeng Mountains can be categorized as a vertical conflict, namely a conflict between upper

Figure 1: Configuration of actors in mining conflict in rembang



groups (companies and countries) and lower groups (farmers, residents). This conflict can also be referred to as a structural conflict, namely a conflict arising from a government decision or policy. Structural conflicts have special characteristics. Intimidation, terror, even the use of violence is part of this conflict. Usually, the pattern of convincing others uses a legal-formalistic, unilateral, manipulative approach and the embedding of anti-development stigma for those who reject it (Marzuki, 2008). While the humanitarian approach (humanistic-sociological) and empathy (psychological) are often forgotten. The relatively short period of socialization of the construction of a cement plant is proof that PT. SI relies heavily on government support and deliberately underestimates the voices of local residents. If religion is quoted and religious leaders are involved, it is solely aimed at supporting their own interests, not for humanitarian and environmental purposes.

Residents reject limestone quarries for fear of environmental degradation and deprivation. The environment is damaged and residents lose their source of livelihood as farmers. The gift of God in this type of limestone mine cannot be renewed. Limestone will run out if it continues to be exploited. Beyond that, what residents fear most is the post-mining environmental damage. While the company-government stands as a practicing capitalist economy. If it does not provide benefits, the damaged limestone quarry site will be left to find a more profitable location. Everything is a commodity (everything is commodity) that can be sold and brings in unlimited profits even though the environmental impact is very large.

Limestone gives birth to blessings and curses for the people. On the one hand, they enjoy an abundance of water and a healthy environment. On the other hand, limestone is actually the trigger and source of conflict between residents and PT. SI and the government. So, right as Lee Billon (2001) and Porto (2002) said, the desire to master natural resources (especially limestone) causes people to experience discrimination, injustice, and marginalization of interests (Baiquni and Rijanta, 2007). The community has the right to get a healthy and sustainable environment not only for the present life, but also for the future.

4. POSITION AND DILEMMA OF THE SOCIAL AUTHORITY

Kiai or ulama are prominent figures as community leaders or informal leaders in social life. In an agrarian society, the

relationship between the kiai and the surrounding community is even tighter. Besides being identified as a fellow farmer, the kiai is considered a smart person who is close to God. The ability to understand God's majesty and the secrets of nature (Dhofier, 1982). this places the ulama as an intermediary for farmers in conveying their hopes and prayers to God (Mulkhan, 2000). Even so, the socio-political role of the clerics is shrinking in the current democratic era (Fealy and Bush, 2014).

The importance of the role and position of ulama in the community is well understood by companies and governments when it comes to building cement factories. From the beginning, the development plan was delivered and blessed by scholars. Symbolically, KH. Maemun Zubair (Mbah Mun), a senior and charismatic cleric, led a prayer for the benefit of a cement factory in Rembang at the *haflah dzikir* event held by PT. SI. His presence was claimed to be the blessing of the construction of a cement factory, although he had never openly stated his support. His attitude was evident in an interview with the Media Indonesia newspaper, where he explicitly supported the establishment of a cement plant in Rembang (Simpulsemarang, 2017).

Mbah Mun's attitude is a reference for the government, companies and the community. They believe that the establishment of a cement factory PT. SI, which will explore limestone and process it into cement, has a positive or devastating impact on community development and welfare. Apart from charismatic scholars, Mbah Mun is a senior politician in the United Development Party (PPP). Mbah Mun has many networks and lines of communication, both in government, parliament and companies. Mbah Mun's agreement with the construction of a cement plant did not come suddenly. Mbah Mun and PT. SI has had a close relationship for a long time. Heru IW (leader of the Rembang cement plant construction project) stated, Mbah Mun had a big contribution in canceling the sale plan of PT. Semen Gresik (at that time, before changing to PT. SI) to foreigners during the administration of Megawati as president.

On the other hand, Mbah Mun did not reject the struggle of the anti-limestone miner group. The mining refusal mothers had visited Mbah Mun in the al-Anwar Sarang boarding school and received moral support from him so that they would continue to fight to protect the nature of the Kendeng Mountains. Mbah Mun did not openly reject the construction of a cement factory. Regarding those who doubt Mbah Mun's attitude, Heru ensures that Mbah Mun agrees with the construction of a cement factory in Rembang, even Mbah Mun is the one who determines the day of the ground breaking.

