

“The Earth is Like My Mother”

Ecofeminism and Eco-Islam in
the Kartini Kendeng Movement
in Central Java



Zaimatus Sa'diyah

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**Nijmegen Studies in Development
and Cultural Change**

edited by

Frans Wijzen, Toon van Meijl, Edwin de Jong & Gerben Nooteboom

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Chapter I

Introduction

Environmental issues relate to human domination over nature or what some ecologists term *species arrogance* (Kinsley, 1995, p. xvii), which causes human beings to overlook their inherent connection to the natural world and transgress the rights of the environment. According to Nasr (1996, p. 3), the development of science and modernization play a significant role in destroying the natural world. In addition, humans tend to prioritize economic growth over environmental consequences (Nasr, 1996, p. 218), resulting in severe repercussions for both the ecosystem and humanity.

As one of the emerging economies, Indonesia continues to improve and intensify the development of physical infrastructure that supports the acceleration of economic growth. However, despite the commitment to succeed in the Sustainable Development Goals launched by the United Nations, Indonesia's development is economy-oriented and neglects environmental sustainability. What happened in the North Kendeng Mountains, spanning from Pati, Rembang, Grobogan, and Blora regencies in Central Java Province to Tuban, Bojonegoro, and Lamongan regencies in East Java Province, illustrates this economic orientation. The North Kendeng Mountains possess substantial deposits of limestone and clay, serving as the primary raw materials for cement production. It also boasts ample subterranean water reserves that are vital to agricultural activities. These natural resources are interrelated, meaning that utilizing limestone and clay for mining poses a threat to the underground water resources that are essential for the sustenance of agricultural practices and local communities. Conversely, conserving groundwater resources precludes the extraction of limestone and clay. Thus, it is necessary to consider the situation in a mutually inclusive manner to avoid a dualistic perspective, which prioritizes limestone and clay over water or vice versa (KLHK, 2017).

The provincial government of Central Java exhibits a greater inclination toward a 'development narrative'. It capitalizes on the North Kendeng Mountains as a reservoir of raw materials for cement production, thereby promising accelerated development and increased employment opportunities for the local populace. This relates to the Indonesian Government Infrastructure Summit (GIS) program that was arranged in 2005. This program focuses on infrastructure development and requires an ample supply of cement, while overlooking the adverse effects of mining

activities, which can harm water reserves. A mechanistic worldview and mastery over the nature of the modern world have undermined the organic mentality that perceives the Earth as a nurturing mother. The female Earth is then subdued by machines and mining (Merchant, 1989).

Mining corporations are frequently regarded as a positive phenomenon that will enhance well-being and generate employment opportunities for the neighbouring population. However, there is no proven correlation between the presence of mining corporations and improvements in community welfare (Davis & Tilton, 2002). Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the presence of large-scale mines has a significant detrimental impact on the natural environment. These negative consequences include the endangerment of plant and animal species, the occurrence of drought, and the emergence of acid mine drainage resulting from the extraction of rocks (Holden & Jacobson, 2012, pp. 59-75).

In her book *The Death of Nature*, Merchant (1989, p. 32) posits that various exploitative acts perpetrated by humans against Mother Earth will inevitably give rise to ‘monsters’ originating from the blood of those who exploit. Merchant employs the metaphor of ‘monsters’ to illustrate the profound devastation that will ensue if humans persist in delving into the depths of the Earth, thereby ultimately jeopardizing the existence of humanity on this planet. Any development plan has to take sustainability into account and should not be pursued at the expense of others or the devastation of ecological resources (Wijsen & Marcos, 2010). The establishment of mining sites also incites community conflicts, manifesting as vertical and horizontal conflicts (Mensah & Okyere, 2014).

The permits for PT Semen Gresik (now PT Semen Indonesia)¹ in 2006 to excavate the karst landscape of Sukolilo in Pati, and for PT Sahabat Mulia Sakti (SMS) to mine and construct a cement plant in Kayen and Tambakromo in Pati, generated conflicts within the community. The previously fostered harmony has given way to mutual suspicion (Candraningrum, 2014). Polarization occurs in the community between the ‘pro’ group, which supports cement mining, and the ‘tolak’ group, which rejects it. The ‘tolak’ group formed a network called JMPPK (*Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pegunungan Kendeng/Kendeng Community Care Network*). Through this organization, the ‘tolak’ group has rejected the disastrous mining activities in the North Kendeng Mountains. They have conducted protests, advocated for spatial policy, and proposed the Environmental Impact Assessment (*Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan Hidup*, AMDAL in Bahasa Indonesia). This substantial surge of opposition from the ‘tolak’ group eventually yielded positive results, as a Supreme

1 PT Semen Indonesia is a state-owned cement corporation.

Court verdict was enacted in 2009, which prohibited PT Semen Indonesia from engaging in mining operations in the area.

Nevertheless, the challenges did not cease there. Despite a report from the Indonesian Cement Association stating that Indonesia's cement production is in an over-supply capacity until 2030 (Yanwardhana, 2021), subsequent mining authorizations were granted to multiple corporations to extract natural resources from the North Kendeng Mountains collaboratively. PT Semen Grobogan, PT Vanda Prima Lestari, PT Holcim, and PT Ultratec Mining were preparing to excavate the contents of the North Kendeng's natural resources (Ardianto, 2015, p. 128). Currently, the largest corporation involved in this mining is PT Semen Indonesia, which was previously rejected in Pati. The current PT Semen Indonesia mining site is atop the North Kendeng Mountains in Rembang. The corporation acquired a permit in 2012 and commenced the construction of a cement manufacturing plant in 2014. This mining activity could potentially damage the area, which is classified as a protected ground-water basin (*Cekungan Air Tanah/CAT*) under Presidential Decree Number 26, 2011.

The sphere of influence and advocacy of JMPPK was initially confined to the sub-districts impacted by the proposed establishment of cement manufacturing facilities in Pati. Nevertheless, their efforts have broadened to encompass Rembang and Grobogan following the issuance of multiple mining permits for cement production in these regions. JMPPK has evolved beyond a mere network for local farmers concerned with the Kendeng area. It has undergone a metamorphosis into a home for all individuals, men and women, invested in the sustainable existence of the North Kendeng Mountains, regardless of their socioeconomic background. The local farmers maintain the perspective that the North Kendeng Mountains is a living being, serving as a maternal figure that nourishes them through perennial springs, thereby facilitating their agricultural endeavours. Any threats posed to a segment of the North Kendeng Mountains are perceived as ultimately detrimental to it entirely. The decision of the farmers residing in the North Kendeng area to safeguard their homeland has garnered the attention of diverse stakeholders, including activists, faith-based organizations, academics, legal assistance groups, and artists, among others. These entities have aligned themselves with the Kendeng farmers in various forms of collective action, including demonstrations, rituals, legal proceedings, and advocacy for policies concerning the Strategic Environmental Assessment (*Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis/KLHS*). Consequently, this movement has become a focal point of media interest, both nationally and internationally.

The issue of the construction of a cement plant in the North Kendeng Mountains was initially discussed only among men when they met each other in their rice fields. Over time, the issue grew increasingly unsettling to the inhabitants,

prompting the men to convene more frequently to discuss and identify a solution. They eventually united with the JMPPK network and worked together towards their shared goal of defending their homeland from disastrous mining activities. Initially, women were not involved in this movement due to their household chores. Moreover, peasant communities often gathered at night when they were free, while women were busy putting their children to sleep and resting after their daily activities. The worsening conditions; however, prompted women to participate in this movement. They became influential figures in it taking on visible roles in raising people's awareness of the disastrous consequences of cement mining and minimizing the violence that often accompanies such conditions. Women's involvement in this movement became publicly known when they met Rustriningsih, the deputy governor of Central Java, in 2009. She welcomed fifteen women from Sukolilo and Kayen to discuss and debate their endangered condition, which was caused by the construction of cement plants in their hometown. "Mrs. Rustri just told us to continue the struggle", said one of the delegates (Sobirin, 2018).²

When JMPPK's area of struggle reached Rembang, an increasing number of women became actively involved in this movement. They became members of the JMPPK and began their peaceful demonstration actions in 2014, when PT Semen Indonesia started construction of the cement plant in Rembang. Those female members of JMPPK set up tents along the pathway to the location of the cement factory. They moved from their domestic areas, their homes, to public ones as a symbol of the loss of life security.³ Cement mining not only brings about environmental disasters but also destroys family harmony when farmers have to sell their rice fields, which have fed them for generations. The farmers lose their source of livelihood, which eventually has the potential to ignite conflict and domestic violence (Candraningrum, 2014).

In April 2016, nine women who represented the victims of the cement mining activities in Pati and Rembang held a demonstration and cemented their feet in front of the state palace in Jakarta. They later became known as the 'Kartini Kendeng'.

2 Please refer to appendix 3 to see the chronology of the Kartini Kendeng movement.

3 During the demonstration to reject the construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, women did their daily activities in the tents. Their husbands commuted from their homes to the tents, helping their wives meet their raw food stocks and clothing needs. The husbands also took turns in guarding the tents when their wives and children slept at night. As a kind of peaceful demonstration and realizing that the food they ate came from the kindness of God through Kendeng, the women prepared their daily food and shared it with all those who were around the tents, including the security guards from the cement factory. Thus, if Kendeng is destroyed, not only farmers but also those who work for the cement factory will suffer from drought and starvation. For the farmers, Kendeng is like a womb from which all farmers were born. Destroying Kendeng means destroying human life. The women and children stayed in the tents for no less than four months, and four women delivered their babies during this period.

This attribution refers to the name of a prominent Indonesian heroine, Kartini, who promoted women's emancipation. This attribution symbolized their struggle in this movement. According to Candraningrum (2019b), Kartini Kendeng is a media-promulgated image that pertains to female farmers. However, 'Kartini Kendeng' does not only refer to women but also to men who consistently subject themselves to serving as a caring shield for the landscape of the North Kendeng Mountains. These caring acts aim to counteract the domination of capitalism, an extension of the patriarchal system and the market economy, which perceive nature as a mere tool and object to serve human benefits (Merchant, 1989). The presence of nine women in each demonstration of the Kartini Kendeng movement symbolizes two things. First, those women are continuing Kartini's struggle. Second, number nine is considered a symbol of perfection in Javanese tradition. It also refers to *Wali Songo*, the nine saints in Java.⁴

What happened in the North Kendeng Mountains implies what Jean-François Bayart referred to as the politics of the belly. According to Bayart, politics is about controlling food, which makes it possible for the rulers to extract their benefits. Politics is also about controlling the bodies of women, especially their wombs, because they are 'the substance of wealth itself' (Bayart, 1993, p. xviii; Candraningrum, 2014). The Earth is the womb from which all humankind is born, and it can also be controlled for the benefit of those political rulers. However, "Where there is power, there is resistance" (Foucault, 1978, p. 95). The members of the Kartini Kendeng movement chose to resist the hegemonic power through non-violent direct actions because, for them, all people are brothers and sisters who should not hurt each other as stated by one of the interviewees: "We do not want to cause riot and commotion. We just want peace and to make lots of relatives, lots of friends".

According to ecofeminists, environmental issues are women's issues. Warren (2000) stated that the patriarchal world draws up the domination of nature through the assumption that humans have the authority to change the community consciously while nature does not; thus, humans are justified in subordinating nature. In terms of the domination of women, the patriarchal world insists on the identification of women with nature, which results in justification for men in subordinating women.

The massive environmental crises provoke religion to play an active role in looking for a better solution. Dogmatic resources embedded within religious teaching are not taken for granted when solving ecological issues. The distance between norms and practices is visible even in religious societies (Tucker, 2003, p. 19; Tucker and Grim, 2003, p. xx; Ruether, 2005, p. xi). In terms of Indonesian society, the connection between religion and behaviour is obvious (Wijsen & Saptaningtyas, 2016, p. 127).

4 Interview with KK2. Please refer to appendix 1 for the codes of the interviewees.

If ecological problems are assumed to be behavioural problems (Merz et al., 2023), confirming religious thoughts to heal the situation is arguable because religions are the source of moral and ethical values (Ruether, 2005). However, recent research by Halimatussa'diyah et al. (2024) on religion and environmentalism among Indonesian citizens reveals that religiosity has a diverse and complex relationship with ecological behaviour among Indonesian citizens. Although Indonesian society is often considered a religious society, Theo-centrism is not the dominant perspective. Anthropocentrism dominates religious communities in general, while ecocentrism is the dominant view among indigenous communities.

Tucker and Grim (2016) contended that dialogical methodologies are imperative in fostering a harmonious relationship between religion and ecological sciences. This harmonious relationship allows religion to mould human mindset towards nature, while ecological science redefines religious perception by instilling a newfound reverence and interconnectedness between humanity and the natural world. Consequently, these transformative experiences lead to the adoption of ethical practices aimed at preserving endangered ecosystems and dwindling resources.

In terms of Islamic discourse, studying the relationship between Islamic teachings and ecological issues and ethics is a relatively new focus in established environmental knowledge (Gade, 2019, p. 4; Khalid, 2010, p. 708; Kamla et al., 2006, p. 246; Foltz, 2003, p. xxxviii; Nasr, 2002). Nasr was coined as the pioneer of the discipline of eco-Islam when he wrote his book entitled *Man and Nature: The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man* in 1968. He criticized modernity, which has led humans to move away from spiritual values. They no longer appreciate the close relationship between humans as microcosm and nature as macrocosm, which are interdependent. My primary interest in the present research lies not in the Kartini Kendeng movement itself, but in the intersection between ecofeminism and eco-Islam within this movement, as well as the embeddedness of ecological ethics within it, which aligns with ecofeminism and eco-Islam.

1.1. Project Framework

Over the last century, remarkable advancements in healthcare and improvements in nutritional standards have led to a substantial increase in the world's population growth, particularly evident in developing countries such as Indonesia. This unprecedented upsurge in population places an immense strain on the Earth's finite resources and sustainability (Olorunlana, 2024). Forests, pastures, and wetlands have undergone conversion into intensive agricultural plots, human settlements,

and mining zones. The profound alterations in land utilization patterns inflict severe harm upon the environment, thereby imperilling human existence itself. This predicament arises from the human tendency to perceive natural resources solely from an 'instrumental value' perspective, disregarding their 'intrinsic value', thereby inadvertently fostering a sense of dominance (Baker, 2006; Reardon & Oxfam, 1993).

In the Indonesian context, the diversion of land function is happening rapidly. Java island, for instance, was well-known as a national food barn producing 50 percent of the total national rice production. However, this situation may change in the coming years, as many agricultural lands in Java have been converted into residential areas. According to the Indonesian Peasants' Union/*Serikat Petani Indonesia*, approximately 110,000 hectares of agricultural land were converted to non-agricultural use between 1999 and 2002. This conversion increased to 187,000 hectares in 2005. Most of those lands are in Java (Haryono, 2016). The Indonesian government does not prioritize the agricultural sector over industrial investment, which promises macroeconomic growth. This investment widens the gap between humans and nature, sharpening humans' mechanistic worldview towards nature. Conversion's value is measured solely by profit and use, which ultimately exacerbates natural resource degradation, water shortages, climate change, and other devastating consequences.

The Kartini Kendeng Movement

To conserve natural resources, the Indonesian government has issued several regulations, including Regulation Number 5 in 1990, which focuses on the conservation of living natural resources and ecosystems, and Regulation Number 7 in 2004, which addresses water resources. The North Kendeng Mountains is one of the conserved areas, as confirmed by Presidential Decree Number 26/2011, since it covers the groundwater basin area of *Watuputih*. The Strategic Environmental Assessment (Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis/KLHS) report in 2017 also strengthened the conservation status of the North Kendeng Mountains. This means that mining licenses that have the potential to destroy the karst landscape of the North Kendeng Mountains must be withdrawn because they are illegal. Nevertheless, the conservation status of the North Kendeng Mountains has not influenced the provincial government of Central Java to issue mining licenses to PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang.⁵

5 The decentralization policy allows provinces to set their own rules and policies related to natural resources under the authority of the provincial government. Therefore, although the groundwater basin area of *Watuputih* has been designated as a conservation area by presidential decree, it does not rule out the possibility of different rules at the provincial level.



The landscape of the North Kendeng Mountains at Sukolilo, Pati, Central Java.

According to the report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women in 2019, the construction of cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains has the potential to put women at risk not only as victims of domestic violence that might arise, but also as victims of human trafficking and sexual and reproductive health vulnerability. The presence of a cement plant in Rembang demanded the availability of entertainment venues such as cafes. Previously, there was only one cafe in Rembang, owned by a village head with a home industry license. After the construction of the cement plant, the cafe became a karaoke venue and displayed photos of underage girls as female escorts. The report also tracked rampant sexual harassment experienced by women who are teased by factory workers, as well as the HIV rates and sexually transmitted diseases. However, these elements require further investigation (Perempuan, 2019).

Women's involvement in JMPPK activities attracted media attention and minimized violence and brutality that were often found in protest situations. Those women later on became popular as Kartini Kendeng. Carrying Kartini's prominent name did not mean that the '*tolak*' group gained public backing, especially from the 'pro' group that supported the government's decision to mine the North Kendeng Mountains. All members of the 'pro' group are Muslims. In contrast, those involved in the '*tolak*' group are predominantly Muslims and members of the *Sedulur Sikep* community who embrace *Agama Adam*.⁶ Referring to a statistical data from previous research, the population of *Sedulur Sikep* community in Pati in 2018 was around 300 families, totalling 1,023 individuals (Ferandi et al., 2020). Meanwhile, Rembang recorded two couples of *Sedulur Sikep* community. The husbands of both couples

6 The existence of the *Sedulur Sikep* community cannot be separated from the *Samin* community, a group of people in Java who admitted following the teachings of Samin Surosentiko (1859-1914), a Javanese peasant farmer who proselytized a resistance movement against the Dutch colonial authorities in 1890. This movement caught the attention of the Dutch colonial authorities in 1905 when Samin Surosentiko and his followers refused to participate in the 'ethical policy' introduced by the Dutch colonial government (King, 1973; Benda & Castles, 1969). In 1965, some *Samin* people were sentenced on suspicion of being affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). This imprisonment was a tactic of the Indonesian government to pressure the *Samins* to leave their teachings and be "normal" (Widodo, 1995). The stereotype of the *Samins* as stupid, foolish, ludicrous, and a backward community came from their uncooperativeness in terms of paying taxes and fearlessness in speaking the low-level Javanese (*ngoko*) language to Dutch officials and *priyayi* (the Javanese officials or aristocrats), as well as their rejection to obey the religious functionaries (Widodo, 1995). This stereotype continued during the New Order era 1966-1998). In Javanese tradition, the word *Samin* is negatively used to refer to stupid, abnormal (Candraningrum, 2019a), anti-development, and non-religious people (Novianto, 2018). They have other names: Wong Sikep, Wong Paniten, or Wong Dam. Nowadays, the *Samin* community prefers to introduce themselves as *Sedulur Sikep* or *Wong Sikep*. *Sedulur Sikep* means an individual who embraces others. Philosophically, the term *Sedulur Sikep* means an individual who views others equally through the lens of fraternal bonds. The prevailing connotation of *Sedulur Sikep* is merely a 'very close relation' wherein all homo sapiens constitute a familial unit (Maliki, 2019).

Agama Adam literally means 'religion of Adam'. As a belief system or 'institution', *Agama Adam* has a holy book, namely *Jamus Kalimasada*, written in Javanese. The holy book *Jamus Kalimasada* disappeared when Ki Samin Surosentiko was detained by the Dutch colonial government at Sawahlunto, West Sumatra, in 1907 (Rosyid, 2022). It also has teachings in the form of commands and prohibitions, rituals, and followers. However, this kind of a native belief among the *Sedulur Sikep* is not considered religion by the Indonesian government. It is covered by the government as a kind of *aliran kepercayaan*. *Aliran kepercayaan* literally means 'the stream of beliefs'. It is a kind of belief system among Indonesian people that is based on ancestral values, spiritual experiences, and communal practices, which are passed down through oral tradition. Samin Surosentiko was influenced by Javanese literature, which criticizes the status quo of both Javanese and Islamic orthodox perspectives (Maliki, 2019). Samin people considered themselves the defenders of 'true Javanese peasant culture' (King, 1973; Maliki, 2019) or 'purest Javanese' (Widodo, 1997). Insisting on this perspective, Samin people rejected any other belief systems that corrupted Javanese peasant worldviews, such as Hinduism, Christianity, and Islam (King, 1973). They believed that Samin's teachings derived from the oldest Javanese traditions (Benda & Castles, 1969; Maliki, 2019).



Some members of Kartini Kendeng movement during the Indonesian independence ceremony, August 17, 2022

were Muslims who converted to *Agama Adam of Sedulur Sikep*. Of the total of 300 families of *Sedulur Sikep* community in Pati and Rembang, only around 5-6 families are actively involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

According to MAK1, it is difficult to determine the exact number of the members of the '*tolak*' group. This is because JMPPK, the organization for the '*tolak*' group, has not yet documented its membership. A single demonstration of the '*tolak*' group may involve tens to hundreds of people. In larger demonstrations, their numbers can be much higher than one thousand.⁷ However, according to records from the lawsuit against PT Semen Indonesia, no fewer than 2,051 people filed a lawsuit against the construction of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang (Sinuko, 2016). According to MAK9, out of the total number of participants in demonstrations, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* constituted around 10-15 percent. During the second demonstration in front of the presidential palace in 2017, for instance, at least 15-20 people involved and casted their feet. This demonstration lasted for about one week starting on May 13, 2017. On the second day, approximately one hundred participants departed from Pati and Rembang to the location of the demonstration riding two buses as a form of support and solidarity (Erdianto, 2017). About five to seven persons of the total numbers of the demonstrators were people of *Sedulur Sikep*.⁸

7 Interview with MAK1. Please refer to appendix 1 for the codes of the interviewees.

8 Interview with MAK9. Please refer to appendix 1 for the codes of the interviewees.

The contestation between the 'pro' and 'tolak' groups was translated as educated versus non-educated, enlightened versus backward, and religious versus non-religious (Ja'far, 2017). For the 'pro' group, rejecting the government's decisions means anti-development. Thus, the 'tolak' group, including the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement, who reject the government's decision to construct a cement plant, are considered anti-development and anti-government. The 'pro' group also considered the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement as not religious, precisely not Islamic (Ja'far, 2017). This is due to the significant influence of the tradition of the *Sedulur Sikep* community on the Kartini Kendeng movement, exemplified by the combination of *Shahadah* and the poem of *Ibu Bumi*, which has become a prayer for those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Therefore, according to the 'pro' group, attributing the female protesters to Kartini is inappropriate because Kartini is well-known for her critical religious ideologies aimed at societal progress and development.