Different attitudes are taken by KH. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri (Gus Mus) and KH. Yahya Cholil Tsauq (Gus Yahya), caregiver for the Raudhatul Thalibin Rembang boarding school. Both of them firmly refused mining in the region. For Gus Mus, environmental issues must be thoroughly studied. Development that damages the environment must be stopped. The government must protect the environment (Dwicipta and Ardianta, 2015). The basis of the refusal of scholars to limestone mining has been seriously examined. On May 20, 2014 a prayer meeting was

held at the factory site of PT. SI. After that, a *halaqah* was held at the Raudhatul Thalibin Islamic Boarding School on May 25, 2014. *Halaqah* was followed by the Kendeng Mountains Care Community Network (JMPPK), Nahdlatul Ulama Rembang Branch Manager, Lasem PCNU, Ngadipurwo Blora Islamic Boarding School, and Nahdliyin Front for Sovereignty of Natural Resources (FNKSDA). The forum agreed to reject mining and the establishment of a cement factory in Rembang with the reasons of *aqliyyah* (rational argumentation) and *naqliyyah* (religious texts).

According to Yahya, the North Kendeng Mountains region must be protected because there are springs which greatly affect the livelihood of many people. If the area mined is very vulnerable to environmental sustainability (Dwicipta and Ardianta, 2015). When responding to the PTUN (State Administrative Court) verdict which rejected a citizen suit (so that the mining permit was canceled) and won the Central Java provincial government, Gus Yahya called it a ruling that underestimated humanity. The judge has reduced environmental problems and the survival of the people is merely an administrative matter (a citizen claim is considered to have expired) by ignoring substantive violations. Court judges are considered dishonest because they turn a blind eye to the fact that the AMDAL study (analysis of environmental impacts) is the result of abusive research (www.nu.or.id/post/read/58926/gus-yahya-putusan-ptun-semarang-sepelekan-human).

This conflict also seized the attention of Aloys Budi Poernomo, a Catholic religious figure from the Archdiocese of Semarang. He supports the attitude of residents who refuse limestone mining in the North Kendeng Mountains of Rembang. In a citizen action on 17 November 2015 at the courtyard of the Ranggawarsita Semarang museum, he said that mining must be rejected because people want sustainable Kendeng Mountains. Many of the actions of the people he participated in, including the action of erecting tents in front of the Governor's office.

Ulama's support is very important for the smooth and successful development of cement plants and limestone exploration in Rembang. The rest will not only be followed by citizens who claim to be followers (*santri*) so that they are willing to accept all possible impacts and will not interfere with this development process. The blessing also means God's favor that will strengthen the hearts of the government, companies and citizens that the construction of factories and limestone mining will bring good and benefit to regional development. The divided scholar's attitude shows different perspectives and interests. This is the dilemma faced by scholars when faced with choices that are not light in consequences.

Supporting the mining industry can be considered having an affair with a company to gain material benefits. In fact, the adverse effects of mining have been clearly seen in the eyelids, such as environmental damage, pollution and loss of springs that are very important for farmers. Even though the best principles of sustainable development and good corporate governance are implemented, environmental damage can only be reduced but cannot be eliminated. Refusing the mining industry to get economic blessings from natural resources in the region is also a problem. If not excavated and processed into productive goods,

limestone hills are only a pile of hills without any economic added value. Even though there are already investors who are ready to invest their capital and process limestone into cement as one of the building materials that are needed by the community. With the existence of the mining industry, jobs will be open and contribute taxes to the government. Refusing mining means closing down the opening of employment opportunities and local revenue (PAD) will not increase. This dilemma is faced by scholars in responding to limestone mining in the Kendang Rembang Mountains.

5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

According to Keller and Marianne Klute, cement production worldwide has tripled compared to 2001. One reason for this is China needs half of the total global cement production (2.36 of 4.6 billion tons) for massive development there due to the economic surplus they experience. In the midst of very high world cement demand, Indonesia is the fifth largest cement producer in the world with production of 74 million tons per year after China (2482 million), India (286 million), United States (80 million) and Iran (78 million) (<https://th.boell.org/en/2016/12/09/semekotor-kasus-di-indonesia>).