Nevertheless, labelling the female protestors as Kartini Kendeng is based on legacy. Kartini (1879-1904), a national heroine from Rembang, Central Java, is well known for her struggle to raise public awareness of education, literacy, leadership for girls, and women's emancipation. She is a symbol of a Javanese Muslim woman who promotes a modern vision and critical thinking within her religious context. Her critical thinking and religious motivation led her to meet Kiai Shaleh Darat, the teacher of both Ahmad Dahlan and Hasyim Asy'ari, the founders of Muhammadiyah and NU, the two largest faith-based Muslim organizations in Indonesia. Kartini's critical thinking prompted Kiai Shaleh Darat to compose a Quranic exegesis in the Javanese language, which was considered a new trend. He gave a copy of his book to Kartini in 1902, ten years after their encounter (Ulum, 2016).

The location of PT Semen Indonesia mining sites in Rembang is no more than three kilometres distance from the tomb of Kartini. Furthermore, the genealogy of female legacy can be traced back to the history of women's agency in Java, particularly in Rembang, Pati, Kudus, and Jepara (Candraningrum, 2019a). From 1549 to 1579, Queen Kalinyamat ruled her Demak sultanate, a period of glory marked by extensive territories that included Mataram, Jepara, Kudus, Pati, Juwana, and Rembang, the hometown of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement. The authority of Queen Kalinyamat was also demonstrated when, in 1551, the Sultan of Johor requested her assistance in freeing Maluku from Portuguese control. Queen Kalinyamat sent her warships, consisting of 4,000 soldiers. In 1573, Ali Riayat Syah, the Sultan of Aceh, also requested her assistance in driving the Portuguese out of Malacca. Although her soldiers were defeated in these two battles, the heroism of Queen Kalinyamat impressed Diego de Couto, a Portuguese writer. He referred her

as *Rainha de Japara, senhora paderosa e rica, de kranige dame* (the queen of Jepara, a woman who is rich and strong, a brave women) (Hayati, 2000; Candraningrum, 2019a).

The North Kendeng Mountains also recorded the history of a saintly female figure who lived in the 15th century, the Great Lady of Ngerang (Nyi Ageng Ngerang or Nyai Ageng Ngerang). She is buried in the hamlet of Ngerang, Tambakromo, Pati. Nyi Ageng Ngerang, identified as Roro Kasihan, is the ancestor of the founder of the Islamic sultanate of Mataram (Alatas, 2019; Candraningrum, 2019a). This burial site is a popular pilgrimage destination among Javanese Muslims.

For the people of Kendeng, these sacred sites are not merely physical but also a component of a historical imprint that necessitates preservation, a spiritual site that demands reverence. The presence of mining and cement factories disrupts the sacredness of these sites. It evokes disturbances in the resting place of those figures who are believed to provide safeguards for the local people of Kendeng (Perempuan, 2019). The decision to establish a cement plant in Rembang is seen as a humiliation to the national women's emancipation hero, Kartini.

Indigenous Community and Ecological Ethics

The World Bank's statistical data confirms the indigenous underprivileged life, as evidenced by the high level of infant mortality and poor health conditions (Edington, 2017, p. 171). However, it is challenging to define the term 'indigenous'. 'Foreign' or 'strange' are two words commonly contrasted with indigenous (Wijsen & Marcos, 2010). Based on the final report submitted by Cobo, a special rapporteur of the United Nations, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples UNDRIP defines indigenous community as follows (2013):

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

Indigenous communities are not homogeneous (Turner et al., 2000). Their expertise in agricultural system, house design, and fuel management is not taken for granted in promising solutions for the current devastating ecological crises and a better

life. However, their kinship bond (Grim, 2001) and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) emphasize harmonious relations with the land and understanding its story and characteristics, which will help them to maintain their life web (Kinsley, 1995). In addition, their traditional worldviews, which combine both spirituality and culture, have been their essential survival element throughout history. The utilization of indigenous knowledge by African communities, the deep-rooted connection of Aboriginal peoples with their ancestral lands (Maddock, 1982), and the time-honoured practices of Shamans in plant-spirit healing represent some of the enduring traditions found within indigenous populations (Cruden, 1997). This kind of traditional worldview exists within the *Sedulur Sikep* community as manifested in their deep-rooted ecological spirituality and land-centred worldview.

It is mentioned above that the *Sedulur Sikep* community plays a significant role in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Central in its traditional worldview is the concept of *Ibu Bumi* (the Mother Earth), which describes a close relationship between humans and nature akin to the relationship between mother and child. The people of *Sedulur Sikep* perceive the Earth as a living being. It is their mother who gives birth to human beings, nurtures them, and sustains their lives. As a living being, the Earth and everything in it can respond to human acts. MAK1, who comes from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, stated: “All living things actually have a sense like us [humans]. So, if you hurt the grass or whatever one day [you] will be counted for [it]”. This concept engenders a mindset of responsibility and reverence towards the Earth.

Another concept that relates to human-nature interdependency is *banyu podo ngombe/lemah podo duwe/godong podo gawe* (all of us have the right to access water to drink/land to use/leaves to utilize), which features the importance of a caring attitude towards nature (Arybowo, 2007). To mark each phase of their lives and agricultural activities, the *Sedulur Sikep* community sticks to the tradition of *Brokohan*. *Brokohan* is a ritual that mediates between humans living in this realm and their ancestors who have passed away and live in another realm. Through *Brokohan*, they maintain close relationships with their ancestors and the whole cosmos.

As a peasant community, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* depend on agriculture for their life sustenance. The Javanese word *tani* (peasant) has a philosophical meaning for *Sedulur Sikep* community. The word *tani* is an acronym for *tatane wong dilakoni*, which means implementing the rules of life, and *ngeratani*, which means levelling agricultural yields (Hamdani, 2019). Based on these meanings, being a peasant is a responsibility for all people in the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition through which they maintain their roles to equalize and share their yields with others. They teach their children farming skills from an early age and practice organic farming, realizing that using pesticides will harm *Ibu Bumi* (Mother Earth) and be detrimental to them-

selves. As a kind of treatment, they also let their agricultural lands rest for about four months. For them, the Earth is a living being that also needs to restore its ideal condition. The Earth is not a machine that is constantly employed to fulfil humans' greed. One of the interviewees said: "The Earth also needs to rest. We have to respect it by giving it a pause time". This perspective is in line with The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, which was initiated in 2010 during the World People's Conference in Cochabamba, Bolivia (UDRME, 2010).

The interaction between Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community in this movement is influential in shaping the social identity of both groups. This is because this movement has urged them to do mutual adjustment and negotiation to find a harmonious way to bridge the differences between them.

1.2. Conceptual Design

This section describes the conceptual design of the research, which consists of a theoretical framework, research objective, research question, and research concepts (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010).

1.2.1. Theoretical Framework

The current ecological crises facing humanity have become prominent and attracted the attention of various parties in the global world, such as politicians, businesspeople, policymakers, activists, religious leaders, artists, academics, and so on. Each group tries to grasp the problem and look for a solution with diverse perspectives and orientations. According to Birkeland (1993, pp. 15-18), there are two orientations of any environmental movement: masculinist and feminist. The masculinist movement maintains a gender-neutral framework and supports androcentric worldviews, which result in sustaining the status quo and hindering social changes. The feminist movement incorporates gender issues into the movement and highlights the connection between the abuse of power, the subjugation of women, and the exploitation of the environment. This is what has come to be known as ecofeminism. In addition, the intersection between religion and ecological issues has brought about a new strand of theology, namely eco-theology, focused on the contextualization of theology in responding to recent ecological crises. According to Troster (2013), eco-theology helps to reshape humans' perspectives towards human-nature relationships.

Women and Environmental Crises

Women play a crucial role in the well-being and sustainable development of their communities, in addition to their significant contributions to caring for the planet, its natural resources, biodiversity, and the ecosystem. Their wide-ranging experiences make them experts in environmental management, as well as in identifying appropriate actions and solutions for various environmental problems (Eaton & Lois, 2003). However, women are often excluded from the decision-making process on environmental issues due to a gender-biased society (Strumskyte et al., 2022). This situation strengthens the ecofeminist perspective that environmental problems are women's problems.

Ecofeminism is regarded as part of the third wave of feminism, which observes a close relationship between the feminization of the natural world and the naturalization of women's lives (Moore, 2004). The first wave of feminism served as the cornerstone of transformative progress. It took place in the late nineteenth century, with the main goal of supporting opportunities for women to have suffrage and participate in politics. It also challenged women's domestication. The subsequent wave commenced in the 1960s and concluded in the 1980s. This period represented a profound evolution within the feminist movement, addressing a more extensive array of inequities. It emphasized the necessity for equality in the workplace, advocated for reproductive rights, and contested prevailing sexism and societal conventions. The third wave emerged in the early 1990s. It recognized and celebrated the diversity and inclusivity inherent in women's experiences across various backgrounds, cultures, and social standings. This wave considerably expanded the feminist agenda to encompass issues of social justice, connecting gender disparities with racism, classism, and other forms of discrimination, including those related to gender and the environment (Rampton, 2015). The transition from the second wave to the third has been characterized by the establishment of centre for women's and feminist studies in academic institutions. This has prompted the question of whether feminism has indeed been 'withdrawn' from the grassroots to the academic sphere (Moore, 2004).

The debates and discussions within ecofeminism were postulated in the West more than five decades ago. Through her book *Le Féminisme ou la Mort*, published in 1974, D'Eaubonne, a French writer, called for women's participation in saving the planet, claiming the patriarchal paradigm as the primary cause of the domination and oppression of women and nature. Almost a decade before, Carson depicted the dying world through her book *Silent Spring* in 1962. In this book, Carson criticized the adverse impact of modernization on pesticide use, resulting in widespread soil poisoning. Although she did not explicitly promote ecofeminism, her concept of the

interconnectedness between humans and nature strengthens the ethics of ecofeminism. In the same vein, Merchant (1989) evaluated the scientific revolution, which resulted in an enormous ecological crisis. Merchant tried to analyse the nature-culture dualism regarding the relationship between women and nature in her book *The Death of Nature*. Warren also contributed to the discourse of ecofeminism. Warren's book *The Power and Promise of Ecological Feminism* (1994) investigated the connection between the domination of women and non-human nature.

Responding to both the domination of nature and the oppression of women, ecofeminists propose a new vision to construct a new cultural consciousness and social system that supports the relation of mutuality rather than competitive power. This promising vision would not have been crystallized without the hard work and collaboration of all layers of society. Ecofeminist ethics and cultures are essential for creating a sustainable and just world. The essential ecofeminist ethics are reshaping the dualistic concept of reality (mind-body, reason-emotion, masculine-feminine, human-nature) and integrating the human system into ecological patterns that sustain life. As part of the ecosystem, human intelligence does not make humans separate and superior to nature; rather, it is a gift that enables them to harmonize their lives with the ecosystem in which they are an integral part. Moreover, the ethics of mutual interdependency should be constructed socially to replace the order of supremacy as a model of the relationship between men and women, human groups, and other beings, which finally will reshape human basic understanding concerning the life cycle (Ruether, 2004; Phillips, 2016; Warren, 1990).

Ecofeminism in Indonesia between Academic Discourse and Activism

In the Indonesian context, the emergence and dynamics of ecofeminism are also closely tied to the discourse of feminism itself. Despite considerable activism and scholarly literature on the theory and ethics of feminism in Indonesia, there is a prevalent inclination among conservative and fundamentalist religious factions to disapprove of the utilization of the term 'feminism'. This disapproval stems from the supposition that feminism is a Western product and lacks any inherent connection to the shared roots found within Indonesian tradition (Arivia & Subono, 2017). Rinaldo (2011) recorded that some Indonesian Muslim women activists rejected feminism and propagated Islamic fundamental thought to promote equality for women, while others adopted feminist ethics to cover the same. Nevertheless, after the New Order era, the freedom to discuss theories, practices, pros, and cons of feminism emerged (Arivia & Subono, 2017), and many declared their interest in the feminist discourse.

As a form of resistance, some writers use the term 'gender-based ecology' rather than ecofeminism to describe the relationships between women and nature.

Febriani (2015, 2017, 2018) wrote several articles on gender-based Islamic eco-theology and eco-Sufism. Regardless of the debate over the appropriate term, Ali (2015) emphasizes the importance of productive dialogue between Islamic and non-Islamic thoughts to bridge the gap and pave the way for a broader understanding of Islamic ethics.

As an activist movement, ecofeminism in Indonesia has featured prominent figures. Alomang, the 2001 winner of the Goldman Environmental Prize, is one of the influential figures in Indonesian environmental struggles, as she has raised awareness about the disastrous effects of the world's largest gold mine, located in Papua, Indonesia's easternmost region (Jamasmie, 2017). In 1996, Alomang registered civil claims against the United States mining company, demanding compensation for community members (both men and women) and environmental damage. In 1999, she received the Yap Thiam Hien Award from the Foundation of the Centre for Human Rights Studies. Alomang also founded the Centre for Human Rights Against Violence (Yayasan Hak Asasi Manusia Anti Kekerasan/YAHAMAK) to continue the struggle. Alomang utilized the compensation money from the United States mining company to build clinics, meeting houses, orphanages, and monuments to human rights violations (Anggraini, 2016).

Baun is another leading figure in Indonesian ecofeminist activism. Baun stands against marble mining in the indigenous territory of Molo, Eastern Nusa Tenggara. Her continuous struggle to raise people's awareness of their responsibility in maintaining the Earth resulted in her becoming a target of local authorities. However, her efforts paid off when the company abandoned the mining site, and she was awarded the Goldman Environmental Prize in 2013. Now, together with the communities across the island, she continues to struggle to gain recognition for the traditional forest of the Indigenous Molo community (Saturi & Fachrizal, 2013). In 2017, Baun launched the Mama Aleta Fund to support female environmentalists and conservationists (Dian, 2017).

Nisa, the founder of *Pesantren At-Thariq* (an Islamic boarding school) in Garut, West Java, is also renowned among female environmentalists in Indonesia. She promoted zero pesticide farming and established a bank of local seeds. The surrounding community and the international world were well aware of her struggle, and this recognition was further solidified when she received a scholarship from Vandana Shiva through an 'A-Z agroecology' and organic food system course in 2017. She also gained recognition from the UN when she was awarded the Food Heroes FAO 2024.

These women may not use ecofeminism as the foundation and framework of their movements; however, as Warren (2000) stated, ecofeminism serves as an

umbrella term for various models of activities that reject human domination over nature and women. What they performed illustrates ecofeminism itself. Several instances of land grabbing and agrarian conflicts in Indonesia have given rise to numerous individuals within the environmental movement who embody the principles of ecofeminism. The Kartini Kendeng movement, the focus of the present research, also has nurtured prominent figures within the environmental movement.

Ecofeminism as an academic discourse in the Indonesian context was recognized and developed in the second decade of the 2000s, predominantly when Candraningrum compiled scholarly articles on women and nature's relationship in a book series called *Ecofeminisme*. Its first book, entitled *Ecofeminisme dalam Tafsir Agama, Pendidikan, Ekonomi, dan Budaya* (Ecofeminism in the Interpretations of Religion, Education, Economics, and Culture), was published in 2013. The book documents more than fifteen articles that elaborate on diverse perspectives and approaches to addressing women's and ecological issues in Indonesia.

Islam and Ecological Crises

Responding to the massive ecological crisis, Islamic leaders, together with policy-makers, academics, and experts, call on Muslims to play an active role in looking for a better solution. One of the real actions to tackle this global crisis was the Islamic Declaration on Climate Change, adopted at the International Islamic Climate Change Symposium in Istanbul in 2015. Mangunjaya, an Indonesian scholar and environmental activist, has signed the declaration. However, the existence of religious teachings regarding human-nature relationships does not necessarily reduce the issues. Nevertheless, religion is still considered important in seeking a better solution to the current ecological challenges and offering a more comprehensive worldview to situate humans' lives within their ecological web (Tucker, 2003). In addition, religious concern about the cosmic field and its significance to human life should be manifested in teachings and practices (Nasr, 1996, p. 21; Tucker & Grim, 2003; Wijzen & Saptaningtyas, 2016).

The discourse on Islam and ecological issues challenged many scholars to elaborate and discuss it from diverse perspectives. Some have attempted to explore the Quran and the Hadith of the Prophet, the primary canonical sources in Islam, through legal perspectives (*Fiqh*) or mysticism (Sufism). In contrast, others focus on activism and campaigning for green lifestyles, such as promoting green Hajj, green mosques, and green Ramadan, among other initiatives. According to McLeod and Palmer (2015), it is important to raise Muslim awareness by connecting Islamic teachings and ecological activism. Some scholars have also attempted to reinterpret existing concepts in Islam through ecological approaches. The concept of Tawhid,

for instance, is mainly understood in Islam as the recognition of the oneness of Allah, which merely concerns maintaining a good relationship between human beings and God. This concept is then understood as a starting point to maintain other relationships, namely relationships with all God's creatures, because those creatures are signs of God and stand before Him equally (Foltz, 2003).

The other concepts concerning human-nature relationships are *hay'a* and stewardship. *Hay'a* refers to honourable manners and behaviours towards God's creatures, which are spurred by respect (Ammar, 2004), while stewardship relates to humans' responsibility for the sustainability of all God's creatures, including humans, plants, or animals (Ammar, 2001; Chishti, 2003; Ozdemir, 2003; Arnez, 2014; Tualeka, 2014; Bagir & Martiam, 2016). Besides the importance of sharpening the critical function of Divine laws or *Shari'ah* concerning global environmental crises or eco-Islam, there are many more ecological ethics embodied within Islamic thoughts, which also need to be formulated clearly (Nasr, 2003).

The discourse of ecological issues in Islam rarely includes an ecofeminist perspective and vice versa. Both perspectives stand alone on their own path. Some authors focus on elevating Islamic ecological ethics apart from ecofeminism (Nasr, 1968; Dien, 2000; Abdul-Matin, 2010), while others discuss gender issues in conjunction with Islamic ecological ethics (Mernissi, 1987; Engineer, 1987; Moghadam, 1994). The present research aims to bridge the gap between ecofeminism and eco-Islam, exploring the dialogical relationship between the two, with a focus on the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam, using the Kartini Kendeng movement as a case study.

Significant research on the Kartini Kendeng movement has been done with diverse perspectives and approaches. However, none of the existing research on the Kartini Kendeng movement combines both perspectives of ecofeminism and eco-Islam. Some research focuses on ecofeminist ethics (Candraningrum, 2019b), women's agency (Lestariningsih & Wariyatun, 2015; Musyfiqin, 2019), Samin's ecological ethics (Setiadi et al., 2017), communication (Bintang, 2016; Raharjo, 2019), sustainable development (Rajagukguk, 2016), and advocacy (Achidsti & Widaningrum, 2018).

1.2.2. Research Objective

The present research aims to explore the involvement of women in environmental care and the relationship between ecofeminism and eco-Islam (internal objective), as well as to recognize the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam (external objectives).

1.2.3. Research Question

The main question that will be answered is:

What is the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam?

Sub-questions that will be answered are:

- (1) How do the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement perceive the relationship between God, humans, and nature?*
- (2) What are the empirical ecological ethics emerging in this movement that correspond to eco-Islam and ecofeminism?*
- (3) How does the Kartini Kendeng movement shape the social identity of both the Muslim and Sedulur Sikep within this movement?*

1.2.4 Definition of Concepts

Ecology

There are four key terms used in the present research: ecology, ecofeminism, eco-Islam, and empirical ethics. Both ecofeminism and eco-Islam contain the exact word root, ecology. Therefore, it is essential to clarify the meaning and definition of ecology before proceeding to understand ecofeminism and eco-Islam.

The term “ecology” is derived from the Greek words ‘*oikos*’, meaning ‘household’, and ‘*logos*’, meaning ‘study’ and ‘knowledge’. Ecology is the study of the environmental house, as well as all the living beings in it, and all the functional processes that make the house inhabitable (Odum & Barrett, 1971, p. 2; Ruether, 1992, p. 1; Keller & Golley, 2000, p. 9). In today’s terminology, the term also encompasses the comprehensive range of effects of human behaviour on the ecosystem (Nadkarni, 2016, p. 415).

Ecology underlines both interaction and connectedness between human and nature. Ecology reveals some important ethics: (1) ontological interconnectedness: all beings are integral parts of the life web; (2) internal relation: the substance of any living thing is a reflection of connections and contexts; (3) holism: relations and connections between parts must be considered; (4) naturalism: all life forms come from the same processes; (5) non-anthropocentrism: equality between humans and non-humans; (6) negative impacts caused by humans resulting in the need for environmental ethics (Keller & Golley, 2000, pp. 2-3).

Ecofeminism

D'Eaubonne coined the term ecological feminism (ecofeminism) tribute when she appealed to women to fight for ecological justice, considering patriarchal world-

views result in domination over nature and oppression of women as well. Ecofeminism appears as an umbrella term and a home in which women and nature are connected to resist the domination model of inter-human and human-nature relationships. For ecofeminists, the ethical root of their movement is the concept of interconnectedness. All ecological beings, including humans, animals, plants, air, water, and the Earth, are interconnected as one life chain; any harm to one part will impact the others (Eaton, 2016; Taufik, 2007; Warren, 2000).

As an umbrella term for a diverse range of feminist activisms, which combine gender and environmental issues as the basic premise, ecofeminism is represented in various forms, including arts, fiction, photography, poetry, academic works, and grassroots movements (Carlassare, 1994; Eaton & Lorentzen, 2003). There is no absolute form or practice of ecofeminist ethics. It will continue to progress based on various experiences, perspectives, and situations that inevitably have influences. The primary purpose of ecofeminism is to create new worldviews and social systems that foster human-nature mutual relations and interdependence, thereby promoting the sustainability of human life (Vance, 1993). This new worldview will foster an equal and reciprocal relationship within the entire ecosystem (Ruether, 2004).

To break down this worldview, like other current ecological philosophies, ecofeminism is also centred around the field of ecological ethics, which is concerned with issues about the proper treatment of the natural world by humans. Warren (2000, pp. 109-118) proposed a conceptual framework of ecofeminist ethics, referred to as a 'care-sensitive ethic', wherein moral significance is posited as its fundamental basis. This framework contends for the crucial consideration of empirical actions and experiences of women that encompass any selected manifestation of extant ethical principles, which in turn advocate for the safeguarding, conservation, or enhancement of the overall well-being of the entire cosmos.

Eco-Islam

Islamic eco-theology, eco-Islam, Islamic environmentalism, and Muslim environmentalism are among the terms used to refer to the intersection between Islam and ecological issues. Abdelzaher and Abdelzaher (2017), for instance, used the terms 'eco-Islam' and 'Islamic eco-theology' interchangeably to describe the phenomenon that links Islamic teachings with ecological ethics or environmental practices. According to Afrasiabi (2003), eco-Islam, which focuses on bridging the gap between Islamic teachings and ecological issues, is challenged to articulate its ethical guidance either by reconstructing the relationship between God, humans, and nature using a non-anthropocentric vision or by deconstructing unsustainable Islamic cosmological ethics and theology.

As mentioned previously, some scholars have introduced Islamic concepts and principles that can be categorized under Islamic ecological ethics, including Tawhid and stewardship, as well as *hay'a*, among others. However, almost all of these concepts rely on the Quran and Hadiths as their primary resources to formulate Islamic ecological ethics, employing a deductive method. The inductive method, however, focuses on empirical practices and is rarely used to formulate those ethics.

Empirical Ethics

Empirical ethics is a behavioural pattern that is sufficiently acknowledged across a societal spectrum to be expressed as a formalized set of principles, which exhibit varied manifestations within each cultural context. Individuals' comprehension of the consequences associated with ethical transgressions contributes to the reinforcement of ethical codification (Wilson, 1998). Empirical ethics not only describes practices and actions; instead, it guides people's behaviour (Musschenga, 2005).

Empirical ecological ethics refers to ethical worldviews and best practices derived from eco-centric values (Curry, 2011) regarding the relationships between human and non-human nature (Jenkins, 2016, p. 28). Focusing on individuals' experiences, empirical ecological ethics observes a great deal of diversity within each societal context. Using the perspective of both ecofeminism and eco-Islam, the present research reveals the lived practices and experiences of human-nature interrelationships among members of the Kartini Kendeng movement.

I.3. Technical Design

According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2010), technical research design pertains to a specific methodological or strategic approach to be employed. This encompasses research strategy, research sources, data collection, method of data analysis, and planning and output.

I.3.1 Research strategy: The Kartini Kendeng Movement as a Case Study
This thesis is based on a single case study. A weakness of a case study is that it cannot be representative of a larger population. A strength of a case study is that it generates in-depth insights and explores all complexities and ambiguities of causal relationships. It can test generalizing insights in this specific case (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010).

Women have a long history of being agents in Earth care movements due to their ancient relationship with nature, as reflected in their culture, language, and

history (Merchant, 1989), through which they gain reliable knowledge and signs. Thus, granting women their rights is a crucial factor in addressing ecological problems (Robbins et al., 2014). It is essential to recognize that not all Earth-caring movements initiated by women are categorized as ecofeminism, as they possess distinct ethics and cultures. Ecofeminism should reform the binary perception and fundamental understanding of humans, men, and women, in their interconnection with the natural world (Ruether, 2004; 2005).

The Kartini Kendeng movement aims to defend the North Kendeng Mountains from disastrous cement mining. The local populace respects the North Kendeng Mountains because it is their mother, their source of life, which nurtures them through its springs, fresh air, and fertile land. They perceive it as a living being that responds and reacts to human deeds. They believe that when they treat their homeland respectfully, it will repay them with an abundance of good fortune and kindness. This perspective subsequently generates ethical principles that serve as guidelines for each individual regarding appropriate conduct and actions to maintain a harmonious relationship between humans and nature.

There are numerous ecofeminist figures in Indonesia; however, studying the Kartini Kendeng movement is interesting since it has embodied the history of gender shift and the agency of social order. The Kartini Kendeng movement also attracts public attention, sparks social changes and political conflict, and raises awareness to re-examine religious teachings regarding human-nature relations. Thus, it is arguable to choose the Kartini Kendeng movement as the research unit in this case study, involving the activists of this movement as the observation units and data resources (Vershuren & Dooreward, 2010).

1.3.2 Research Sources and Data Collection

The participants of the present research consist of women and men residing in the districts of Pati and Rembang in Central Java who are members of JMPPK and actively involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. It is stated before that Kartini Kendeng movement gathers both men and women who defend the landscape of the North Kendeng Mountains from mining. Due to the varying levels of ability to effectively articulate their ideas within this movement, I sought guidance from MAK1 to identify individuals with whom I could communicate and conduct interviews.⁹

⁹ MAK1's appointment of interviewees may cause a bias; however, data triangulation is applied to minimize the possibility of such bias. Please refer to appendix 1 for the codes of the interviewees.

Consequently, MAK1 gathered the JMPPK members at *langgar* Yu Patmi.¹⁰ No less than 40 people gathered at this *langgar* and I had the opportunity to engage in discussions with them. This was particularly significant as I was a newcomer to their social circle. Their prior experiences interacting with individuals outside their community instilled caution. Purposive sampling was used to determine the interviewees. Important factors to consider included gender, place of residence, length of involvement in this movement, and participation in demonstrations in Pati, Semarang, and Jakarta. Fairclough (1992:78) stated that discursive practices involve all processes of the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. Therefore, observation was used in this research to understand the context of text production, distribution, and consumption. In other words, observation helped to understand who produces texts, how they circulate, and how audiences respond.

I conducted interviews with a total of fifteen women and ten men who were actively involved in this movement, five of whom had a background in *Sedulur Sikep*.¹¹ From 2019 to 2021, I visited Pati and Rembang five times. The interviews were conducted using a pre-structured format, utilizing a prepared topic guide for discussion, although the specific order of these topics remained flexible. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 to 90 minutes, depending on the circumstances. Furthermore, if an additional participant unexpectedly joined the conversation during an interview, the discussion could continue for up to two hours or more, interspersed with customary village meals, which I felt obliged to accept due to their cultural and ethical significance.

The people of *Sedulur Sikep* tend to utilize the Javanese language in their everyday interactions. Conversely, individuals with an Islamic background within the movement are fluent in both Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia, switching between the two languages effortlessly. Therefore, during my interviews, I utilized both the Javanese language and Bahasa Indonesia. As someone who hails from a Javanese tradition, I encountered no difficulties in comprehending the text and context of the conversations I had with my interviewees. Subsequently, all of the gathered data was transcribed and translated into English. However, the quoted data was utilized in the present research after undergoing an adjustment process, which involved the use of square brackets [] to enhance readability. I made use of the triangulation

10 Yu Patmi was a member of the Kartini Kendeng movement. She passed away during the protest in front of the presidential palace in 2017. According to the medical report, she died because of a sudden heart attack; however, the people of Kendeng consider her a martyr of their movement. To commemorate her struggle and with the support of JMPPK members, the family built a *langgar* (small mosque) and named it after her.

11 For details, please see appendix 1.

method, including (1) discursive interviews that focus on 'variation' and 'diversity' and the dynamic involvement of the interviewer in the discourse (Kvale, 2007), (2) participant observation, and (3) literature reviews from written sources both online and offline for the data collection (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010).

To respect the privacy and differentiate between each informant and to make my analysis easier, I put codes and numbers. The code KK stands for all women, regardless of their background as Muslim or *Sedulur Sikep*, involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. The other code is MAK, which stands for male activists, either Muslim or *Sedulur Sikep*, who play important roles in this movement. Numbers are added behind each code to differentiate between each interviewee.

1.3.3 Method of Data Analysis

To analyse the data obtained, I apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed by Norman Fairclough. This framework serves as both a theoretical and methodological tool for analysing broader social and cultural phenomena (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). CDA was selected as the primary approach to exploring the interconnectedness between language and social movements. By employing CDA, it becomes possible to identify the role of language in the interplay between ecofeminism and eco-Islam. This is because discourse shapes social structures and, in turn, is shaped by society (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). Moreover, CDA goes beyond merely describing discursive practices; it also aims to reveal the relationships between power, ideology, and their impact on belief systems, knowledge, social identities, and social relations (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12).

According to Fairclough, there are three dimensions of CDA: description, interpretation, and explanation. The first dimension focuses on the linguistic features of the text; the second concerns the relation between the text and interaction; the last dimension, explanation, underlines the connection between the interaction and social context (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). The description dimension primarily concentrates on the use and meaning of salient keywords (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 185-186) with four main topics of interest: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75).

In the present research, the focus in the first dimension will be on vocabulary, specifically examining 'alternative wordings' and their political and ideological significance, as well as 'word meaning' and 'metaphor' (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 75-77). In addition, Fairclough introduces two key terms: overwording and rewording. Overwording refers to a deep concern, while rewording pertains to the utilization of new wordings that serve as alternatives to existing ones or in opposition to them (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 193-194). The value of each vocabulary item was

also observed. According to Fairclough (1989, pp. 93-94), vocabulary items may possess three types of value: experiential, relational, and expressive. Experiential value relates to beliefs and knowledge, relational value pertains to social relationships, and expressive value is associated with subject and social identities.

The second dimension of CDA is the discursive practice (interpretation), which focuses on the production, distribution, and consumption of texts. It unfolds the relationship between text and context. Text production during the communication process and text consumption or interpretation are drawn on members' resources (Fairclough, 1989, p. 163; 1992, p. 80) or mental models (Van Dijk, 2008) stored in long-term memory. There are two dimensions of members' resources: cognitive and social. They are cognitive because they stay in people's minds and social because they are constructed socially (Fairclough, 1989). Despite the diverse ways promoted by Fairclough in doing discursive analysis, I focus on two main techniques: intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality in the present research refers to the transformation processes of the text that produce new genres or discourses (Fairclough, 1992, p. 102). Fairclough delineates a distinction between manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality, also referred to as interdiscursivity. Manifest intertextuality occurs when a particular external text is explicitly referenced within a text. In contrast, constitutive intertextuality or interdiscursivity pertains to the phenomenon whereby a specific discourse type is formed through a combination of orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 117-118).

The third dimension of CDA is social practice (explanation), which focuses on the conditions and effects of the texts to determine the nature of social practice in which the discourse takes part. The rationale behind the discourse practice and its impact on social practice is explicated in this step. Fairclough draws upon the theoretical frameworks of ideology (Althusser, 1971) and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) in developing CDA. Nonetheless, Fairclough (1992, pp. 90-91) criticizes Althusser's and Foucault's interpretation of ideology, arguing that it diminishes the agency of individuals and collectives in their capacity to critique or resist ideological constructs. Fairclough (1992, p. 91) stated:

Ideologies arise in societies characterized by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group, and so forth, and insofar as human beings are capable of transcending such societies, they are capable of transcending ideology.

Furthermore, the concept of hegemony provides a framework for understanding transformations in the dynamics of power relations, thereby facilitating a focused examination of discursive evolution.

In the context of discourse practice analysis, the concept of hegemony aids in identifying hegemonic conflicts manifested through the reproduction, restructuring, or contestation of prevailing discursive formations (Fairclough, 1992, p. 95). Both concepts of ideology and hegemony aid CDA in investigating the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam, as found in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

I.3.4. Planning and Output

Following the general description in this Chapter, I will present a literature review on ecofeminism and eco-Islam in Chapter II. Chapter III presents empirical data on the Kartini Kendeng movement, followed by an examination of the correlation between the literature review and the empirical data in Chapter IV. The final Chapter (Chapter V) presents the conclusion and discussion, in which the research questions are addressed.

Chapter II

The Epistemological Dynamic of Ecofeminism and Eco-Islam

Introduction

The current devastation of the natural world threatens the survival of the human species, culture, and even the Earth itself, the sole viable habitat for humanity. Despite the seemingly overwhelming and constant presence of significant hazards, many individuals choose to evade this issue rather than confront and embrace it (Gottlieb, 1996). Nevertheless, there has been a proliferation of environmental movements that adopt diverse approaches, pursue varied goals, and stem from different backgrounds. All approaches arise from a range of perspectives on optimal practices for managing and conserving nature (Gottlieb, 1993).

These movements range from spontaneous neighbourhood associations that rely on crowdfunding to address local environmental concerns to professional organizations led by executive officers with multimillion-dollar financial backing (Gottlieb, 1993). Moreover, various approaches are used within these movements. Some movements challenge world religions in their approach to the issue, while others focus on gender issues. Some groups focus on social change, while others concentrate on economic and market solutions.

The engagement of religion and ecological issues develops a new strand of theology. This strand reflects a contextualization of theology in response to ecological issues, considering human ecological experiences and their relationship with nature (Deane-Drummond, 2008; Troster, 2013). For many scholars, the intersection of religion and ecology is aimed at developing a religiously grounded ethical worldview based on the natural sciences (Jenkins, 2016).

Those who argue the inevitable interconnection between domination over women and environmental exploitation introduce a new strand of feminism, namely ecofeminism, as a school of philosophy, theology, and social analysis (Ruether,

2005). Ecofeminism recommends the importance of justice and caring to invalidate domination and its implications (Adams & Gruen, 2021).

This chapter has been divided into four distinct parts. The initial part offers a profound insight into ecofeminism in general by examining its genealogy, strands, critics, dynamics, and ethical framework. The second part explores the intersection of Islam and ecology, examining its historical trajectory, dynamics, and guiding principles. The third section presents an extensive discourse on ecofeminism within the context of Indonesian Islam, and the final section explores the interplay between Islam and the indigenous community in Indonesia because of the influence of *Seduler Sikep* in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

II.1. Ecofeminism: History, Dynamics, Typology, and Ethics

Many describe ecofeminism as a movement that combines environmentalism and feminism (Gaard, 1993; 2011; Carlassare, 1994; Sturgeon, 1997; Warren, 2000) or ecocriticism and gender studies (Yang, 2018) with a basic assumption that any ideology that authorizes oppressions and injustice based on gender, race, physical ability, class and sexuality is similar with that of oppression over nature (Yang, 2018; Gaard, 1993, 2011; Carlassare, 1994; Sturgeon, 1997; Warren, 1987, 2000, 2009).

Warren (2000) highlighted the connection between feminism and environmental issues. For her, since feminism focuses on abolishing all factors that prolong domination over women, environmental issues are feminist issues, based on the fact that women are often responsible for tasks such as searching for firewood, food production, and carrying water, as well as other domestic burdens. According to Warren, whenever and wherever this primary responsibility hinders women from full involvement in decision-making or gaining a higher position in society, it becomes a feminist issue.

This kind of oppression and domination is typically made on ideological-cultural and socio-economic bases. On the ideological-cultural base, it is said that women are closer to nature than men and more adjusted to emotions and the animal world. Moreover, women are conditioned socio-economically to be in the domestic domain, which includes reproduction, food preparation, childrearing, and cleaning of clothes and houses. In this condition, women are undervalued in the public domain of male culture and power, which excludes them from higher education and leadership (Ruether, 1996; 2005).

The emergence of ecofeminism as an interconnection between feminism and critical ecology has historical precedencies. Carson is one of many who voiced

critical ecological issues. Through her book, *The Silent Spring*, first published in 1962, Carson awakened human awareness of the dangers of pesticides and other poisonous chemicals used to boost agricultural production. One of the main arguments of her book is the interrelationship between human life and ecological maintenance. When the Industrial Age promoted the use of chemicals, the alarm bell of the most serious environmental problems and public health issues began ringing.

According to Carson (1962), the invention of modern chemicals forces humans to swallow the elixir of death when they are exposed to or interact with hazardous chemicals from the early beginning of conception until death. Human control over nature, assuming that nature exists to serve humankind, is an arrogance. Although Carson did not explicitly identify herself as an ecofeminist, her book *The Silent Spring* inspired the first non-conservationist environmental movement in the United States. Therefore, she is considered a foremother of ecofeminism (Moore, 2015; Sturgeon, 1997).

D'Eaubonne, who has been credited with pioneering the term ecofeminism, emphasized the role of the patriarchal system in subjugating women and nature. This occurred when modern science revolutionized traditional agriculture, leading to a new model that marginalized women in the production process and granted men authority over fertility and fecundity through procreation. In the era of the Great Goddess, humans believed that divine beings impregnated women. Consequently, they upheld an anti-patriarchal agricultural system that placed women at the core of both production and reproduction processes (D'Eaubonne, 2000).

In line with D'Eaubonne, critical analysis from Merchant (1989), Shiva (1988), and other scholars exists on contemporary innovations that alter human perspectives towards women and nature, ultimately leading to a mechanistic order. Merchant (1989) delved into the transformative impact of the scientific revolution on human beliefs regarding the Earth as a living organism and nurturing mother. This belief has functioned as a cultural restraint, acting as a barrier against the exploitative and destructive actions of humans. However, the novel scientific discipline that was introduced by Bacon (1561-1626), the father of modern science, has fundamentally altered the notion of the Earth as a nurturing mother and a cradle of life. The Earth is then viewed as a reservoir of resources that ought to be extracted to further human economic progress, ultimately leading to the degradation of the natural environment.

Bacon's experimental method promoted dichotomic paradigms between male and female, rational and emotional, objective and subjective, and mind and matter, reflecting a masculine model of domination over women and aggression against nature (Shiva, 1988). This situation contributed to the emergence of both the

women's movement and the ecological movement, which sharply criticized the costs of domination, exploitation, and competition in nature and society as a consequence of science, a predominantly male venture. Both Merchant and Shiva noted that the identity of nature as a nurturing mother has linked the history of women with the history of the environment and ecological issues. The female Earth was an axis mundi of the organic cosmology that presumed all creatures as living organisms. Yet, this belief is challenged by the scientific revolution and market-oriented culture that sees the cosmos as a machine (Merchant, 1989) or a woman to be raped (Shiva, 1988, p. 17).

Ecofeminist theorists propose a conceptual framework that advocates for the development of a new cultural awareness and societal structure, cultivating the notion of reciprocity or 'power to' rather than hierarchical dominance of 'power over', as well as interconnectedness, collaboration, sustainability, and rejuvenation (Birkeland, 1993). This new awareness should also avoid "otherness", as stated by Halpin:

Women have been oppressed, not so much because they have been equated to nature, but rather because both women and nature have been equated to "the Other" ... Thus, the same dynamic that has resulted in labeling women as inferior and justified society's domination of women and nature, has done the same during the most of our history, to Blacks and other people of color, Jews, the poor, and gay or lesbian person (Halpin, 1989, p. 286).

Critics and Dynamics

As a global phenomenon, it is challenging to generalize and define ecofeminism, as it is diverse in terms of voices, positions, and modes of expression. Warren called ecofeminism an 'umbrella' that encompasses this diversity (Warren, 2000). This diverse manifestation of ecofeminism operates based on the shared premise that any subjugation of women, people of colour, the poor, and children is interconnected with the subjugation of nature. The emphasis on gender in ecofeminist analysis does not imply that gender-based domination is more significant than other forms of subjugation. Instead, it reveals a crucial aspect of the interconnected system of human domination. First, women are disproportionately affected by environmental degradation, regardless of their socio-economic status, race, age, or other demographic factors. Second, female social roles, such as domestic responsibilities, often intersect with specific environmental challenges that are not typically associated with male roles. Third, certain Western ideologies exhibit a bias towards male-gendered perspectives in their conception of domination over nature (Warren, 2000).

Warren (2000) also argued that the connection between domination over women and nature is conceptual. She referred to this kind of conceptual framework as an 'oppressive conceptual framework' that comprises five key arguments: value-hierarchical thinking, value dualism, power over, privilege for the Ups and not the Downs, and the logic of domination. The first argument (value-hierarchical thinking) places a higher status or prestige on what is 'over' rather than what is 'below'. 'The value dualism' argument gives a higher position to that which has been categorized as 'mind', 'reason', and 'male' than to that which has been categorized as 'body', 'emotion', and 'female'. The third argument (power over) describes how 'the oppressive conceptual framework' maintains the experience of the power of the Ups over the Downs, which keeps the Downs subordinated. The fourth argument (privilege for Ups and not Downs) perpetuates a practice of privilege of Ups over Downs that functions as a dominant-subordinate relationship. The last argument (logic of domination) is an arrangement of argumentations that leads to a confirmation of domination.

Despite the aforementioned shared premise of domination over the vulnerable group and nature, there exists a concept of essentialism within ecofeminism, which views the interconnection between women and nature as a fixed property and unchanging quality. This raises disputes and critiques against ecofeminism itself (Carlassare, 1994; Sturgeon, 1997). This is because essentialism maintains the construction of a sexist culture and reinforces gender bias stereotypes based on women's 'innate' psychological and biological characteristics that eventually prolong the oppression of women and limit their agency as social and cultural members (Carlassare, 1994). For the second wave of feminism, essentialism is one of the founding principles that should be rejected. The criticism directed towards ecofeminism on the grounds of essentialism is further manifested through a counter-reaction from feminists, which conveys a negative implication. According to Moore (2015), ecofeminism fails to embody the principles of feminism. As a consequence, only a few ecofeminist writings or theories are published or engaged in prominent feminist journals, conferences, and anthologies (Gaard, 2011; Sturgeon, 1997).

However, responding to this critique, Merchant preferred to put this connection on an empirical stage, not on a theoretical one, since it is impossible to universalize and uniformize women's status as close to nature due to various women's experiences across history, culture, language, and society (Merchant, 1989; Thompson, 2006). The concept of the women-nature connection seeks to explore this value in shaping a human perspective on nature and its implications for contemporary life. The mechanistic worldview should be reevaluated as it results in domination over women and nature (Merchant, 1989).

Sturgeon described five logical reasons behind the ‘special connection’ between women and nature. The first argument is that the patriarchal world equates women and nature. Therefore, one of the crucial tools in feminist analysis is to understand the origins of environmental issues thoroughly. To put it another way, feminist analysis should be aware that whenever and wherever women are dishonoured, nature also will be degraded. As long as women are positioned to always care for and nurture, nature will be eternally viewed as fertile and exploitable (Sturgeon, 1997). Eaton and Lorentzen recognized this argument as an empirical claim of the interconnectedness of women and nature (Eaton & Lorentzen, 2003).

The second argument is the reverse; a comprehensive understanding of domination over women, especially in Western cultures, needs an environmentalist investigation (Sturgeon, 1997). Eaton and Lorentzen identified this kind of domination as the basic claim of a conceptual and symbolic relationship between women and nature (Eaton & Lorentzen, 2003). If women are equal to nature, their effort to liberate themselves is a challenge to the image of a passive and objectified nature.

The third argument is a cross-cultural, historical, and materialist analysis of women’s roles in society. Since women often play a leading role in agricultural production and are responsible for managing domestic duties, they are more likely to notice environmental problems more quickly than men. They are more likely to be affected by the issue (Sturgeon, 1997). Eaton and Lorentzen (2003) identified this argument as epistemological.

The fourth argument posits that women’s biological closeness to nature, due to their reproductive characteristics such as menstruation, lactation, and childbirth, keeps them in sync with nature’s rhythms, cycles, and life-death processes. The last argument, referring to spirituality, is found in nature-based religions, such as paganism, which features a powerful image of female deities equal to those of male deities (Sturgeon, 1997).