Domestic cement demand is also quite high, especially in the era of President Joko Widodo leading (2014-2019), the construction of toll road infrastructure is a mainstay program. The domestic cement market is controlled by three producers, namely PT. SI (45% of total production in 2013), Indocement (31%) and Holcim Indonesia (14%). Of the 3 producers, only PT. SI which is owned by Indonesia, the rest, the majority of shares are owned by German companies Heidelberg Cement (Indocement) and France (Holcim). To maintain the sustainability of production, cement companies are investing in many places in Indonesia to find the cement-making materials. The actual raw material for cement is not easily available and the production costs are not cheap. Thankfully, Indonesia's territory is very rich in limestone quarries, making it easier for cement companies to explore here.

As explained earlier, the cement industry is the most polluting and environmentally damaging industry. Nearly 5-7% of global CO₂ emissions are caused by cement factories. Every stage in the production process has a negative impact on the environment. For example, the limestone mining stage must be carried out by covering limestone mountains, damaging the ecosystem inside, including the source of water. For the stage of processing limestone into cement, giant machines emit dust and toxic gases into the air. This stage also requires enormous energy. Energy costs for cement production are approximately equal to 50% of the total gross added value. In addition, in each manufacture of one ton of cement will release 600-900 kg of CO₂, 400 kg of limestone and 200 kg of the combustion process. If calculated globally, more than 4 billion tons of cement is produced worldwide. This causes around 3 billion tons of greenhouse gases to pollute the Earth's atmosphere. The total is four times more than international flights and 6-9% of CO₂ emissions worldwide (<https://th.boell.org/en/2016/12/09/semekotor-kasus-di-indonesia>; Benhelal et al., 2013).

It is this great environmental impact that often triggers controversy and even conflict in society. The controversy has been felt since the beginning of the plan to build a factory that will process limestone into cement. Many parties support the natural wealth in the form of limestone and other mines in the bowels of the earth that must be exploited for development and community welfare. If the result of mining has a negative impact, for example in the form of environmental damage, then the negative impact must be eliminated or reduced. They believe that with good governance, the natural resources owned will bring down the welfare of the community, even though there are negative impacts.

Those who reject the exploitation of limestone in the Kendang Mountains are also not small, although there is no quantitative data found. They believe that the natural damage caused by limestone mining is not comparable to the promised welfare of the community. Residents around mining continue to live in poverty. They don't get the part of the cake for development that they should have, even though they have risked their lives and the preservation of this environment. Therefore, the struggle to resist the exploitation of limestone quarries in this region, they mean the same as the struggle to preserve the nature and lives of the surrounding communities. On this basis, the movement of citizens refuse limestone mining in this area not only as conventional as demonstrations and legal remedies, but also to do extreme things, namely the action of cementing feet in the state palace, walking hundreds of kilometers from Rembang to Semarang and living on the site the location of the construction of a cement plant for weeks. Extreme action can only occur if it is based on strong ideological reasons. Pragmatic reasons, for example because of money, are unlikely to make them dare to take such extreme actions. Even one participant in the foot cement action died. They realized that their lives could not be hung up as old as the factory operated. There are the following generations who are also entitled to blessings from the bowels of the earth.

Rembang is the northern coastal area of Java Island, tends to be dry and arid in most of its territory. Only a few areas have good springs for agriculture. One of them is Gunem sub-district which is blessed with water and limestone hills. Both, and especially limestone, are gifts that have high economic value for the region. PT cement factory SI will be built in areas with fertile land. The spring flows smoothly and supports the residents of Rembang. Agriculture can be relied upon for the lives of citizens. If the spring is dry, you can imagine the future of the farmers around the cement factory. This area is also surrounded by productive forests that function as storage and water absorbers which are very useful for the surrounding community.

The construction of a cement plant in the Kendang Rembang Mountains seems to represent the interests of the elite more than the community. The Governor of Central Java (Bibit Waluyo and Ganjar Pranowo) is very strong in defending the interests of the company. Even the local ruling elite instead became land brokers: buying people's land at cheap prices and then selling it to high-priced company owners. Not a few people who feel cheated and forced to sell their fields due to the closed attitude of the government and companies about plans to build a cement factory. From the beginning, the government and the company seemed to

not bother and struggled to convince the people that the cement plant was truly beneficial to all.