Typologizing Ecofeminism

Responding to critics of essentialism within ecofeminism, many argue that creating typologies of ecofeminism is an appropriate method for theorizing ecofeminism. Sturgeon (1997, p. 178) stated that “non-essentializing ecofeminist theory is the ‘best’ ecofeminism”. Moreover, besides its function in encompassing the radical diversity within ecofeminism, typologizing also creates division and portrays the tension between feminist activists and feminist theories in their responses to essentialism (Moore, 2015; Sturgeon, 1997).

However, this typologizing between essentialist and anti-essentialist ecofeminism did not eliminate essentialism (Sturgeon, 1997). The dual essentialism and

anti-essentialism have failed to position ecofeminism fairly (Moore, 2015). Therefore, using 'direct theory', Sturgeon (1997) argued that essentialism within ecofeminism should be seen positively since it plays a significant role in creating a 'strategic identification' of the women-nature relationship that has a political agenda to (1) create agreement between diverse kinds of women; (2) justify a feminist critique against environmentalist; (3) strengthen connection between feminism(s); (4) share democratic structure, and (5) undertake peaceful direct actions.

Merchant supports partnership ethics to resolve the binary division between essentialism and anti-essentialism. This partnership ethics treats all beings (human and non-human) equally within a supportive and non-dominating relationship. Therefore, humans must provide their partners (both human and non-human) with time, space, and care, enabling each other to reproduce and develop (Merchant, 2005).

Despite the dynamic arguments behind typologizing between essentialist and anti-essentialist ecofeminism, it is arguable to observe those typologies generated by ecofeminists and investigate their effort to identify ecofeminism. Warren differentiated three types of ecofeminist positions: cultural ecofeminism, social ecofeminism, and socialist/materialist ecofeminism (Warren, 2001).

Merchant (2005) classified four types of ecofeminism: liberal, cultural, social, and socialist ecofeminism. Cultural feminism, sometimes referred to as radical feminism or spiritual feminism, is the first type of ecofeminism developed in the early 1970s. It emphasizes an embedded relationship between women and nature in deep psychological and social structures, which provide women with better moral reasoning and ways of knowing to address environmental issues. Moreover, insisting on anti-science and anti-technology, some cultural ecofeminists argue for a renaissance of spiritual practices such as pagan rituals or Goddess worship that honoured woman's physical body and procreation capacities (Merchant, 2005; Warren, 2001). For cultural ecofeminists, liberating women and nature through political action is the only way to resolve the problem (Merchant, 2005).

Cultural ecofeminists have been criticized by social ecofeminists due to essentialism, claiming the women-nature relationship. For social ecofeminists, there is no embedded essential relationship between women and nature that makes women better than men in understanding and coping with environmental issues. Instead, it is a social construction that portrays women as being in harmony with nature (Merchant, 2005; Warren, 2001).

According to the principle of social ecology, the subjugation of nature stems from the subjugation of humans by other humans. In light of this, social ecofeminism advocates for the restructuring of society as a decentralized community. As a result, to emancipate women, social ecofeminists endorse the dismantling of both

economic and social hierarchies that commodify and commercialize all aspects of existence, including the womb, where life begins. Through egalitarian and decentralized communities that transcend the dichotomy between public and private domains, women will be able to emerge freely as active participants within the public sphere (Merchant, 2005).

The third type is materialist or socialist ecofeminism, a feminist adaptation of socialist ecology that challenges the social construction and biological predisposition of the relationship between women and nature. Women's biological characteristics play a significant role in their association with nature, as well as their material, social, and political relationships (Merchant, 2005; Warren, 2001). Socialist ecofeminists argue that nature is not a passive object, but an active subject, serving as a material source of all life. Socialist ecofeminists have criticized capitalism, which prioritizes economic growth at the expense of both humanity and the natural world (Merchant, 2005).

To subvert essentialism pitfalls, materialist ecofeminists reject all abstract, spiritual, and totalizing relationships between women and nature and underline diverse empirical conditions of women in particular cultural and geographical contexts. Therefore, it is arguable that women in the Global South, for instance, are closer to nature based on empirical conditions they have without generalizing this condition to all women (Oksala, 2018).

The fourth type is liberal ecofeminism that stems from liberalism, a theory that views both men and women as equal personal rational agents who can take full advantage of their self-interest. It also emphasizes the importance of egocentrism and capitalism as an effective economic system for human development, as each individual has the right to maximize their production potential (Merchant, 2005).

Liberal ecofeminists assume that environmental degradation is the consequence of the overuse of pesticides and other poisonous materials that pollute natural resources. Furthermore, the excessive and rapid development of natural resources also plays a pivotal role in natural devastation. To cope with this problem, conservation, laws, regulations, and better scientific advancements that are environmentally friendly are needed. Women, as members of society, can then transcend the socially structured stigma associated with their biological characteristics and become equal to men in their participation in preserving and improving natural resources for the betterment of human life (Merchant, 2005).

Challenging the four leading types of feminism— liberal feminism, traditional Marxist feminism, radical feminism, and socialist feminism — Warren (1987) proposed transformative feminism, which focuses on the importance of the connection between domination over nature and domination over women. Transformative

feminism prioritizes ecological responsibility as a central aspect of feminist theory and practice. Warren described some underlying principles to develop transformative feminism as: (1) transformative feminism should recognize all models of feminism conceptions including those that are generated by feminists of colours and Third World feminists in order to end all kinds of women's oppression; (2) transformative feminism should arrange a place for a central theory of diverse female experiences that acknowledge the varied social conception of knowledge and epistemology from the empirical experiences of women and other subjugated groups; (3) it should reject logic of domination and all kinds of 'patriarchal conceptual frameworks'; (4) it should develop non-patriarchal conception of human-nature interconnectedness that involves psychological restructuring of humans attitudes toward nature; (5) it has to recast ethical concerns that include non-hierarchical concept of morality as well as conflict resolution; (6) it should challenge patriarchal bias in science and technology to ensure the objective of both science and technology in preserving nature not destroying it. According to Warren, based on these principles of transformative feminism, ecofeminism will turn full circle. Sturgeon commented on this idea as an intention to position ecofeminism as the best theory within feminism (Sturgeon, 1997).

Other terms and labels also emerge to express women's liberation and the environmental movement. Agarwal proposed feminist environmentalism rather than ecofeminism because ecofeminism had failed to overcome essentialism (Agarwal, 1992). However, Sturgeon criticized Agarwal, arguing that changing a name would not avoid essentialism. It is avoided by paying full attention to the side effects of constructing homogeneous categories for analytical purposes (Sturgeon, 1997).

Cyborg ecofeminism is another term recommended by Sturgeon (1997). Inspired by the 'cyborg feminism' of Chela Sandoval (1995), Sturgeon assumes this label as a strategy to encompass essentialism and anti-essentialism, theory, and activism without the intention to build its school, but rather to acknowledge all kinds of critics, consolidations, the interaction of constructing and deconstructing identities and strategies. The label also emphasizes the importance of ongoing coalitions among all types of ecofeminism and environmental movements, not only locally but also transnationally and globally, to liberate humans and nature from oppression.

Eco-theologian and Ecofeminist

Many scholars contend that there is a close relationship between eco-theology and ecofeminism. Troster (2013), for instance, insists on the notion that eco-theology draws its inspiration from ecofeminism. This is evidenced by the fact that a significant number of renowned eco-theologians also identify themselves as ecofemi-

nists. Another statement comes from Kim (2011), a Korean Christian Theologian, who claimed that ecofeminism is one of the four models of Christian eco-theology: 'social ecology, creation theology, ecofeminism, and eco-spirituality'.

Investigating biblical, Greek, and Babylonian sources of domination, Ruether (1992) posited the concept of *metanoia* as a necessary condition for the survival of Gaia¹² in the forthcoming decades. Additionally, a comprehensive transformation must occur through the adoption of an ecological spirituality that fosters a profound love for all living beings, including the Earth, Gaia.

According to Ruether (1975), ecological spirituality will give rise to a new society characterized by a novel paradigm and vision of the human-nature relationship, one in which a 'new humanity' and a 'new Earth' are transformed. This new society will refrain from the act of 'conquering the Earth', owing to the attainment of a comprehensive understanding of reciprocal interdependence and 'actual solidarity' shared with all living beings, including the Mother Earth, from whose womb humans arise at birth and return at death. Furthermore, this awareness of the human-nature relationship should enhance the human capacity to nurture and restore this natural harmony for the benefit of all creatures, both present and future.

Another argument from biblical investigation that intersects with the ecofeminist perspective was proposed by Gebara (1996, p. 16), a Brazilian Catholic theologian who insisted that the doctrine of the Trinity underlies patterns of the God, human, and nature relationship. She said:

The Trinity, then, is not three separate persons living in a heaven we cannot locate. It is not three persons different from one another, the way we differ as a person. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not of divine stuff as opposed to our human stuff; rather, they are relationships, that is, relationships we human beings experience ... Within Christian experience, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are symbolic expressions we use to speak of the profound intuition that all of us share, along with everything that exists, in the same divine breath of life.

This concept of interconnectedness between God, humans, and nature, stemming from the Trinity, aligns with the perspective of ecofeminism. These perspectives not only advocate for equality among individuals of diverse backgrounds but also emphasize the interrelationship between the microcosm and the macrocosm (Gebara, 1996).

12 Gaia literally means the Earth. In Greek mythology, Gaia refers to the Earth Goddess.

In her publication, *Models of God* (1987), McFague formulated an original theological framework that presents the concept of the cosmos as the body of God, God as a mother, God as a lover, and God as a friend. McFague posited that a comprehensive perspective is needed in the reinterpretation of Christian theology, departing from conventional models that endorse hierarchical, anthropocentric, asymmetrical, and dualistic viewpoints. Instead, she advocated for the adoption of more appropriate approaches that reinforce the relationship between God and nature, such as inclusivity, interdependence, unity, openness, care, and mutuality.

Dietrich (1996), a Catholic feminist theologian, drew inspiration from McFague and employed the phrase 'the world as God's body' as a theological symbol to encapsulate her normative standpoint regarding the interconnection between God, creation, and society. This particular spirituality empowers individuals to situate themselves within the web of life, where the promotion and preservation of a compassionate society is paramount, thus negating all forms of subjugation.

Through her article, *The Forbidden Tree and The Year of the Lord*, Lee-Park (1996), a prominent figure in Korean feminist theology, generated her theological perspective from biblical research of two underlying passages: Genesis 2: 15-17 and Leviticus 25: 8-55. According to her, the infringements of the forbidden tree in this modern world are evident in both individual and collective relationships between Humans and God, as well as between humans and other humans. Exploitation, domination, and different kinds of power abuse are examples of the fruits of the forbidden tree.

Lee-Park posited, based on her comprehension of the Jubilee law as delineated in Leviticus 25: 8-55, that the essence of the Jubilee law, also known as the Year of God, manifests as an expression of gratitude towards God for His abundant mercies, benevolence, affections, and equitability towards all of humanity. Through the lens of this scriptural vision, individuals ought to contemplate that all human beings possess equal standing, irrespective of their racial, sexual, or religious backgrounds. Consequently, each individual assumes the role of a divine custodian, serving as a harbinger of vitality and emancipating all life forms from the yoke of subjugation.

Empirical Ethics of Ecofeminism

There is no single, absolute, or ideal practice of ecofeminist ethics, as diverse perspectives, experiences, and circumstances will always influence these ethics. It is stated in Chapter I that empirical ethics are practices and actions that serve as a guiding framework for individual behaviour (Musschenga, 2005). By concentrating on individuals' lived experiences, empirical ecological ethics reveals considerable diversity within each societal context.

In her book *Ecofeminist Philosophy*, Warren (2000) proposes her concept of ecofeminist ethics as a “care-sensitive ethic”, which is grounded in moral significance. This ‘care-sensitive ethic’ has three pivotal features. The first feature is an ‘ability to care’ condition, which implies moral motivation and reasoning to ‘care about’ others. The second is ‘situated universal’. It refers to Warren’s argument that this ethic emerges from real-life actions and experiences relevant to diverse circumstances throughout history. Its universality is manifested in particularity. The third feature is a ‘care practices’ condition. It refers to any practice chosen among existing ethical principles to protect, preserve, or enhance the well-being of others. In this sub-theme, I will elaborate on how the ‘care-sensitive ethic’ emerges as lived experiences across cultures in Africa, Latin America, Asia, Australia, and Europe.

Shona women in Zimbabwe believe in the *Mutopo* myth, which emphasizes the oneness and divinity of all beings and promotes an egalitarian and symbiotic relationality among all kinds of nature, rather than a hierarchical, exclusive, and oppositional polarity. There are three principles of this myth: (1) the unity of all existences, (2) each entity inherently possesses the attribute of freedom, and (3) God (*Mwari*) is the origin and guardian of life. According to the *Mutopo* myth, all creatures — women and men, space and time, humans and animals, young and old, fire and ice, deities and creation — are reciprocally interrelated (*mambo wanhu*). In addition, the universe is not viewed as a source for exploitation, but rather as a means to sustain all creation. Therefore, the challenge for humans is to affirm this concept of inter-relationality and egalitarianism in a way that preserves a peaceful community. The folklore, folktales, and music they promoted serve to foster this theme of a tranquil society, emphasizing the necessity of upholding freedom and justice to ensure the continued existence of all living beings (Nyajeka, 1996).

The other form of ‘care-sensitive ethic’ among the African community exists in the Chisumphu cult, a shrine located in the village of Kachikoti, approximately 63km from the city of Lilongwe in Malawi. The local populace believes that the keeper of the shrine serves as the protector of the Earth in two ways: (1) through annual rituals, primarily a rain-calling ritual and a first-fruit thanksgiving ritual, and (2) by being responsible for the preservation of the natural resources surrounding the Chisumphu shrine. A rain ritual, led by the shrine keeper, is performed to stop or accelerate rain. There are preserved stories behind sacred places and natural resources around the shrine. This faith in these holy sites and the accompanying narratives persists, aiding the community in safeguarding their ancestral lands (Phiri, 1996).

Likewise, the *Gikuyu*, also known as the *Agikuyu*, one of the ethnic communities in Kenya, believe that *Ngai* (God) is the ultimate owner of all creatures and the provider

of all their needs. For them, nature is perceived as a gift they can enjoy as well as a responsibility to care for. Exploitation is an irresponsible act, as nature belongs to *Ngai* (God), and humans are His *muramati* (stewards), who are obliged to care for the land and uphold justice for all creatures. This belief is manifested in rituals and prayers that the Gikuyu perform during planting or harvest seasons. However, colonialism introduced a utilitarian worldview towards nature, whereby the indigenous Agikuyu communities were inclined to exploit their environment for financial gain. This shift in focus ultimately led to the erosion of their inherent ecological knowledge and the degradation of the surrounding ecosystem. In response to this condition, Professor Wangari Maathai, a leading environmental activist and feminist in Kenya, founded the Green Belt Movement, which successfully mobilized women to participate in a massive reforestation program (Hinga, 1996).

In Latin America, the poor, black, indigenous women, poor farmers, and shantytown dwellers who suffer from racism made their ethical decisions towards nature. They insist on a profound reverence for all sentient beings, such as plants, animals, forests, land, springs, and water. In addition, they also respect all human-made inanimate objects, such as equipment and devices. They employed any open piece of land to cultivate beans, spices, and vegetables, and even grew fruit-bearing trees in empty jars or unused containers to meet their daily needs. Additionally, they opted for seasonal fruits and vegetables grown within the country, thereby providing essential support to local farmers and diminishing the energy expenses linked with product transportation from distant regions. They also improved their creativity in preparing food and electricity usage to maximize efficiency (Parentelli, 1996).

The Mapuche and Aymara peoples of Chile also possess a profound sense of being part of the cosmos and the interconnectedness of all things. For the Mapuche people, the coexistence of diverse and opposing aspects, such as light and dark, women and men, and spirit and matter, among others, is seen as harmonious and contributes to equilibrium. Consequently, they consult the natural signs of the Earth to determine their periods of labour or rest. These periods are divided into two seasons, known as *Wukan* and *Puken*. *Wukan* is a time for the Earth to blossom, during which the Mapuche people plant and harvest their crops. Conversely, *Puken* in winter is a time for the planet to breathe; thus, Mapuche people also relax, contemplate, and dream. In addition, they believe that the Earth is their mother and that each tree on the planet is an altar, linking the cosmos and heaven, which should be respected. In line with the Mapuche people, the Aymara people also possess ecological wisdom known as *Pachamama*, which embodies the underlying concept of the interconnectedness of all beings. *Pacha* means all living beings, and *mama* means women with familial ties. However, *Pachamama* can be understood as the Mother

Earth in its physical, social, and spiritual meanings. The Aymara people believe that they are originated from *Pachamama* and that upon passing, they shall return to her embrace. *Pachamama*, the nurturer of human existence, requires a reciprocal reverence from humanity as a manifestation of gratitude (Ress, 1996).

In the Asian context, Igorot women who live in the mountains of northern Luzon in the Philippines, for instance, hold the belief that the Earth is a living being and possesses a spirit, like other living things. Consequently, it is essential to maintain harmony with all living beings. Women, who serve as the primary food producers in the area, firmly believed that “the land should be nurtured and defended because this is their partner in ensuring the survival of the clan or tribe” (Tauli-Corpuz, 1996, p. 101).

Numerous studies have shown that people in India also hold the sacredness of nature in high regard. For them, human existence is directly proportional to their ability to unite with the rhythm of nature in intellectual, emotional, and spiritual spaces. To maintain this belief, sacred groves and forests are created throughout India. They worshipped *Aranyani*, the Goddess of the Forest. For them, the forest is the primary source of fertility and life as well as a model for civilizational and societal evolution. The spirit to defend their forest can be traced back to the history of the Chipko movement, when the Bishnoi community in Rajasthan sacrificed themselves 300 years ago to defend their sacred trees, the *Khejri*, by clinging to them (Shiva, 1988).

Research on the Indigenous community in Australia also demonstrates the concept of the interconnectedness between humans and nature. The *Walmajari* people in Western Australia believe that rainfall is bestowed upon them by God as a result of the harmonious relationship between themselves and *Kalpurtu*, the initial mythical being from the Dreamtime. *Kalpurtu* is regarded as the source of all springs and is depicted as a snake with a long beard, residing in *Jila*, the everlasting springs found in various locations, referred to as “living water”. To preserve their water supply, the people of Walmajari must properly honour *Kalpurtu* by singing the traditional song passed down to them from the Dreamtime. Failure to adhere to this correct treatment may result in dire consequences such as death or misfortune. Their deep connection to this traditional wisdom enables them to sustain their water resources. They attribute the current environmental degradation to the disregard and abandonment of *Kalpurtu*, reflecting people’s attitudes toward nature (Sullivan et al., 2012).

Another Aboriginal community in the Kimberley maintains its ancient rules, known as *Wirnan*, a conceptual ‘blueprint’ that governs Aboriginal social relations, actions, rituals, and ecological ethics based on reciprocity within and beyond the

local community. It is an expression of the relationship between humans, nature, and the Dreaming (Doohan, 2013).

Finally, the Sámi people, an indigenous community residing in the northern parts of Norway, Finland, Sweden, and the Murmansk Oblast of Russia, have inherited *Árbediehtu*, a specific knowledge about the human-nature relationship that has been passed down through generations. Some of *Árbediehtu*'s teachings are a holistic perspective in which humans and nature are considered interconnected and non-separable (Jonsson, 2011).

II.2. Islam and ecology

In Islamic discourse in general, considerable growing attention is given to ecological consciousness, from which Muslims derive their understanding of nature (Ahmad, 2015; Khalid, 2002; Foltz, 2003). Several popular terms are used in the intersection of Islam and ecological issues, including Eco-Islam, Islamic eco-theology, Islamic environmentalism, Muslim environmentalism, Islamic ecological ethics, and Islamic ecological paradigms.

The term eco-Islam came about during the 1960s, approximately thirteen centuries after the prophethood of Muhammad. Although Nasr did not explicitly mention the term “eco-Islam”, he is considered a pioneer of eco-Islam (Abdelzaher & Abdelzaher, 2017) or Islamic environmental ethics (Foltz, 2003). Through his book *Man and Nature: The Spiritual Crisis of Modern Man*, published in 1968, Nasr proposed the harmony between man and nature. From this point onwards, research and applications in bridging Islamic teachings and environments began to grow, albeit with varying perspectives.

Scriptural Perspective

Both the Quran and the Hadith are primary sources for understanding Islamic teachings on ecological issues. Some scholars interpret ecological values in the Quran and Hadith, evaluating them as Islamic ecological or environmental ethics (Ozdemir, 2003; Foltz, 2003; Dien, 1992; Manzoor, 1984). Others propose a comprehensive understanding of both the Quran and Hadith to find scientific authority in addressing current ecological issues (Dutton, 2003) and Theological-Philosophical teachings (Nasr, 2003).

Practical Perspective

Many Muslims focus on activism and movements that campaign for green lifestyles and a green approach to religion, such as green Hajj, green mosques, green khutbahs, green *dakwah*, green Ramadan, *ceramah lingkungan* (environmental lectures), and many other initiatives undertaken by Muslims worldwide.¹³ These initiatives are a kind of eco-jihad, a struggle to preserve the surrounding nature and improve its qualities to guarantee a better life for all creatures (Amri, 2014; Zbidi, 2013).¹⁴

Legal Perspective

Some thinkers argue in favour of the importance of Islamic environmental law (Llewellyn, 1992, 2003; Dutton, 2003) or ecological justice in relation to women's rights (Ammar, 2003). Fatwas¹⁵, in response to environmental issues or green fatwas, are also circulated by some Arabic countries, such as Jordan (Cuthbert, 2017) and Egypt (Terdiman, 2011), through their *Dar al-Iftaa*.¹⁶ Some organizations in Indonesia, such as the MUI, Muhammadiyah, and NU¹⁷, also issued green fatwas. MUI, for instance, issued Fatwa Number 02 in 2010 on recycling water for ablution and Fatwa Number 04 in 2014 on the protection of endangered animals. Muhammadiyah issued Islamic jurisprudence on water (*Fiqh air*) to encourage Muslims to preserve nature (Sukarni, 2014). Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is also concerned about *Fiqh Lingkungan Hidup* or Islamic jurisprudence on ecology (Suryadi, 2023) and published a book on *Fiqh* of plastic waste management (LBM, n.d.) and *Fiqh* of renewable energy (Ghazali et al., 2017).

13 For more information about these initiatives, please see www.theecomuslim.com or www.khaleefa.com.

14 See also: <https://www.theecomuslim.co.uk/p/about-eco-muslim.html>.

15 Fatwa is a nonbinding legal opinion issued by an authoritative legal organization or jurists on a point of Islamic law.

16 *Dar al-Ifta* is a government institution that provides religious guidance and consultation to Muslims by issuing fatwas.

17 MUI, or Indonesian Council of Ulama, is an independent organization founded by the Indonesian government on July 26, 1975, that accommodates Muslim scholars in Indonesia. Its main concerns are (1) providing guidance to Indonesian Muslims in realizing a religious and social life according to Islamic teachings; (2) providing advice and fatwas on religious and social issues to the government and society, increasing activities for the realization of Islamic brotherhood and inter-religious harmony in strengthening national unity and integrity as well; (3) being a liaison between the ulama and the *umara* (government) and a reciprocal translator between the ummah and the government in order to succeed national development; (4) Improving relations and cooperation between organizations, Islamic institutions, and Muslim scholars in providing guidance to the community, especially Muslims by holding mutual consultation and information (<https://mui.or.id/sejarah-mui/>). [Accessed on 13 October 2020]. Both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) are the biggest faith-based movement in Indonesia established in 1912 and 1926 respectively with more than 100 million followers.

Spiritual Perspective

A Spiritual perspective emerges in the form of eco-Sufism.¹⁸ This perspective bases its argument on the relationship between environmental depletion and spiritual crisis. Sufism, widely known as Islamic mysticism (Schimmel, 2011), refers to an ethical system, aesthetics, and attributes based on Islamic spirituality that guide Muslims along the path of love to achieve a symbolic unity with God (Walker, 2004). Materialistic cultures can detach modern men from this spirituality and foster an anthropocentric view that erases their awareness of being part of this planet, an interdependent living organism (Vaughan-Lee, 2013). According to Sufis, the current ecological crisis is a call from the Earth and a cry from its soul. To help the Earth recover from this crisis, human beings should remember their perennial knowing that 'the Divine is present in everything'; thus, all creatures are sacred. Through this spirituality, human beings might claim stewardship. By then, human beings have reached their comprehensiveness that reflects the existence, attributes, and names of the Divine Perfection (*Kamal*)¹⁹ (Arabi, n.d.).

These diverse perspectives are a consequence of the broad spectrum of religion, which enables scholars to articulate their epistemological point of view and understand the nature of knowledge and teachings within any religion. Ninian Smart introduced seven dimensions of religion (Smart, 1973). The following are those seven dimensions and their application to Islam:

(1) Social and institutional dimensions imply that religion is a shared belief system practiced by people with some rules and inquiries to form the total social structure, such as Sufi orders, Shi'a, and Sunni.

18 One of the declaration points of the World Sufi Forum 2011 responds to the ecological crisis. It reads: 'To overcome the current environmental crisis and extreme climate change, the Sufi community reiterate the need for a *zuhud* attitude, considering that the carrying capacity of the nature is almost no longer able to meet the consumption needs of the modern society which is increasingly excessive and greedy, resulting in the destruction of the environment and humanitarian crisis' (<https://sites.google.com/site/pustakapejaten/mutiara-hikmah/abah-habib-luthfi/tausiyah/deklarasi-multaqo-shufi>). [Accessed on 1 March 2021]. *Zuhud* literally means detachment. It refers to asceticism in Islam.

19 According to Arabi, this world is based on two important elements: God (the Absolute) and the Perfect Man (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*) or the Comprehensive Man (*al-Insān al-Jāmi'*). He said: "(Before the creation of Man) God had already brought the whole universe into existence without soul like a vague and obscure image. It was like unpolished mirror ... and Man (Adam) is created to be the very polishing of that mirror and the very spirit of that form" (Arabi, n.d., p. 49). The perfection and comprehensiveness of Man lay on his material constitution that comprehends all Divine's names and attributes. He is called *insān* (pupil) because He is like the eye of which God sees His creatures (Arabi, n.d., p. 49). Izutsu explained this concept broadly in his book 'Sufism and Taoism: A comparative Study of Key Philosophical Concepts' (2016).

(2) ritual dimension that indicates forms and procedures of activities or ceremonies, such as prayers (*salah*), pilgrimage (*hajj*), fasting, *Eid al-Fitr*, and mosque attendance during daily or Friday prayer.

(3) experiential and emotional dimension that refers to experiences that may appear during rituals or happen in a religious context, such as inner peace, ecstasy, devotion, guilt, and mystery.

(4) doctrinal and philosophical dimensions that point out the structure of religious teachings, such as the nature of God or Nirvana in the Quran, sunnah, or Hadith.

(5) mythical and narrative dimension that notes the history of transcendental or spiritual entities, such as the story of *Isra* and *Mi'raj* or the Night Journey and Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad, and the story of the creation of Adam and the angels' doubt in the creation.

(6) ethical and legal dimensions that encompass moral and behavioural rules and collective beliefs of traditions, such as believing in the oneness of God and that Muhammad is His messenger, performing prayers five times a day, and concerning the obligation of charity up to 2,5 % of the savings.

(7) symbolic or material dimensions such as Ka'ba, the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah, calligraphy, and hijab.

Based on these dimensions, it is arguable that diverse terminology is used to describe Islamic teachings regarding ecological issues. Moreover, Smart concluded that the interrelation of each dimension should be investigated under the balanced view of religion.

Islam, Eco-theology, and Environmental Theology

Whether the terms 'ecology' or 'environment' are the best to be used to describe ecological values and/or activism rooted in and inspired by Islamic teachings, or undertaken by Muslims, is debatable. The debate stems from differing perspectives on ecology and the environment. Both ecology and environment encompass philosophy and movement from different directions. Human attitudes and understandings of ecology and environment depend on their perspectives on the human-nature relationship.

Ecology lays its philosophical foundation on the interrelationship between the human and non-human world (Dobson, 2007). It does not instrumentally see nature and avoids a dualistic view of the world (Hayward, 1994). Moreover, ecology challenges and proposes a new system of values, economy, and social structure to make the planet fit for life. At the same time, the environment addresses environmental threats within the existing status quo (Harrison & Boyd, 2003).

According to environmentalists, managerial approaches are considered the key solution to overcoming the current environmental crisis, without the need for fundamental changes in the economy, society, and value systems (Dobson, 2007; Harrison & Boyd, 2003). Criticisms are made against environmentalism, equating it with industrialism, as it is often seen as dedicated to the interests of human enterprise, rather than nature itself. Livingston said: "I think many so-called environmental organizations have deliberately set out to demonstrate the utility of nature to the human enterprise as the most palatable way of selling conservation" (Livingston, 2007, p. 12). However, according to Carson (1962), humans should look for a better approach to deal with the problem of sharing the Earth with other creatures.

In terms of Islamic discourse, Afrasiabi (2003) proposed Islamic eco-theology as a new paradigm in Islamic theology. Afrasiabi's paradigm is a repository of practical theology with a future-oriented approach that challenges Muslims to bridge the gap between ecology and theology, using attractive and fashionable language to appeal to the modern generation. Its main goal is to articulate a non-anthropocentric vision of Islam that views all creatures as sacred through (a) a reconstruction of the meaning of Islamic key concepts about the God-human-nature relationship, and (b) a deconstruction of untenable Islamic cosmological, theological, and ethical perspectives. Abdelzaher and Abdelzaher (2017) used the terms 'eco-Islam' and 'Islamic eco-theology' interchangeably to describe the phenomenon that links Islamic teachings with ecological ethics or environmental practices.

Meanwhile, Foltz (2000) differentiated between Islamic environmentalism and Muslim environmentalism. Islamic environmentalism refers to environmental ethics derived from the canonical sources of Islam. In contrast, Muslim environmentalism encompasses the environmental attitudes and activities of Muslims, which may be inspired by various sources, including, but not limited to, Islamic teachings and other relevant perspectives. In line with Foltz, Gade (2019) also distinguished the two. According to Gade, the first addresses the notion of humans' existence and their ideal relationship with other creatures, as well as the responsibility to face recent environmental crises, as outlined in Islam. The second focuses on the reactions and responses of Muslims to environmental issues. These reactions and responses are not solely derived from Islamic canonical sources. Instead, they are developed through various frameworks, including religious, scientific, social, and experiential. Gade explained further that the emergence of environmental concern enriches Islamic studies with the subfield of Islam and the environment.

Referring to the existing terms and definitions mentioned above, 'eco-Islam' is used in the present research to highlight the connection between Islamic doctrines, environmental practices, and ecological ethics.

Principles of Eco-Islam

As mentioned previously, some scholars have focused on understanding ecological principles derived from both the Quran and Hadith, subsequently assessing these principles as representative of eco-Islamic ethics. In this subheading, I will elaborate on some tenets of eco-Islam that align with ecofeminism as formulated by certain scholars and writers.

The Concept of All Inclusive (Tawhid)

The word Tawhid has been historically interpreted as the oneness of God, or unity, which describes pure monotheism in Islam (Ouis, 1998; Khalid, 2010; Al-Faruqi, 1992). It is a worldview that applies generally to the omniscience of everything, running as a central theme of every model, kind of knowledge, and being in Islam (Al-Faruqi, 1992; Murata, 1992; Hope & Young, 1994; Ouis, 1998).

The concept of Tawhid encompasses two fundamental principles: Allah, the Divine, and the non-divine, or the Creator and the created, which ought to reject any other form of dualism (Al-Faruqi, 1992; Ouis, 1998). The unity of God also implies the equality of all His creations. All creations are in the same position in front of God, regardless of their race, gender, colour, or status as animate or inanimate creations. There is no other dualism except that of God and non-God, or the Creator and the created (Abdelzaher et al., 2019). Tawhid further necessitates that Muslims acknowledge that everything in this realm belongs to the Divine. Consequently, humiliating any creation of the Divine, be it a sentient being or any other natural resource, is deemed sinful and constitutes transgression (Islam, 2004). Through this concept, Muslims understand that all creations affirm the oneness of God (van Gorder, 2014; Islam, 2004). According to Taymiyah (1433 AH), believing in the oneness of Allah also means believing in His beautiful names. Allah declares in Quran Surah 20:8 that reads: “Allah, there is no deity except Him. To Him belong the best names”.

The notion of Tawhid constitutes the heart of Islamic life, which imparts to Muslims not solely the obligation to avow the oneness of God through the declaration of *Shahadah* (*Ash-hadu an lā ilāha Illa Allah*) that means “I bear witness that there is no God but Allah”, but also to apply this concept in practical life through harmonizing diversity into unity or the unity of all creations (Nasr, 2007; Khalid, 2003). In other terms, the consciousness of Tawhid describes the unity of humans and other creatures (Said & Funk, 2003) emanating from the Divine oneness (Ouis, 1998).

Islamic cosmology is used to describe the existence of God. Both the cosmos and human beings manifest the signs (*ayah*) of God (Negus, 1992; Chittick, 1989; Ozdemir, 2003; Chishti, 2003; Nasr, 1996; Khalid, 2002) that should generate in

humans a feeling of sacredness and humbleness towards all God's creations (Ouis, 1998). The Quran Surah 41:53 reads: "We shall show them Our signs upon the horizon and themselves until it is clear to them that it/He is the Real". This verse implies the existence of God's signs in the outside world and within humans themselves (Chittick, 1989).

Since every single creature, man, woman, plant, animal, ocean, forest, mountain, and other being is a sign of God, it should be treated in reverence to its Creator or *taqwa*. *Taqwa* is how to implement the concept of Tawhid. In terms of ecological ethics, *taqwa* enables Muslims to treat all God's creatures with reverence, as they manifest the existence of the Divine (Llewellyn, 2003).

Contemporary Islamic environmentalists have preferred to interpret the concept of Tawhid in a new meaning, all-inclusive (Foltz, 2003), to encourage a sense of equality between all God's creatures, including both humans and non-humans. They base this new meaning on some Quranic verses, such as Surah 6:38, which reads: "There is not an animal in the Earth, nor a flying creature on two wings, but they are peoples like unto you". The other verse that is often cited to support this new meaning of Tawhid is Surah 17:44, which states: "The seven heavens and the Earth and whatever is in them exalt Him. Moreover, there is not a thing except that it exalts [Allah] by His praise, but you do not understand their [way of] exalting. Indeed, He is ever Forbearing and Forgiving". Moreover, according to the Prophet Muhammad, all of God's creations are equal before God and have the same rights (Islam, 2004).

Through the concept of Tawhid, Muslims believe that Allah is the only goal for their life. Modern life significantly influences human orientation, as numerous aspects of contemporary life serve as points of reference and lend meaning to human existence, including politics, science, medicine, equality, and nationalism. Chittick argued that life orientations and points of reference may drive Muslims to other Gods or *shirk*. Islamic theologians refer to this type of *shirk* as hidden *shirk*. The most dangerous Gods in modern living are the most difficult to recognize, for example, consumption, communications, education, standard of living, resources, welfare, and production (Chittick, 2007). This phenomenon in the modern world undermines the sacredness of nature, as it views nature as a machine in a material domain, stripped of spirituality and divinity (Nasr, 1996).

Stewardship and Servantship: Human beings as Khalifah and 'Abd

A lot of research has been conducted to observe the human perspective on relationships between humans and nature, including the use of quantitative research with specific scales to measure human perspectives on their relationships with

nature. One of these scales is the Human and Nature (HaN) scale, developed by the research group in Social Environmental Science at Nijmegen.

Based on the classification made by Kockelkoren (1993), the HaN scale describes four kinds of human-nature relationships: human as *master*, *steward*, *partner*, and *participant* of nature. The image of a master positions humans above nature, granting them the power to do as they please for their benefit without any moral restrictions. Humans as stewards means that humans are above nature and have the responsibility to care for nature. The third model, humans as partners, means that humans stand side by side with nature and work together for mutual development. The last model, which involves humans as participants, suggests that humans are part of nature both biologically and spiritually (de Groot & van den Born, 2007).

In terms of Islam, the Quran revealed the dialogue between God and angels on the creation of human beings and how they doubted this news and convinced God that humans would spread mischief and shed blood. However, God assured all the angels that He knew better than them.²⁰

The word *khalifah* (*khala-ifa* in plural) comes from the root *kh. l. f.* in Arabic and means (1) to succeed, to follow, and to come after another or (2) to replace, to substitute, and to take the place of another. When commenting on Quranic verses related to this word, Al-Thabari referred to these meanings. According to him, the word '*khala-ifa*' (heirs) in the Quran Surah 10:4, which reads: "Then We made you heirs in the land after them, to see how ye would behave!", refers to those who succeed and come after another. Thus, the sultan is called *khalifah* because he replaces and continues the function of the previous one (Al-Thabari, 1994).

In his work, *al-Tadbiraat al-ilaahiyah fii islaahi al-mamlakah al-insaaniyah* (2003), Arabi explained the concept of *khalifah* or stewardship in Islam. He stated that when God created *khalifah*, or human beings, He built a city for them to live in, along with their masters, workers, and governments. This city is the body with the heart as a centre (master). God then completed this city with a brain that enables human beings to control and rule over the city, which consists of organs, senses, and imagination (governments and workers). This body is also equipped with a treasury of thought and memory, soul and spirit. Arabi uses this metaphor to explain human position as a microcosm within the universe, a macrocosm. The universe is a vast

20 Quran Surah 2:30 reads: Just think when your Lord said to the angels: "Lo! I am about to place a vicegerent on Earth", they said: "Will You place on it one who will spread mischief and shed blood while we celebrate Your glory and extol Your holiness?" He said: "Surely I know what you do not know".

city with humans at its centre and as the ruling agent.²¹ In addition, the concept of stewardship (being a *khalifah*) in Islam also reflects human individual and collective responsibility (Mangunjaya, 2005).

Both the microcosm and macrocosm are created by the Divine. On the one hand, the body and the universe are creations of God with the rights of which humans are responsible. Humans cannot claim their rights over the body and universe from God, the Creator. On the other hand, the body and the universe are part of the human totality that remain connected to them until their final reality (Nasr, 1996). The Quran mentions that all God's creations in the universe praise Him in their own way.²² In addition, each part will bear witness before God independently regarding any human action.²³

Another position for humans is being God's servant, or '*abd*', who should worship Him.²⁴ The two positions of humans, as steward and servant before God, will help clarify Islamic teaching concerning the human and nature relationship (Dutton, 2003; Nasr, 2005). Nasr argued that as God's servant ('*abd*'), a human should submit himself to God and obey His commands passively. Conversely, while being God's steward (*khalifah*), a human should be active in sustaining harmony and spreading grace for the entire planet because humankind is the centre of the creatures under God's order (Nasr, 2005).

Intelligence is one of the important blessings from God that differentiates humans from other creatures. This enables humans to fulfil their responsibility as God's stewards by administering to all creatures following God's guidance. Moreover, God puts sight and hearing over other senses for a reason. Through his sight, a human can perceive God's wisdom over the creatures, and through his ears, a human can hear God's words and commands (Al-Biruni, 1995; Nasr, 1978, p. 150).

Many argue for the need to convey a correct understanding of the concept of stewardship (*khalifah*) in Islam. Being God's steward means that a human has a duty of caring for and maintaining the Earth of which he has been entrusted (Negus, 1992; Chishti, 2003; Gomaah, 2009). In other words, human beings stand before God to obey His command to change themselves, society, and the environment in order to conform to the Divine order (Al-Faruqi, 1992; Gomaah, 2009).

21 See also Nasr (1996).

22 Quran Surah 17:44 states: "The seven heavens and the Earth and whatever is in them exalt Him. And there is not a thing except that it exalts [Allah] by His praise, but you do not understand their [way of] exalting. Indeed, He is ever Forbearing and Forgiving".

23 Quran Surah 36:65 reads: "This Day, We shall seal up their mouths, and their hands will speak to Us and their legs will bear witness to what they used to earn".

24 Quran Surah 51:56 reads: "And I (Allah) created not the Jinn and humans except they should worship Me (Alone)".

According to Arabi (n.d., Vol. I: 421), the purpose of human creation is to gain comprehensive knowledge of things and become the ‘Universal Man’ (*al-Insan al-Kamil*). To be a ‘Universal Man’, humans should understand God through His ninety-nine beautiful names known in Islam as *al-Asma al-Husna*. There are two perspectives in understanding those names: incomparability and similarity. Incomparability relates to masculine names (*Jalal* names) such as Creator, Majestic, Great, and so forth. Similarity refers to feminine names (*Jamal* names) such as Merciful, Gentle, and Loving. The incomparability in *Jalal* names emphasizes the necessity of submission and fear, while the similarity in His *Jamal* names fosters human nearness to God (Murata, 1992). Being ‘Universal Man’ means that human beings put themselves between these two boundaries of incomparability and similarity with God.

Human beings who occupy the role of His stewards are responsible for maintaining and caring for the sustainability of the Earth (Gomaah, 2009). This responsibility arises from their position as the centre of all beings, wherein their actions influence the positive and negative states of the cosmos. Even when God revealed that He subjected nature to human needs²⁵ it did not mean an absolute power over nature (Gomaah, 2009). A human should remember his other position as God’s servant, which will account for all his deeds on the judgement day. Moreover, according to Murata (1992), human servanthship should be prioritized over stewardship, which means that until human beings fulfil their comprehensive role as servants of God, they cannot be the appropriate representatives of God in the world.

Therefore, when discussing ecological ethics in Islam, it is essential to juxtapose the two positions of a human as both God’s steward and servant. This is to raise human awareness that, besides being God’s steward to rule over the creatures on behalf of God, he is also God’s servant, responsible for all his deeds. There is nothing more dangerous than a steward of God who no longer submits to God as His servant. According to Nasr, this situation will lead to powerful destruction that is truly satanic (Nasr, 2005).

Balance of Nature

Nature, as a whole, has been created by God in an orderly and balanced manner, featuring fantastic and aesthetically pleasing aspects. Therefore, as stewards of God, human beings should base all patterns of their production and consumption on the order and balance of nature (Haq, 2003; Ozdemir, 2003; Gomaah, 2009).

25 Quran Surah 16:14 reads: “And He it is Who subjected the sea (to you), that you eat thereof fresh tender meat (i.e., fish), and that you bring forth out of it ornaments to wear. And you see the ships plowing through it, that you may seek (thus) of His Bounty (by transporting the goods from place to place) that you may be grateful”.

All creatures are interconnected and subject to and depend on divine rules (Gomaah, 2009; Masri, 1992). To illustrate this interconnectedness, Hamidullah (1979) argued that the way Muslims pray represents a synthesis of the arrangements of prayer among all creatures. According to him, this planet consists of three kingdoms: minerals, animals, and vegetables with their particularities: resting, erect, and motionless. Before performing prayer, Muslims should purify themselves with water. While praying, Muslims praise God loudly like thunder, erect like hills, bend themselves like animals, and prostrate like plants.²⁶

To maintain the universe's balance, it is essential for humans to respect all creatures and conserve all biodiversity (Gomaah, 2009). Some Hadiths of the Prophet describe how Islam respects all creatures of God. One of those Hadiths, narrated by Bukhari and Muslim, states: "The Prophet Muhammad said that an ant stung a prophet in the olden days. For this reason, the prophet ordered the whole ant's nest to be burnt. God then criticized him and said: Because one ant stung you, you burned a whole community that glorified Me" (Al-Bukhari, 2002).

Gomaah (2009) emphasizes that the concept of *Harim* and *Hima* in Islamic jurisprudence, which focuses on the conservation and protection of specific areas, demonstrates that Islam prioritizes environmental balance. *Harim* is a design principle within Islamic law that protects inviolable zones, where development is restricted and prohibited to prevent the damage and deterioration of natural resources. *Hima* is a legal arrangement within Islamic law that preserves unowned lands for public welfare (Llewellyn, 2003).

Relationship between Human Beings and the Earth

According to Gomaah (2009), there are three levels of relationship between human beings and the Earth. The lowest level is a functional and control level where human beings utilize the Earth as a source to meet their physical needs. The second level is characterized by reflection and contemplation. At this level, human beings position the Earth as a medium to recognize and dig deeper into an understanding of God, the Creator. The third level is the highest, relating to spirituality, in which human beings cultivate a close relationship with the Earth through love and intimacy.

Two underlying points help to understand the relationship between human beings and the Earth from an Islamic perspective. Firstly, the Quran symbolically indicates a close relationship between human beings and the Earth through certain verses. One of those verses is in Surah 6:2, which reads: "He it is Who created you from clay and then has decreed a stated term (for you to die). And there is with Him

²⁶ Roots are mouths for plants, which means that plants are perpetually in prostration.

another determined term (for you to be resurrected), yet you doubt (in the Resurrection)". This verse reveals that the Earth is a vital element in human creation, including Adam, the first human being created by God.