Building large industries requires careful calculation, especially regarding environmental impacts. In fact, the document on the analysis of environmental impacts (EIA) is questionable in its validity. Even NGOs and some people suspected that the EIA study was not done objectively but was done according to the orders of the government and the company. Many things are covered and manipulated. Even though the AMDAL document is the result of a study that should be publicly tested and recognized by scientific truth. It cannot be denied that development must have caused environmental damage. This does not mean that the people are paranoid and do not want to be invited to build. The community must be educated and given a very detailed explanation of the worst consequences that will occur if the cement plant is built. An explanation of the worst impacts is far more important than lulling citizens with economic benefits that will not necessarily be accepted. In contrast to the environmental impact due to the exploration of limestone quarries, sooner or later, it will certainly be felt by all residents.

Everyone agrees that development for the sake of people's welfare is absolutely necessary. The development of the *maslah* is far greater than the cost. In other words, development that does not damage the environment and can improve people's lives. The Rembang community clearly wants a prosperous life far longer than the cement plant's age. Residents will remain in Rembang, even though nature no longer has limestone or limestone. Unlike the existence of a cement factory, it can be opened if profitable or closed if it harms the company.

All parties must be honest and open about what is related to the construction of a cement plant and limestone mining. Both government and community elites must understand and know the positive and negative impacts that will be received after mining is carried out. If the presence of a cement factory really provides great benefits for the people of Rembang, then it must be supported. Conversely, if the people are concerned about the environmental impact that will occur, even if they can receive the benefits, they must also give concrete proposals to the government and companies about what must be done so that the environmental impact can be minimized as little as possible. Nature must be preserved for thousands of years and not sacrificed for a moment's development. Let the community be free to speak out and express their aspirations. In this way the community practices negotiations to solve the problem, both with citizens and with the government or company about what is best for the Rembang community.

The Strategic Environmental Assessment (KLHS) Compilation Team for Sustainable Kendeng Mountains Management and Utilization Policy (April 2017) recommends the temporary suspension of all karts or limestone mining activities in Watuputih Groundwater Basin (CAT) in Kendeng Mountains, Rembang. This temporary suspension does not only apply to PT. SI, but also for 22 mining business permit holders in the region (<http://www.mongabay.co.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Laporan-KLHS-Tahap-I.pdf>). The recommendations of the KLHS do not

end natural resource conflicts in the Kendeng Mountains. The central government does not have the authority to prevent the Central Java Governor from issuing environmental permits for mining companies. If the governor wants, mining companies can start limestone mining activities in the region. In addition, the termination of mining is temporary. That is, a wide open new permit is issued for mining companies. Although limestone mining has been suspended, the cement factory PT. SI continues to operate as usual. This opens up the possibility of re-permitting limestone mining in the region, if the government regime changes. The results of the study are not binding legal decisions, moreover they are only recommendations. Therefore, the SEA must be followed by a ministerial-level decision that permanently prohibits limestone mining in the mountains. Thankfully the decision was in the form of a joint decree between the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources and the Minister of Environment which became the basis and became a legal force that binds all parties.

6. CONCLUSION

Conflict in the Kendeng Rembang Mountains was caused by plans for limestone mining by PT. SI located in Timbrangan and Tegaldowo Villages. The government and some residents received the construction of the mining and processing of limestone into cement. The abundant natural wealth in the mountains, both in the form of limestone and other rocks, must be utilized so that it can open employment and bring prosperity to the community. Some residents reject limestone mining because it definitely causes environmental damage. Promises and guarantees of PT. SI, which will safely carry out limestone mining and will not cause environmental damage, cannot shake the founding of residents who refuse limestone mining. Residents demanded that the Governor of Central Java cancel the mining location permit for PT. SI. This conflict has been going on since 2013 which involved citizens dealing with the government and PT. SI. Behind this main actor there are supporters, namely community groups, academics, and scholars who are supporters. This conflict is a vertical and structural conflict. In this conflict, the position of scholars is contested by both parties. Each party requested support from the *ulema*. The *ulema*'s attitude towards limestone mining in the Kendeng Rembang Mountains was divided into two groups, namely those who agreed and some refused. The attitude of the *ulema* is influenced by different interests and perspectives related to the environmental impact of this mining.

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