Quran Surah 20:55 also indicates the close relationship between human beings and the Earth. It reads: "Thereof (the Earth) We created you and into it, We shall return you, and from it, We shall bring you out once again". Similarly, Quran Surah 71:17-20 reads: "And Allah has brought you forth from the (dust of) Earth. Afterwards, He will return you into it (the Earth) and bring you forth (again on the Day of Resurrection). Moreover, Allah has made the Earth widespread (an expanse) for you. That you may go about therein in broad roads". In addition, a Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani explicitly mentions the Earth as the mother for all human beings. The Hadith reads: "Tahaffadzuu 'ala al-Ard fa innahaa Ummukum", which means "Please take care of the Earth for it is your mother!" (Al-Thabrani, 1983).

Secondly, Islam perceives the natural world as a sentient being that reacts to the actions and behaviours of human beings. Quran Surah 44:29 reads: "And the heavens and the Earth wept not for them, nor were they given a respite". According to Al-Thabari (1994), Abbas has explained the meaning of this verse. Abbas stated that each person has a specific door in heaven through which their fortunes are brought down, and their deeds are reported. When a believer passes away, this door is closed, and both heaven and Earth weep for the loss. According to Al-Syairazi (2004), this verse clarifies that Pharaoh²⁷ and their people did not do good deeds, so the heavens and the Earth did not mourn their death.

When the Prophet passed by Mount Uhud with his companions, he said: "This mount loves us and we love it" (Al-Bukhari, 2002).²⁸ Mount Uhud is one of the historical places in Islam that recorded the sadness of Muslims when they were defeated during the battle of Uhud, and about 70 persons became martyrs, including Hamzah, the uncle of the Prophet. However, this sadness did not lead to revenge and hatred for Uhud. Even the Prophet taught his companions that Mount Uhud loved them, and they should love it as well (Gomaah, 2009).

27 Pharaoh is a term used to refer to ancient Egyptian monarchs. Ramses II is the Pharaoh who lived during the time of the Prophet Moses. It is narrated in several verses of the Quran that the Pharaoh of Prophet Moses was a ruler who was very oppressive and unjust towards his people. Additionally, he claimed to be a God himself. He would kill every male infant born so that none could challenge his authority. When Prophet Moses preached and invited Pharaoh to worship Allah, he refused. His attitude was followed by most of his followers. Only a small portion of Pharaoh's people adhered to the teachings of Prophet Moses.

28 This Hadith is recorded in the book of Al-Bukhari, number 2732.

Another example of an emotional reaction to nature is the story of the trunks of date palm trees crying because they missed the Prophet. Jabir reported:

The Prophet's Mosque was covered with trunks of date palm trees. The Prophet used to lie on one of those trunks when delivering sermons. When a minbar (pulpit for delivering a sermon) was prepared for the Prophet, one day we heard a heart-touching scream from the trunk, similar to the cry of a mother camel separated from her cub. Until the Prophet approached the trunk and placed his hand on it. Then it calmed down (Al-Bukhari, 2002).²⁹

Through this story, the Prophet taught his companions and followers to love and maintain good relationships with all the creatures of God, including inanimate objects (Gomaah, 2009).

Rumi also expounded upon the notion of the natural world as a living organism in his book *Masnawi*. According to Rumi, the universe is alive. God pours life into the universe, making it an active entity. According to Clarke (2003), Rumi's conception of the universe as a living organism differs from Plato's concept in the *Timaeus*. Through a comparative analysis of Rumi and Plato's ideas, Clarke clarified the disparity between the two. The primary gap lies in the fact that Plato grounded his notion of the world as a "visible living being" in its functionality and the functionality of organisms. In contrast, Rumi contended that this universe is alive because God directly endows it with life. The secondary disparity lies in Plato's assumption that this universe is a single entity with one component set in motion by another. In contrast, Rumi asserted that God's creative and continual acts animate all elements of the universe. Furthermore, for Rumi, the concept of nature as a living organism is not metaphorical; it possesses vitality akin to that of any other reality in this world.

II.3. Ecofeminism in Indonesian Islam's Context

In the third part of this chapter, I will provide further elaboration on ecofeminism in 'Indonesian Islam', specifically examining the dynamics of ecofeminism, its dialogue with Islam in Indonesia, and how Indonesian Muslim academics have articulated their ideas and scholarship within the ecofeminist discourse. However, the emergence and dynamics of ecofeminism are inextricably linked to feminism; therefore, it is essential to understand the history and dynamics of feminism in Indonesia before discussing and elaborating on ecofeminism in the Indonesian context.

29 This Hadith is recorded in the book of Al-Bukhari, number 3585.

History and Dynamics

Despite the significant growth of activism and academic works about the philosophy and ethics of feminism in Indonesia, strong disapproval exists generally among conservative and fundamentalist religious groups to employ the term ‘feminism’. This disapproval stems from the assumption that feminism, viewed as a ‘Western product’, lacks shared roots within the Indonesian tradition (Arivia & Subono, 2017). ‘Western feminism’ is characterized as alien and not applicable in an Asian context since it promotes individualistic worldviews, anti-children, anti-male, and anti-family (Roces, 2010) and disrupts public morality (Lyons, 2010). Therefore, an attempt is made to distinguish between ‘women’s movement’ and ‘feminism’. Women activists in Malaysia, for instance, prefer to use the term ‘womanism’ rather than ‘feminism’ to highlight the distinct nature and philosophy of the women’s movement (Stivens, 2003), arguing that the Western feminist perspective differs from the local women’s movement (Ariffin, 1999).

Likewise, for some scholars in China, feminism is seen as contradicting Marxist principles because it is perceived as promoting bourgeois ideology. Consequently, they are more inclined to use ‘*feminology*’ to refer to women’s studies (Edwards, 2010; Arivia & Subono, 2017). Regardless of the debate, it is arguable to use the term ‘feminism’ to identify women’s movements in Indonesia, if understood as an analytical framework for addressing women’s issues and as a means of fighting against discrimination against women (Blackburn, 2010). The development of feminist concepts in Indonesia can be divided into three distinct phases, closely linked to the prevailing political climate of the time.

The Colonial Phase

The first phase is the colonial phase. It saw the emergence of the women’s movement coinciding with the rise of nationalism (Blackburn, 2010). Numerous noteworthy female figures played a significant role during this period, with Kartini (1879-1904) being the most well-known for her tireless efforts in advocating for educational opportunities for Indonesian girls. While it is important to note that Kartini was not the first to propose such ideas³⁰, her correspondence with Dutch friends³¹ served as a source of inspiration for Indonesian women, encouraging them to resist oppression and fight against inequality. These valuable letters were later

30 There was an established school for females in Minahassa in 1881, when Kartini was two years old (Katoppo, 1979).

31 One of the important figures in re-editing Kartini’s letters is Elisabeth Allard, the first professor of non-Western sociology at Radboud University, Nijmegen. Allard introduced the fifth edition of Kartini’s letters (Jansen, 2023).

compiled and published in the form of a book titled *Door Duisternis Tot Light* (1911). When Amin Pane translated this work into the Indonesian language, Kartini's empowering ideas began to spread across the archipelago, solidifying her status as a feminist icon of her time (Arivia & Subono, 2017).

Dewi Sartika (1884-1947) from West Java³², Rahma el-Yunusia (1900-1969) from West Sumatra³³, Siti Walidah (1872-1946) from Yogyakarta³⁴, and Ruhana Kuddus (1884-1972) from West Sumatra³⁵, are among other essential heroines during this period. Nevertheless, the documentation of women's endeavours, ideas, and challenges during this era in Indonesian history is indeed sparse. This scarcity can be attributed to two primary factors. Firstly, women were not actively involved in decision-making processes, nor did they hold positions of influence in political affairs. Secondly, women's collectives during this phase consciously chose not to assume a dominant role within male-dominated societal spheres (Arivia & Subono, 2017).

The New Order Phase

The second phase of feminism in Indonesia occurred during the New Order regime, which controlled all grassroots activities and organizations from 1966 to 1998. By then, the discourse on feminism was produced and supervised by the state (Blackburn, 2010; Arivia & Subono, 2017). Through PKK (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* or Family Welfare Guidance), the state drafted a women's organization to support national development, notably to ensure a family planning program aimed at controlling the birth rate (Suryakusuma, 2011). However, the organization can neither be recognized as a feminist organization nor was it able to assert feminist philosophy and activities since it was subordinated under governmental male domination. The leadership of this organization, to date, has been comprised of the wives of civil servants (Blackburn, 2010; Arivia & Subono, 2017).

32 Dewi Sartika founded a school for women named *Sakola Isteri* in Bandung on 16 January 1904 (Aning, 2005).

33 Rahmah el-Yunusia is the founder of *Diniyah Putri*, a well-established Islamic educational institution in Padang Panjang, West Sumatra that provides education from kindergarten to higher education.

34 Siti Walidah is the wife of Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, one of the biggest faith-based movements in Indonesia. She was the first leader of Aisyyiah, the female wing of Muhammadiyah, which was established in 1917. Two years later, Aisyyiah established the first kindergarten in Indonesia, FORBEL, the forerunner of Aisyyiah Bustanul Athfal kindergarten (TK ABA). Nowadays, there are about 5.865 TK ABA throughout Indonesia.

35 Ruhana Kuddus is the first female journalist in Indonesia. In 1912, she managed the first women's newspaper in Indonesia, *Soenting Melayu*. A year before (in 1911), she established *Amal Setia*, a vocational school that encouraged women's economic empowerment.

Contemporary Phase

The third phase, known as the contemporary phase, began after the fall of the New Order regime (date), during which diverse critical studies and discourses emerged from various women's organizations. Feminist theories also rapidly flourished in universities, providing analytical tools to examine female injustice and build a body of knowledge on women's oppression (Arivia & Subono, 2017).

Feminist theology, which gained global prominence in the latter half of the twentieth century, advocates for the rights, dignity, and liberation of women. This movement is also evident within the Indonesian context. Katoppo, a prominent Christian figure, actively championed the cause of women's liberation. She argued that the liberation of women is intricately connected to the liberation of men, as both genders play crucial roles in society, and their progress relies on the full participation of all members, regardless of gender (Katoppo, 1979). Lumentut, an ordained pastor of the Church of Central Sulawesi, actively opposed discrimination against women. The harmonious relationship between men and women mirrors the harmonious relationship between Jesus, the Shepherd, and the sheep (Lumentut, 1987).

Mulia and Marcoes-Natsir are among the prominent figures who advocate for feminist theology within Islam by challenging gender-biased interpretations of Islamic canonical sources. Mulia (2008) has produced a substantial body of literature, comprising books and articles, that employ critical analysis to challenge religious interpretations that have systematically marginalized women. This is primarily due to the egalitarian stance of Islam, which asserts an equitable status for both genders. Through Counter Legal Draft (CLD), she reviewed the *Compilation of Islamic Law*³⁶, which somehow weakened women's position.³⁷ Patriarchal traditions harmed not

36 *Compilation of Islamic Law* serves as an authoritative framework within the domain of positive law in the Religious Courts across Indonesia. It addresses three distinct sectors of Islamic jurisprudence: marriage law, inheritance law, and legal benefaction.

37 According to Mulia (2014), the *Compilation of Islamic Law* is not gender neutral. Some provisions within this legal framework continue to impose disadvantages upon women. For instance, within the stipulated definition of marriage, it is articulated in the *Compilation of Islamic Law* that marriage is a robust covenant intended to fulfill the commands of Allah, with its execution regarded as an 'act of worship'. According to Mulia, there exist at least two aspects that warrant criticism. Firstly, it is imperative to underscore that marriage ought to be a consensual decision made by both male and female individuals and predicated upon mutual willingness and accord. This notion is crucial for fostering an equitable relationship between the two parties, husband and wife. The prevailing societal norm frequently perceives marriage as a form of property contract, wherein males possess comprehensive rights over the females they wed, culminating in a disparity within the relational dynamics. Secondly, the characterization of marriage as an 'act of worship' necessitates reevaluation, as it engenders a public perception that marriage is an obligatory undertaking. Such a belief poses significant risks, as it may compel parents to 'coerce' their offspring into matrimony under the guise of fulfilling religious obligations. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for individuals to enter into marriage out of trepidation regarding the negative stigma associated with being perceived as transgressors for failing to adhere to Allah's commands.

only women but also men because societal development depended on continuous cooperation between the two (Mulia, 2014). In line with Mulia, Marcoes-Natsir also constantly urged the importance of the reinterpretation of Islamic canonical sources related to men-women relationships, such as reproduction and abortion rights (Marcoes-Natsir, 2005). Through her book *Merebut Tafsir*, Marcoes-Natsir (2021) described how the current dominant interpretation made women's liberation from patriarchal tradition troublesome. This kind of 'invisible power' continuously instils the belief in women that they are subordinate. Even when the government produces a regulation to ensure women's liberation, such as 'The Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence' (*Undang Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga/ PKDRT*), not all women dare to free themselves from any domestic violence they experienced as a form of obedience towards their husbands.

Feminism and Islam

In terms of the link between feminism and Islam in Indonesia, Anwar (2018) divided it into five eras. The first era is the emancipation era, during which efforts to promote a better life for women were made through educational institutions founded by Indonesian heroines. The second era is the age of association, an era in which various Muslim women's organizations started to emerge in Indonesia. *Aisyiyah*, the female wing of Muhammadiyah, was founded in 1917 and is the oldest Muslim women's organization in Indonesia. Almost twenty years afterward, *Persatuan Islam (Persis)* established its female wing, namely *Persistri*, in 1937, followed by *Muslimat* of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1946. The interaction of these Muslim women's organizations with other feminist and nationalistic organizations results in their agreement and disagreement on women's issues. However, the discourse of men-women equality is among the dominant issues, especially after the first Women's Congress held in 1928.

The third era is the era of development in which women's roles are seen as a potential force to support the economic and political demands of the New Order. In other words, the central role of women is to help their husbands. The fourth era is the era of integration. In this era, both feminist and Islamic organizations quested for gender justice as a common sense shared by men and women. The last era is the proliferation era, in which both Islamic teachings and feminist ideologies began to assemble and proliferate in the early 1990s.

Feminism and Critical Ecology

In response to the massive exploitation of natural resources across the Indonesian archipelago, which is detrimental to marginalized communities, including peasants and indigenous communities, some activists and scholars have begun to promote

and raise public awareness about the importance of critical ecology, an application of critical theories in addressing ecological issues. Forest tenure is one of the crucial issues for marginalized indigenous communities in Indonesia. Government seizure and control over indigenous customary lands and forests limited their access to the very identity they have been sanctifying and protecting for generations. Women are among the most affected and vulnerable groups in dealing with this situation. The limited access to and loss of their customary lands doubled women's burdens and sometimes caused outright violence (Siscawati, 2014; Maemunah, 2015).

From critical ecology, many scholars and activists in Indonesia introduced the ecofeminist perspective. It developed during the contemporary phase of Indonesian feminism, especially when Dewi Candraningrum edited a book series on ecofeminism.³⁸

This first book on ecofeminism kindled Indonesian academia's interest in sharing their arguments on ecofeminism. From that moment onwards, several scholarly articles on ecofeminism prospered, as evidenced by the continued publication of the book series. The fifth book, which focused on the women's issues arising from the COVID-19 pandemic, was published in 2020.

Despite numerous articles on ecofeminism, Islamic perspectives and approaches to ecofeminism are rarely explored. However, it does not mean there is an absence of academic articles on ecofeminism in Islam. The term 'gender-based ecology' is more favourable for some writers to use than ecofeminism. Febriani, for instance, has written several articles on gender-based Islamic eco-theology and eco-Sufism (Febriani, 2015, 2017, 2018). The Indonesian Women Ulama's Congress (Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia/KUPI) also addressed ecological issues during its first congress in 2017. One of the three recommendations of this first congress is the prohibition of natural destruction, and the government should be present in solving this problem. Women and children are among the most affected groups due to the natural disasters; therefore, government regulations regarding the development and utilization of natural resources should consider this matter (KUPI, 2017).

Discourse within Ecofeminism in Indonesia

Based on the existing literature, there are three foci of Indonesian Muslim writers on ecofeminism. The first focuses on exploring the normative foundations of ecofeminism within Islamic teachings. Candraningrum argued for the equality of men and women in Islam through the concept of *al-Insan*, which means human being. This fundamental concept in Islam describes the responsibility and stewardship of all

38 Please refer to Chapter I for the detail.

human beings, regardless of gender, race, nationality, or religion, in addressing and seeking solutions to ecological problems (Candraningrum, 2013).

In line with Candraningrum, other writers have introduced gendered eco-theology through the elaboration of Quranic verses. Many Qur'anic verses place men and women on an equal footing. They possess the same potential and ability to be perfect human beings (*al-Insan al-Kamil*) and become stewards of God, protecting and preserving nature (Natasya, 2016; Febriani, 2017). Furthermore, Febriani argued in favour of the concept of *ukhuwah makhluqiyyah* (brotherhood of creatures) from the perspective of eco-Sufism, which emphasizes the equality of all creatures before God (Febriani, 2017). This concept will give rise to harmony in four types of relationships: harmony in the relationship between humans and themselves (*habl ma'a nafsih*), between humans and humans (*habl ma'a ikhwānih*), between humans and nature (*habl ma'a bi'atih/kawn*), and between humans and God (*habl ma'a Khāliqih*) (Febriani, 2017; Nurani, 2017). Another writer emphasized the importance of considering sustainability and balance, as introduced by ecofeminist ethics and Islamic teachings, in development (Dewi, 2019). Meanwhile, another researcher analysed Qur'anic verses and initiated gender-based ecological education, arguing that this concept will foster a respectful manner towards all God's creatures (Yatim, 2020).

The second focus of Indonesian Muslim writers addresses empirical practices that correspond with ecofeminist ethics. Some ecofeminist ethics appear in the movement undertaken by Muslim women in the coastal area of Wonorejo, Surabaya city, in East Java. They conserved mangrove forest zones in coastal regions of Wonorejo, Surabaya city, that had gradually eroded due to global warming. In addition to the conservation movement, the women also employed diversification through capacity building and developed ecotourism in the area (Millah, 2016). *Pesantren*³⁹ *Ekologi* Ath-Thariq, one of the prominent *pesantrens* in Indonesia, has developed ecological approaches in educating the *Santris*.⁴⁰ They are trained to cultivate an awareness of interrelationships with nature through a green lifestyle and respect for the natural world, recognizing that all creatures are equal before God. Human beings, regardless of their gender and religion, are the stewards of God who should protect and preserve nature (Millah et al., 2020).

Another elaboration on the ecological movement that corresponds with ecofeminist ethics presented is in Banjarmasin city, where *Aisyiyah*⁴¹ educated local people to care for and protect their environment. This effort is delivered from early child-

39 *Pesantren* is an Islamic boarding school in Indonesia led by Kiai (a Muslim scholar).

40 *Santri* is a term for the students who learn in *pesantren*.

41 *Aisyiyah* is the female wing of Muhammadiyah, one of the two largest faith-based Muslim organizations in Indonesia.

hood education at *Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal* Kindergarten in Banjarmasin city, the capital of South Kalimantan. It is well-known as 'River City' because of its location in a delta area near the junction of the Martapura and Barito rivers. Therefore, *Aisyiyah* opted for internalizing ecological awareness through education, especially the importance of respecting the rivers upon which they depended for their life (Mardiani & Anis, 2020).

Additionally, the Kartini Kendeng movement also attracted numerous scholars to contribute using diverse approaches and perspectives. Muhammad (2018) tried to apply Quranic liberative ecology in describing this movement. According to him, the Kartini Kendeng movement aligns with the Quranic liberative ecology that holds all human beings, men and women, accountable for implementing their stewardship by caring for, protecting, and preserving nature.

The third focus of Indonesian Muslim writers on ecofeminism adopts a comparison between ecofeminist ethics and Islamic ecological ethics (Sururi, 2014) or between ecofeminist ethics in Islam and Christianity (Mahfudoh, 2020). Through a comparative methodology, Sururi (2014) found that both ecofeminism and Islam propose the ethic of love and caring as a fundamental principle in addressing ecological crises. According to Sururi, this ethic will lead human beings to protect, care, flourish, and cherish all God's creatures. Mahfudoh (2020) analysed ecofeminist ethics introduced by Gebara and Murata, which represent Christian and Muslim traditions. This study found that both Gebara and Murata recommended an interrelationship between God, humans, and nature. A slight difference between the two is visible in their perception of patriarchal tradition. According to Gebara, this tradition will subordinate and marginalize women to prolong masculine domination. This assumption is also applied to nature, which is created to serve human beings. Murata, however, argues that both patriarchal and matriarchal traditions have positive and negative aspects that complement each other to achieve balance and equilibrium in the cosmos.

II.4. Islam and Indigenous Community

When discussing the assembly and dialogue between Islam and the indigenous community in Indonesia, it is essential to have some knowledge of the historical introduction of Islam in Indonesia to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter. According to Kersten (2017), there are at least four pivotal and challenging questions that must be addressed when discussing the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, which are related to the period (when), origin (from where), agency

(by whom), and motivation (why) behind the arrival of Islam, as well as the public acceptance of it. However, in providing a brief overview of the history of Islam in Indonesia, I will not address all of these questions. Instead, the focus will be on the socio-cultural situation of Indonesia prior to the introduction of Islam and the public acceptance of this new religion, as well as its dynamics.

The strategic geographical location of Indonesia situates it at a meeting point for various world civilizations and religions (Burhanudin, 2015). However, even before the introduction of these world civilizations and religions, the Megalithic and Neolithic sites in Indonesia depict the local beliefs and traditions of worshipping ancestors during the Stone Age (Heekeren, 1972).

Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity have entered Indonesia successively and coexist alongside the local beliefs within Indonesian communities (Taylor, 2003). These world religions have accommodated local beliefs and practices in diverse forms. Some archaeological remains suggest the syncretism of both Hinduism and Buddhism. For example, the reliefs in the *Jago* temple, which combine elements of Shivaism and Buddhism, serve as a symbol of this syncretism (Tjahjono, 1995). However, Kern and Rassers refer to this combination as a mixture or *vermenging*, as Hinduism and Buddhism are distinct, and there is no true syncretism between the two (Kern & Rassers, 1982). The presence of menhirs at the graves of the kings of the Islamic Kingdom of Hitu in Maluku, which retains megalithic characteristics, serves as evidence of the interaction between local beliefs and Islam (Handoko, 2014).

The introduction of Islam in Indonesia served as a replacement for the long-standing dominance of Hinduism and Buddhism. This transition was readily accepted by the Indonesian people, particularly due to the efforts of Sufis, who effectively presented Islam as an appealing religion that could incorporate local beliefs and traditions while adhering to Islamic teachings (Johns, 1961; Azra, 2015)⁴². This acceptance of Islam further supports the notion that Islam possesses distinct characteristics and strengths that enable theological and social transformations, not only within its place of origin but also globally (Burhanudin, 2015). This is attributed to the fact that Islam is not solely a religious belief system but also encompasses a comprehensive community framework with its own governmental, legal, and institutional structures (Gibb, 1962). The monotheistic belief within Islam becomes a power to liberate local people from any caste system. Embracing

⁴² Dispute around this argument emerges “for no organized Sufi brotherhood is documented in Indonesia from this early period” (Ricklefs, 2001).

Islam is seen as an act of honour, as the religion promotes principles of equality, equity, and justice (Burhanudin, 2015).

The convergence of this monotheistic belief with local customs and traditions has led to various forms of transformation. These transformations can be classified into four types: removal, replacement, acculturation, and creation (Burhanudin, 2015). Removal refers to the elimination of local traditions associated with Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous beliefs that contradict Islamic teachings, such as offering rituals for deities and specific ceremonies related to life events and harvests. Additionally, the religious functions of temples have been transformed into cultural ones, with these sites now serving as historical legacies and tourist attractions. Replacement involves the substitution of local traditions with Islamic practices, such as death rituals that take place on the seventh, fourteenth, hundredth, and thousandth days after a person's passing. These rituals were previously observed in Hinduism but have been replaced by Islamic customs, namely *tahlilan*⁴³ and *haulan*⁴⁴.

Acculturation leads to the coexistence of two cultures and traditions, resulting in a process of syncretism. Examples of this include *Selametan* or *Selamatan*⁴⁵,

43 *Tahlilan* refers to a ceremony in which Muslims gather after the death of someone, especially from the first day until the third or seventh day of the death, depending on local tradition. It will also be resumed on the fourteenth day, hundredth day, and thousandth day. During this ceremony, the family of the dead will prepare food for those who come as a kind of *Sadaqah*, of which all the rewards are conveyed to the dead. Although there is a similar timing between Hinduism and Islamic tradition, Islam also has its own argument that backs to the saying of the second khalifah of the Prophet namely Omar bin Khattab. He said: "The reward of *Sadaqah* after death will stay for up to three days, and the reward of *Sadaqah* on the third day will remain for up to seven days, and the reward of *Sadaqah* on the seventh day will remain for up to 25 days and from 25 to 40 days, then the reward of *Sadaqah* on the 40th day will last up to 100 days and from 100 days will be up to one year and from one year the reward will be eternal until 1000 days (Al-Suyuthi, 2004). During *Tahlilan*, Muslims recite complex formulations of prayers. It begins with the recitation of *Fatihah* that is conveyed to the Prophet, his companions, his wives, his descendants and ancestors, all God's messengers and Prophets, and His saints. Another *Fatihah* is read and conveyed to the dead person. Besides reciting *Fatihah*, Muslims also read some selected verses or Surah of the Quran during *Tahlilan*. It also contains the exaltation of God and prayers for forgiveness, well-beings, and safety (Muhaimin, 1995).

44 *Haulan* is a ceremony to commemorate the death of a Muslim held by the family every year.

45 Beatty defined *Selamatan* as 'ritual meals' for the living to propose security, a state of well-being and safety (Beatty, 1999). However, *Selamatan* also refers to ritual meals for death. There are three kinds of *Selamatan* in Indonesian Islam tradition: (1) *Selamatan* that relates to the life cycle: birth, death, and wedding; (2) other that relates to Islamic holidays; and (3) one that relates to specific achievements or ownership of valuable goods (Najib, 2018). Geertz identified *Selamatan* as a main ritual of Javanese tradition that implies the animistic rite (Geertz, 1960). However, Woodward argued that this definition especially related to animistic culture, since *selamatan* also has Islamic roots (Woodward, 2011). In some regions, *Selamatan* is also called *Bancakan* or *Kenduri*.

Grebeg or *Garebeg* Mawlid⁴⁶, and *Sekaten*⁴⁷. Syncretism is observed in contemporary Javanese religion, particularly among the *Abangan* community.⁴⁸ The final type of transformation is creation, which refers to the development of new Islamic traditions and rituals that have no roots in Hinduism or Buddhism. Examples of these include *Pengajian*⁴⁹, *Takbir Keliling*⁵⁰, and *Ziarah*⁵¹.

Another perspective on these transformations was presented by Wahid⁵², a prominent figure in the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the fourth president of Indonesia. Wahid argued that these traditions represent a form of the indigenization of Islamic teachings. Through his article '*Salahkah Jika Dipribumikan?*' (Is it wrong to Indigenize?), Wahid emphasized the importance of indigenizing Islam as a means of reconciling Islamic norms with local traditions (Wahid, 2015). It is a solution for religious normativity and cultural relativity that will continue to overlap (Hamdani,

46 *Grebeg* or *Garebeg* in ancient Java literally means thundering clatter of feet (Hanif & Zulianti, 2012). This is because, during the *Grebeg* event in ancient times, people flocked on foot to attend the event. It refers to a ritual and feast 'carried out by a royal court as a manifestation of the King's alms to his people' that involved the imperial family, apparatus, and all the people. One of the important attributes of *Grebeg* is *Gunungan*, a cone of yields and traditional foods (Rahmatulloh, et al., 2020). *Grebeg mawlid* is a *Grebeg* in Yogyakarta that is held to commemorate the birth of the Prophet. It has been performed annually from the period of Hamengku Buwono I. To have a detailed discussion about *Grebeg* Mawlid, please refer to the work of Mark Woodward (Woodward, 2011).

47 The word *Sekaten* relates to the process of Islamic *dakwah* carried out by *Wali Songo* (the nine saints) in Java. It comes from *Shahadatain*, two confessions of faith in Islam (Thontowi, 2007). Nowadays, *Sekaten* has a specific meaning. It refers to a combined bazaar, night market, and religious celebration in Yogyakarta that runs for the whole month of Rabi' al Awwal, the month of the Prophet's birth. For a detailed analysis of *Sekaten*, see the work of Mark Woodward (Woodward, 2011). Gamelan music performance is one the important parts of the *Sekaten* event. According to Spiller (2004), the tradition of performing the gamelan heirloom during *Sekaten*, as a method of enticing Javanese individuals to embrace Islam, was initially initiated by the Muslim ruler of Demak. This practice intermingled the symbols of Hindu-Javanese power and credibility to achieve this objective.

48 *Abangan* is a term introduced by Geertz to refer to Javanese Muslims who practice kind of syncretic version of Islam. However, this term is debatable since the adoption of local culture is not always synonymous to syncretism.

49 *Pengajian* is religious teaching held in mosques or houses in which Muslims gather to recite selected verses and Surah of Quran followed by a sermon delivered by a religious teacher or leader. Some *Pengajian* are held weekly or monthly as a forum in which the community meet each other, and some are held for specific occasions such as commemorating the birth of the Prophet.

50 *Takbir Keliling* is a night carnival held on the evening before Eid al Fitr and Eid Adha in which Muslims recite takbir and walk around the village together, bringing lampions. In some cities, *Takbir keliling* is also held as an annual festival supported by the local governments, and people dress up and decorate cars to travel around the city pealing takbir (Karni, 2018).

51 The word *ziarah* originally comes from the Arabic word *ziyarah*, which literally means visit. *Ziarah* in Indonesia refers to a tradition among Muslims to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of their relatives, ancestors, or saints (Hamdani, 2018).

52 Abdurrahman Wahid is also popular with his nickname, Gus Dur.

2018a). According to Baso (2002), indigenization differs from syncretism, inculturation, acculturation, contextualization, and convergence, which refer to adaptation and a one-way passive process. Baso insists that the indigenization is a contestation and creative process that involves both religious norms and local cultures in reciprocal accommodation, dialogue, negotiation, and resistance (Baso, 2002). *Singiran* is an example of the indigenization of Islam through the integration of religious norms and local culture, creatively negotiating with each other. *Singiran* is the recitation of poems in Arabic or Javanese that contain praises to Allah, recount the history of the Prophet Muhammad, or offer advice to human beings. *Singiran* is usually performed shortly after the azan⁵³ while the congregation or *jamaah* waits for the Imam to begin prayer (Islam, 2018).

Moreover, in terms of Islam in Indonesia, indigenization is an instrument by which Muslims appreciate the creativity of local cultures and traditions without violating religious norms (Baso, 2002). The idea of indigenization is based on the reality of some Indonesian Muslims who promote Arabization, where Muslims also duplicate Arabic traditions as part of their religiosity (Wahid, 2015). This concept of indigenization was proposed by Wahid during the 1980s and was controversial even among NU elites. However, this idea eventually gained traction among NU members through the term ‘Islam Nusantara’.

As a term newly introduced during the 33rd National Congress (*Muktamar*) of NU in 2015, ‘Islam Nusantara’ is not easily defined, even for members of NU. It is a complex term with various understandings and perspectives, and its definition is still being established (Luthfi, 2016). Fathurrahman, for instance, defined ‘Islam Nusantara’ as an empirical and distinctive form of Islam resulting from the interaction, contextualization, indigenization, and translation of Islam within the cultures and realities of Indonesia (Mahbib, 2015). Muhajir, however, defined ‘Islam Nusantara’ as a practice and implementation of Islamic teachings within Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) with consideration of Indonesian local knowledge and traditions (Muhajir, 2015).⁵⁴

53 Azan is the call for prayer in Islam.

54 Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, the two largest faith-based Muslim organizations in Indonesia, hold contrasting perspectives on local customs. Muhammadiyah argues that numerous Indonesian local customs infringe upon religious principles, necessitating a process of purification. Conversely, NU maintains that local customs can still be accommodated within the community (Turmudi, 2012). Consequently, these two entities are frequently depicted as puritanical versus traditionalist organizations. The indigenization of Islam is popular among Traditionalist Muslims. Fuad (2018) stated that modernism and purification are two underlying concepts of *dakwah* within Muhammadiyah.

According to the National Indigenous Civil Society Organization, *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN) in Bahasa Indonesia, there are approximately 2,359 Indigenous communities spread across the archipelago, housing a population of around 50-70 million indigenous individuals (AMAN, 2021). One of the various problems faced by indigenous communities is the recognition of their belief as a religion. Within the Indonesian context, religious politics marginalize their beliefs, as the country officially recognizes only six religions, namely Islam, Protestant and Catholic Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Consequently, the Indonesian government⁵⁵ creates a distinction between *kepercayaan* (belief) and *agama* (religion), thereby requiring these indigenous communities to align themselves with one of the officially recognized religions in Indonesia, relegating their beliefs to the realm of culture. Maarif (2017) identified this regulation as a violation of human rights and a breach of Article 28A-28J of the 1945 constitution, which guarantees the freedom of all Indonesian citizens to adopt and practice their beliefs.

Nevertheless, driven by encouragement from various stakeholders, the Indonesian government subsequently enacted Government Regulation 37/2007. Under this regulation, as acknowledged in Article 1, Numbers 18-19, the government recognizes the existence of '*aliran kepercayaan*' as a living reality within the Indonesian populace. Furthermore, this regulation gained additional strength through the issuance of a presidential decree in 2008 and a joint ministerial regulation in 2009. According to Maarif (2017), these regulations represent positive news for indigenous communities in Indonesia, as they provide a sense of security regarding their status and rights. Prior to the implementation of these regulations, indigenous communities were viewed as potentially dangerous factions and, as a result, required monitoring due to the potential emergence of new religions.

Despite the dynamic and controversial nature of the dialogue between Islam and local traditions and between indigenous communities and their beliefs, Muslims coexist harmoniously with these indigenous communities. Instances of conflict primarily arise between the government or corporations and the indigenous communities, particularly in cases involving the appropriation of their land tenure.

The Sedulur Sikep Community: Its Ecological Ethics and Relation with the Muslim Community

Indigenous societies perceive the Earth as a living entity manifested in various expressions (Merchant, 1989; Lovelock, 1991; McGregor et al., 2020). A system of

55 The definition of *kepercayaan* (belief) and *agama* (religion) is also a debate within academia.

reciprocal obligations and responsibilities exists between humans and other living beings to preserve the equilibrium of the natural world (McGregor et al., 2020). The recent ecological crises facing humanity have prompted many to acknowledge the ecological ethics embedded within indigenous communities worldwide (Kelbessa, 2002). A proposal to shift from anthropocentric values and ethics toward ecocentrism, drawn from indigenous cultures, has also emerged as a means to achieve a sustainable life (Gratani et al., 2016). In this section, I will introduce *Sedulur Sikep*, an indigenous community in Indonesia that played a significant role in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

Sedulur Sikep is a collective term used to describe a community of individuals in Java who adhere to the teachings of Samin Surosentiko, a Javanese peasant farmer who advocated for resistance against Dutch colonial rule in the 1890s. This movement caught the attention of Dutch colonial authorities in 1905 when Samin Surosentiko and his followers chose to distance themselves from village society and declined to participate in the 'ethical policy' imposed by the Dutch colonial administration (King, 1973; Benda & Castles, 1969).

According to Samin's oral history, Samin Surosentiko was the second child of Raden Surowijoyo, who had connections with Islamic nobles.⁵⁶ He was born in Ploso Kedhiren village, north of Randhublatung, Blora, Central Java in 1859 (Mukodi & Burhanuddin, 2015). He changed his name from Raden Kohar to Samin (Maliki, 2019). The term 'Raden' in his original name denoted nobility (Benda & Castles, 1969), while 'Kohar' is an Arabic word associated with one of the 99 names of Allah and is commonly used for naming children within Muslim communities. According to Maliki (2019), the decision to change the name from Raden Kohar to Samin was a deliberate attempt by Samin and his family to distance themselves from Islamic and noble affiliations and align themselves with the Javanese rural community.

In 1890, Samin Surosentiko began to develop his teachings in Klopoduwur village, Blora. Through the practice of *tapabrata*⁵⁷, he obtained the revelation of the *Kalimosodo* holy book. Since receiving this revelation, the number of Samin Surosentiko's followers has grown (Mukodi & Burhanuddin, 2015). His followers considered him the embodiment of *Bimasena* (*Werkudoro*), a figure in *Wayang* mythology, owing to his intelligence and habit of speaking in *ngoko*, the lowest level of the

56 Kiai Ketik of Rajegwesi was the great-grandfather of Samin Surosentiko, and Pangeran Kusumaningayu, his great-great-grandfather, was a ruler in a small-sub district of Ponorogo, East Java, during the Dutch colonial era (Benda & Castles, 1969).

57 According to the Indonesian dictionary, *Tapabrata* literally means restraining lust or secluding oneself from the hustle and bustle of the world by refraining from eating, drinking, sleeping, and sexual intercourse in search of inner peace. It relates to Javanese mysticism.

Javanese language, as *Bimasena* also used *ngoko* in his conversations, even with elders and Gods (Benda & Castle, 1969).

The word Samin is derived from *kerata basa*⁵⁸, a Javanese language game that consists of the words ‘sami-sami amin’ or ‘tiyang/wong sami amin’, which means to live together in this world (*sami-sami gesang ngoten alam ndunyo*) (Widodo, 1997; Maliki, 2019). This term contains philosophical teachings of equality and interrelationship that are central to the worldview of the Saminists (Maliki, 2019). The term Samin has a negative connotation since it is associated with people whose behaviour is irrational, ludicrous, foolish, backward, and stupid since they dared to use low-level Javanese language (*ngoko*) to the Dutch officials and *priyayi* (Javanese aristocrats) as well as resisted the established rules such as participation in corvée and paying taxes. For them, using the *ngoko* language is a symbol of equality and resistance toward a hierarchical social system. They were also accused of being part of the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI (Widodo, 1997).

For this negative connotation, Saminists prefer to be called *Sedulur Sikep* (Widodo, 1997) or *Wong Sikep* (Maliki, 2019). The term ‘*sedulur*’ means brotherhood or siblings, while the term ‘*Wong*’ means human beings. By using this term, the Saminists expressed their commitment to the concept of equality (Maliki, 2019; Widodo, 1997). The term ‘*Sikep*’ literally means ‘embrace’. Thus, the term *Sedulur Sikep* or *Wong Sikep* imbues the profound relationship between human beings.

This worldview originated from the teachings of *Agama Adam* (‘Religion of Adam’), a particular belief system improved by Samin Surosentiko (King, 1973; Widodo, 1997). According to Sastroatmodjo (2003), Samin Surosentiko’s religious thinking was influenced by traditions originating from *Wong Kalang*, who resided in the Bengawan Solo Valley and had original Majapahit blood, while Sudarmi (2018) stated that Samin Surosentiko teachings embody the syncretism between Hinduism and Buddhism.

Benda and Castle (1969) referred to *Agama Adam* as a ‘pure’ Javanese belief. Responsible and harmonious relationships between God, humans, and nature are a central teaching of *Agama Adam*. King (1973) also emphasized the importance of capturing this belief system within the context of Javanese folk beliefs, which are centred on agricultural activities. These beliefs emphasize fertility and the inherent

58 *Kerata basa* is a technique of explanation within the Javanese language by combining some words and/or syllables either to construct an etymology or to find keywords in one scheme with which it rhymes and has its meaning. Beatty stated that *kerata basa* relates to symbolic mystical meaning that reflects the interconnectedness of diverse realms. Since there is no exact rule in *kerata basa*, it permits various interpretations and subjectivity within a common language (Beatty, 1999), knowledge, and *rasa* to express deep meanings (Maliki, 2019).

magical power in sex, as well as the sacredness of marriage. They reflect the influence of agricultural fertility cults in traditional Java, which believe in the marital relationship between heaven and Earth as the source of all living beings. Marriage, viewed as a union between husband and wife on a microcosmic level, symbolizes harmony with the union of heaven and Earth on a macrocosmic level. To maintain this harmonious existence on both micro and macro levels, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* treat women and the Earth with respect, recognizing their roles as life-givers. This outlook is deeply rooted in the belief that living as farmers is a form of submission to God, one that transcends mere economic interests.

Certain scholars have examined the land-centred worldviews within the living traditions of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which reflects their commitment to maintaining a balanced and harmonious relationship with the cosmos. Hamdani (2019) and Sukmawati (2015) have observed the practice of time management among the people of *Sedulur Sikep*. To sustain their agricultural livelihood, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* allocate their time into three distinct parts: work, social life, and rest. The equilibrium among these three components determines the quality of their lives (Hamdani, 2019). This approach to time management is also applied to their agricultural practices. They allow the soil to rest for three months after the harvest season in order to maintain its fertility. They also minimize the use of pesticides, which have detrimental effects on the soil (Sukmawati, 2015).

According to Maliki (2019), the act of offering tradition in the form of *Brokohan* or *Selamatan* among the people of *Sedulur Sikep* signifies an act of submission to the Earth, expressing a deeply rooted ecological relationship. It also positively impacts societal conditions as they share meals with extended family members, neighbours, and friends. Additionally, Sukmawati (2015) revealed that this offering is dedicated to Dewi Sri, the Goddess of rice, with the hope of attaining an abundant harvest. According to Geertz (1960), rituals of *Selamatan* or *Brokohan*, as well as the belief in spirits or dynamism, are integral elements of the Javanese belief system.

Another example of ecological ethics can be found in the tradition of *kuras sumur* (well-draining). The understanding of the people of *Sedulur Sikep* on the concept of *sangkan paraning dumadi* (the origin and destination of human life) influences their respectful treatment of water. As an expression of respect and a symbol of gratitude, they cleanse wells and springs, removing any accumulated silt.

The teachings of Saminists have been transmitted from one generation to the next. Presently, the Saminists or *Sedulur Sikep* community continue to thrive in various rural areas in the vicinity of the North Kendeng Mountains, including Blora, Grobogan, certain regions of Pati and Kudus in Central Java, as well as Ngawi and Bojonegoro in East Java. Despite their relatively small population, their resistance

against the detrimental effects of cement mining on their homeland is noteworthy and inspired the surrounding Muslim community to work together hand in hand to defend the North Kendeng Mountains.

As previously mentioned, Samin Suresentiko had intended to distance his teaching from any affiliation with Islam and nobility, asserting that his teachings are purely Javanese in nature. However, Samin and his followers could not completely disassociate themselves from the Muslim community, as Samin's teachings originated within the abangan community, which later converted to Islam due to administrative and religious political pressures. The historical records reveal the relationship between these nondeviant Muslims⁵⁹ and Saminists. The religious and political climate of the time necessitated that both groups coexist alongside each other. However, the situation has since changed, particularly in the post-New Order era, resulting in greater openness between the two groups.

The lengthy period of cohabitation has facilitated the *Sedulur Sikep* community's invitation to the Muslim community to collaborate in defending the North Kendeng Mountains. There were lingering doubts within the Muslim community, who assert the purity of their Islamic beliefs, regarding the true intentions of the *Sedulur Sikep* community. These doubts are rooted in a suspicion that the *Sedulur Sikep* community secretly aims to disseminate the teachings of Samin among the Muslim community. This suspicion has led to friction and internal conflict within the Muslim community in the North Kendeng Mountains. Once again, the negative label attached to the Samin group has become intertwined with religious issues. Muslims who support *Sedulur Sikep*'s resistance against the construction of a cement plant in North Kendeng are considered to be deviating from Islamic religious teachings.

Conclusion

Both ecofeminism and eco-Islam are emerging discourses that are continuously evolving and are receptive to a range of perspectives that will enhance both fields. The ongoing dynamics observed in both discourses, such as essentialism and non-essentialism in ecofeminism, affirm the absence of a singular definition of ecofeminism. Furthermore, ecofeminism faces the challenge of substantiating its

59 Benda and Castle (1969) used the term "far from orthodox Islam" or "low commitment to orthodox Islam" to refer to the abangan community who convert to Islam or syncretic Islam which has been the major spirituality and belief of Javanese peasant community at that time.

ability to serve as an encompassing framework for various forms of activism and academic movements, offering a novel paradigm and vision regarding the interconnectedness between humans and the natural world. Regarding eco-Islam, the diverse perspectives that have emerged, whether scriptural, practical, legal, or spiritual, are being challenged to address contemporary ecological concerns.

Empirical experience is a key aspect of the development of both ecofeminism and eco-Islam, particularly in enriching epistemological dialogue. The following chapter will discuss the experiences of the *Sedulur Sikep* community and the Muslim community in the Kartini Kendeng movement, which involved defending their homeland in the North Kendeng Mountains against the expansion of cement mining. The empirical experiences emerging from this movement are expected to contribute to enriching the aforementioned epistemological dialogue.

Chapter III

The Kartini Kendeng Movement: The Intersection between Ecofeminism and Eco-Islam

The Kartini Kendeng movement has brought together the Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The presence of differing beliefs no longer serves as an obstacle to collaborating in caring for the North Kendeng Mountains, their homeland, against the detrimental effects of the cement mine. The harmony within their dialogical relationships is not limited to physical struggles but also extends to the realm of ideological negotiations, which ultimately impact the social identity of those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. This chapter elaborates on the ideological beliefs of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement regarding relationships between God, humans, and nature, which inspire their movement and social identity. It will also explore this movement from the perspective of ecofeminism and eco-Islam.

III.1. Description

Fairclough (1992) posits the dialectical relationship between language and society; hence, linguistic occurrences are indeed social occurrences and vice versa. There exist three dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): description, interpretation, and explanation. The initial stage, description, concentrates on the formal attributes of the text (Fairclough, 1989) or linguistic practices (Wijisen, 2013). It allows for analysing a single word or culturally prominent keywords (Fairclough, 1992). Within this level, there are some principal subjects: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure (Fairclough, 1992). Nevertheless, I will focus on vocabulary that encompasses ‘alternative wording’, ‘word meaning’, ‘metaphor’, and

the political and ideological significance of them. According to Fairclough, word meaning in CDA contrasts with dictionary-based meaning because the wording of meanings and meaning of words represent aspects of broader social and cultural phenomena. He also introduces two pivotal terms: 'overwording' and 'rewording'. The first is used to allude to synonymous words, and the second is used to refer to contrasting words that serve as alternatives to or in opposition to the existing ones. I will also explore the value of the words or sentences. There are three values that any text may have: experiential, relational, and expressive. The first one relates to the knowledge and belief, the second one relates to social relations, and the last one relates to social identity (Fairclough, 1989). To facilitate the analysis process and avoid repetition, I will number each text examined in this chapter.

It is mentioned in Chapter I that codes are made for the interviewees. The code KK stands for all women involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement, regardless of their status as a *Sedulur Sikep* or Muslim. To distinguish each woman, a number is added behind the code KK. The other code is MAK, which stands for male activists, including Muslims and *Sedulur Sikep*, who play a crucial role in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Numbers are also added behind the code to differentiate each male activist.

The questions at this level are: How do the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement speak about the relationship between God, humans, and nature? What do they say about nature, the North Kendeng Mountains, the cement factory, and the ecological crisis? How do the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement express their social identity? What words do they employ? And how does the ethical framework of ecofeminism and eco-Islam manifest in their movement?

Ibu Bumi (The Mother Earth)

All the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement use the word *Ibu Bumi* (the Mother Earth) when they speak about the Earth as a planet, soil, or ground on which humans live. The poem entitled *Ibu Bumi*, composed by MAK1, is an example of how they articulate their perspective on the Earth. The genesis of this poem was inextricably linked to the context of the Kartini Kendeng movement, where negotiations with the authorities were conducted through demonstrations.

Chapter I elucidates that the geographical focus of the JMPPK⁶⁰ struggle was initially confined to the sub-districts of Sukolilo, Kayen, and Tambak Romo in Pati, central Java, which experienced direct repercussions from cement mining

60 JMPPK is the organic network that accommodates both the *Sedulur Sikep* community and Muslims in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Please refer to Chapter I for the details.

activities. This geographical focus has subsequently broadened to encompass the region of Rembang, Central Java, where governmental authorities have issued a permit to PT Semen Indonesia. Among the sub-districts in Rembang that are notably impacted by cement mining are Timbrangan, Tegaldowo, Kajar, Pasucen, and Kadiwono. Consequently, when members of JMPPK from Pati engage in demonstrations, their counterparts from Rembang participate, thereby demonstrating both moral and tangible support. Similarly, should members of JMPPK from Rembang initiate protests against cement mining, members from Pati will also align themselves with those in Rembang. To this day, individuals involved in JMPPK from both districts, Pati and Rembang, consistently convene for meetings. Occasionally, these meetings are organized to coincide with specific national or international observances such as National/International Earth Day, World Water Day, Indonesian Independence Day ceremonies, and Kartini Day, which is recognized as a national holiday.

In May 2016, members of JMPPK in Pati organized a march from the mosque of Nyi Ageng Ngerang to the office of Pati regent to protest PT SMS, which has obtained a permit from the local government of Pati to mine the North Kendeng Mountains. As a form of solidarity, many JMPPK members from Rembang, including MAK7, came to Pati and participated in the march. Before embarking on their journey, they congregated and engaged in collective prayer at the mosque of Nyi Ageng Ngerang⁶¹, located in Tambak Romo, Pati. At that time, MAK1 met MAK7 and discussed the prayer poem he had dedicated to *Ibu Bumi*. MAK7 is a preacher who uses music as a medium for preaching. He composed many religious songs with environmental themes. Therefore, MAK1 asked MAK7 for his opinion about the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* (the poem will be discussed later). The following text describes the history behind the genesis of the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*.

Text 1. MAK1 said:

Well, like the nascence of the [poem]. For me, it is a prayer. The Mother Earth has given ... [MAK7] from Rembang came here, and I asked him for some help. [I told him]: "For me, it is a prayer. For this trip [from the mosque of Nyi Ageng Ngerang to the office of Pati regent], what [do you think] could make [this trip] more solemn and attract the communities [attention]?" [MAK7 answered]: "You only read the poem without any addition while the majority of the community are Muslims... [I think] you can add 'Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah'. That will be fine" ... It is a spontaneous prayer for the trip from [the mosque of] Nyi Ageng

61 The mosque and grave of Nyi Ageng Ngerang are situated at the same location.

*Ngerang to the office of the Pati regent. A prayer, which has now become popular.*⁶²

Those involved in the march commenced their 20km trek at night from the mosque of Nyi Ageng Ngerang, chanting the prayer poem throughout their journey. They arrived at the demonstration site the following day. From that moment onward, the JMPPK members read this poem during their demonstrations, meetings, and special events. This poem would also frequently be recited in the *langgar* (prayer house) of Yu Patmi before engaging in prayers. I heard this poem for the first time when the Imam of the *langgar* of Yu Patmi recited it before leading the morning prayer while waiting for the *jama'ah* (congregation) to join in prayer.

MAK1 repeats the phrase, “For me, it is a prayer”. Besides being an overwording, this repetition also has both expressive and experiential value, which depicts the social identity and the knowledge or belief of MAK1. He wants to emphasize his status as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition and his belief in this poem as a prayer. The sentence “You only read the poem without any addition while the majority of the community are Muslims” has relational value, which describes the social relation between MAK1 as a minority *Sedulur Sikep* and the majority Muslims who participate in the demonstration. It also explains the reason behind the addition of “*Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah*”. Another overwording is noticeable in the repetition of the word “trip”, which is used as a metaphor for demonstration. The mosque at Nyi Ageng Ngerang is also a metaphor for an essential figure in the North Kendeng Mountains community.

I had an opportunity to meet MAK7 during my second fieldwork in 2020 and ask him about the background of the addition of ‘*Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah*’ in the poem. He said:

Text 2.

Because I saw this as not just a movement, but [also] a belief that [God] is the One Who owns [the Earth and the universe]. The One Who has control over everything. This is the [meaning of] Tawhid. This should not fade away. Never let it fade

62 Lha koyok lahire doa, kanggone aku. Ibu Bumi wis maringi ... MAK7 mrene tak jalu'i pitulung. [Tak sampaikan]: “Mas, iki [nek] bagiku yo dungo. Kanggo perjalanan sesok iki sing kiro-kiro [nggawe] khidmat lan wong-wong tergugah opo yo? [MAK7 njawabi]: “Iki nak mung dilantunkan tanpo tambahan ... mayoritas [sing melu sesok] kan Muslim. Ditambahi *Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah* gak popo ... Satu lantunan pujian doa-doa saat jalan kaki teko Nyai Ageng Ngerang tekan Pati itu [adalah doa] spontan. Yo doa kuwi sing saiki doh dilantunkan [kangge] pujian.

away! ... Since the majority of the people [who joined the movement] at that time were Muslims, the easy sentences to imitate were nglambe sentences. [Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasulullah] are nglambe sentences [that are uttered] every day. No need to teach them [these sentences]. Everyone knows them.⁶³

This statement embodies both experiential and relational value, reflecting MAK7's understanding of the meaning of Tawhid and the social dynamics between the majority Muslim community and the *Sedulur Sikep* community, respectively. The use of both "movement" and "belief" is an overwording to emphasize the perspective of MAK7 regarding the spirit of JMPPK, which combines both movement and belief. Both phrases, "Who owns" and "Who has control", are overwording to highlight the traits of God, while the word "Tawhid" is used as a metaphor for any action reflecting a belief in God. MAK7 repeats the word "fade" in two different types of sentences; one sentence with an obligational modality, "should not fade away", and another imperative clause, "never let it fade away". Both types emphasize the significance of Tawhid as a guiding principle for Muslims involved in JMPPK. Moreover, the words "Tawhid", "Muslims", and the sentence "*Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasulullah*" are overwording to emphasize the socioreligious setting of the local community. The word "*nglambe*" is derived from *lambe*, a Javanese word for lips. The term "*nglambe*" is extensively utilized within the Javanese community as a metaphor for well-versed words or sentences, as evidenced by MAK7's statement. It is mentioned twice in the text to highlight the importance of considering the easiest sentences added to the prayer. This prayer poem initially reads:

The Mother Earth has given.

The Mother Earth is hurt.

The Mother Earth will judge.⁶⁴

63 Karena saya melihat [bahwa] ini bukan sekedar pergerakan tapi [juga] keyakinan bahwa [Allahlah] yang memiliki [bumi dan alam raya]. Yang bisa merubah semua keadaan. Ini adalah [makna] tauhid. Ini tidak boleh lepas. Jangan sampai lepas ... Karena mayoritas warga [yang bergabung pergerakan] ini pada saat itu adalah Muslim. [maka] kalimat-kalimat yang mudah untuk ditirukan adalah kalimat yang sudah ngelambe ... Itu adalah kalimat yang ngelambe [dan diucapkan] setiap hari. Tidak perlu diajarkan [kalimat ini]. Semua orang pasti bisa.

64 Ibu Bumi wis maringi
Ibu Bumi dilarani
Ibu Bumi kang ngadili

MAK7 added the *Shahadah*, *Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah*, which means “There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah”.

The poem encompasses both experiential and expressive values that illustrate the belief and social identity of MAK1, who is also the composer of this poetic work, embodying the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition concerning the concept of “*Ibu Bumi*”. Within this poem, “*Ibu Bumi*” serves as a metaphorical construct that conveys *Sedulur Sikep*’s worldview of the Mother Earth as a living entity, characterized by metaphorical actions such as “has given”, “hurt”, and “judge”. To underscore this worldview, the term “*Ibu Bumi*” is repeated three times. The utilization of passive voice in the phrase “The Mother Earth is hurt” obscures the agency involved; nevertheless, as posited by Fairclough (1992), the use of passive voice may suggest that the agent is already acknowledged, with humanity being the sole entity implicated in the harm inflicted upon the Mother Earth.

Given that MAK1 employed metaphorical language in this prayer poem, I subsequently asked him to clarify, and he answered:

Text 3.

For me, maybe not only for me but also [for other people of] Sedulur Sikep, remembering the Earth while sleeping, awake, or stepping on the Earth becomes an utterance. So, when [I] convey “The Mother Earth has given” I always voice that “The Mother Earth has given” means that [when the Mother Earth] was planted, it satisfies and sustains [human life]. So, the Earth is a mother who gives birth, gives life and sustains [human life]. [Although the Earth] is being hurt, it continues to give. That is what I really feel. However, why is it still being hurt by the careless disposal of garbage, for instance? This is a simple thing. Throwing garbage everywhere and others bear the consequences. [This is] an irresponsible [action] that makes me cry. Furthermore, if [the Earth] is being dug up. Actually, [the Mother Earth] has judged. Sometimes, Mother [Earth] is angry in such a way, but [humans] have not yet realized it.⁶⁵

65 Kangge aku, mungkin ora mung aku [tapi kebeh] Wong Sikep. Merem, [opo] melek, utowo ngadek nduwur bumi, terus kelingan bumi iku yo wes sesebutan. Ketika aku menyampaikan Ibu bumi wes maringi aku nyuara’ke: wis maringi [artine]: [“Saat Ibu Bumi] ditanduri, iku iso nyukupi, iso nguripi [menungso]. Ya, Bumi iku [ibarat] Ibu sing wes ngelahirno [menungso], [Ibu sing] nganakno lan nyukupi. [Masio] dilarani tetep terus ngewenehi. Iku sing temen-temen tak rasakno. Ning lha kok yo dilarani [terus] nganti koyok ngene yo? Ibarate [kebiasaan] buang sampah. Kae [hal] sederhana. Gaya hidup sing ... opo yo? Ngeculno regete awa’e dewe lan wong liyo kon ngopeni. Ora tanggung jawab. Wes ibarate kudu nangis. Opo maneh [bumine] nganti dikeduk ngunu kae. Sak temene kan Ibu Bumin yo wes ngadili. Kolone Ibu Bumi nesu, tapi [menungso] ijeh ora kroso.

The use of the phrase “For me” and the sentence “maybe not only for me but also [for other people of] *Sedulur Sikep*” has expressive and experiential value to indicate the social identity and belief of MAK1 and the *Sedulur Sikep* community in general. His movement from the micro-level to the meso-level, as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, is also observable in the previous sentence. The use of the words “sleeping”, “awake”, and “stepping on” is a rewording. The word “remembering” is an overwording of the word “utterance” that emphasizes the living tradition among the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The use of the words “satisfies”, “sustains”, “gives birth”, and “gives life” is an overwording and metaphor for the Earth’s behaviours, which act like a mother in giving life. The phrase “being hurt” is a metaphor for human “irresponsible [action]”. MAK1 gives examples of hurting the Mother Earth using phrases “careless disposal of garbage”, “throwing garbage everywhere” and “being dug up”, which also function as a metaphor for mining. The use of the words “judged” and “angry” is an overwording as well as a metaphor for human-made environmental disasters and damages. The word “cry” is a metaphor for sadness and disappointment. A rhetorical question, “However, why is it still being hurt by the careless disposal of garbage, for instance?”, is used as a complaint and does not need an answer.

Commenting on the explanation of MAK1 regarding the concept of *Ibu Bumi*, MAK7 stated:

Text 4.

*The Earth is a mother where we breastfeed, a place to put our burdens. In my opinion, [this concept] is almost similar to [the Islamic teaching] that the Earth is a manifestation of God’s love, a manifestation of God’s compassion, which we must really take care of. We must be grateful with full responsibility. This Earth is not only for our generation. We must keep it in good condition for the next generation.*⁶⁶

The word “breastfeed” and the phrase “put our burdens” are overwording to underline how meaningful the Earth is to human beings upon which they depend for their lives. The phrase “in my opinion” has both expressive and experiential value, which denotes the social identity of MAK7 as a Muslim and his belief in the similarity

66 Bumi ini ibu tempat kita menyusui, tempat meletakkan beban. Menurut saya [konsep ini] hampir mirip dengan [ajaran Islam bahwa] bumi ini adalah bentuk kasih sayang Allah, sebagai bentuk welas asihnya Gusti Allah yang harus kita jaga bener bener. Harus kita syukuri dengan penuh tanggung jawab. Bumi ini tidak hanya untuk generasi kita. Kita harus menjaganya agar sampai ke generasi berikutnya dalam keadaan yang baik.

between the concept of *Ibu Bumi* and Islamic teaching. The use of both phrases, “God’s love” and God’s compassion”, is an overwording to indicate the meaning of Earth in Islamic teaching. MAK7 then used the modal “must” three times as an emphasis on the obligation to “take care of”, “be grateful”, and “keep it in good condition”.

Another statement regarding *Ibu Bumi* comes from KK9, a Muslim woman involved in the movement. She stated:

Text 5.

*For me, the Earth is like my mother. As KK1 said, the Earth is being stepped on, urinated on, and defecated on by us. Just like my mother.*⁶⁷

KK9 described her knowledge or belief in *Ibu Bumi* and her social identity by using the phrase “For me”. The phrase “my mother” is a metaphor to describe the close relationship between humans and the Earth, as the close relationship between a mother and her child. This closeness is also worded in different ways: “stepped on”, “urinated on”, and “defecated on”, which metaphorically describe human behaviour while in their Mother Earth cradle.⁶⁸

Whether my Status [as part of *Sedulur Sikep*] Fades or not,
Please Prove it!

The Kartini Kendeng movement, as I mentioned earlier, has brought together both the indigenous community, known as the *Sedulur Sikep*, and the Muslim population residing in the North Kendeng Mountains. The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*, which combines words from two different traditions, is a kind of innovation that conveys solidarity among them. It becomes both a hymn and a prayer for the movement.

However, this was initially problematic not only among the *Sedulur Sikep* community but also among Muslims. The involvement of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, comprising both male and female, in the Kartini Kendeng movement is limited to a small fraction of the *Sedulur Sikep* population. It is stated in Chapter I that the statistical data shows that the total population of *Sedulur*

67 Bumi bagiku seperti ibuku. Seperti kata KK1 nek ‘bumi iku rino wengi di injek, di uyohi, di isingi awake dewe. Seperti ibuku.

68 The intimate bond between children and the mother that is portrayed in these expressions relates to the customary practice of Indonesian mothers, particularly in Java, who always cradle their infants throughout the day. They also rarely use baby nappies. So, it is very common to find their babies urinate and defecate while being held in their mothers’ arms.

Sikep in Pati and Rembang is around 300 families. Only about five to six families out of the total 300 families of the *Sedulur Sikep* community are involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Consequently, the dissent within the *Sedulur Sikep* community regarding the combination of the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* and the *Shahadah*, as opposed to the majority, gives rise to predicaments. A subset of individuals perceives this as a violation of the *Sedulur Sikep*'s code of ethics, thereby rendering it problematic.

MAK1, for instance, discussed the objections raised by some people of *Sedulur Sikep* regarding the addition of *Shahadah* in the prayer. He explained how he responded to the accusation levelled against him. He said:

Text 6.

If you think [adding the Shahadah to the poem of Ibu Bumi] is wrong, you can take legal action to complain. From the Islamic perspective, Allah is the One Who created this life. If you disagree with [the addition of Shahadah in the poem of Ibu Bumi], please report it! I had time to convey this [to the people of Sedulur Sikep, who had refused this addition]. To me, what is in a word if you do not understand the meaning? The majority of the brothers and sisters [in this movement are] Muslims, and they believe this poem to be a prayer. Then why don't we do that? Moreover, when I connected [the poem of Ibu Bumi and the Shahadah], the majority of Javanese people understood the meaning of Ibu Bumi, on which we reside. For me, regardless of whether anyone judges that [my status as part of Sedulur Sikep] can fade or not, please prove it! Whether my status fades or not, please prove it!⁶⁹

The text holds a relational value that depicts the social relationship between MAK1 and his fellow *Sedulur Sikep* community as well as the Muslims, regarding the addition of *Shahadah* in the poem of *Ibu Bumi*. He uses the pronoun “you” to describe his position in front of some people of the *Sedulur Sikep* community who object to the inclusion of *Shahadah* in the poem. The use of the words “wrong”, “judges”, and the phrase “do not agree” are overwording, which emphasizes the objections

69 Wes nek memang iku mbok anggep salah mbok proses hukum yo monggo. Nek kowe nduwe keyakinan basane nek coro Islam itu adalah opo sing nggawe urip iku Gusti Allah patokane, nek kowe ora nrimakno yo laporan wae. Aku sempat ngunu. Nek kanggoku, opo toh artine bahasa ketika ora dipahami? Mayoritas dulur-dulur iki muslim, dan bahasa itu dulur-dulur meyakini itu [sebagai] doa ... lalu kenapa tidak dilakukan? Dan Ketika tak sambungno yo mayoritas wong Jowo yo mahami tentang ibu bumi sing diinci'i. Kanggone aku terlepas soko kabeh sing do menilai aku menjadi luntur [statusku sebagai Sikep] opo ora, nek aku yo engko dibuktekno. Aku luntur opo ora, iso dibuktekno.

of some people of the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The other overwording is visible in these sentences: “You can take legal action to complain” and “Please report it!”, which highlights the confidence and defence of MAK1. The rhetorical questions, “To me, what is in a word if you do not understand the meaning?” and “Then, why don’t we do that?”, do not need an answer. They are used as a complaint. He moves from the micro level to the meso level when he discusses himself as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community and then refers to “the majority of Javanese people”. According to him, the majority of Javanese people have a similar understanding regarding *Ibu Bumi*.

To convince others that his status as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community will not be affected by the addition of *Shahadah*, MAK1 repeats the sentence “please prove it!” as an overwording. Moreover, MAK1 uses passive voice to make the subject unknown. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 76), the passive voice can also indicate that the actor is known. In this case, those who object to the addition of *Shahadah* in the poem of *Ibu Bumi* are the agents that will prove whether the belief of MAK1 changed or not.

Similar criticism also happens among the Muslims, especially from the ‘pro’ group who support the government’s decision to construct a cement plant in the North Kendeng Mountains. MAK6, for instance, described how the village religious functionary commented on this prayer. MAK6 said:

Text 7.

Once upon a time, KK5 recited this prayer, which was commented on by the village religious functionary. However, I did not hear his comment directly. If I heard it directly, I would definitely argue ... Gus Nuril⁷⁰ also reads the prayer. It is good because the message is to protect the Earth. We all stand on the Earth; we also look for food from the Earth ... So, [reciting this prayer] is okay. If someone commented on it, it must be because they did not know the meaning and purpose of the prayer.⁷¹

70 Gus Nuril is one of the students and friends of Gus Dur, the fourth president of Indonesia. He is well known for his multicultural worldviews. He promotes togetherness in differences. He is one of the religious leaders who support the Kartini Kendeng movement.

71 Niku nate KK5 sholawatan niku tapi di komen kaleh mbah mudin, kulo mboten mireng. Nek kulo mireng nggeh kulo jawab ... wong Gus Nuril nopo nggeh sholawatan ngagem niku ... iku-iku apik kui kan ngge ngukuhi/urip-uripi bumi. Awak dewe iki seng diinjak iku ya bumi, sing dijaluhi maem mbarang yo bumi. [Moco] iku ora popo. Iku upomo dikomen uwong iku mergo durung ngerti tujuan e.

A relational value between the village religious functionary and Muslims regarding prayer is visible in this text. The notion of “the village religious functionary” and “Gus Nuril” is a metaphor for religious leaders and their different responses to the prayer poem. The use of the phrases “stand on” and “look for food” is an overwording, which highlights human dependence on the Earth for their life. The other overwording is visible in the use of the words “meaning” and “purpose,” which indicates the value of the prayer poem.

God, Humans, and Nature are Unity

When I asked my interviewees about the relationship between God, humans, and nature, they provided varying responses. Some of them said the three “are a unity”, “inseparable”, and “all living things actually have a sense like us [humans]”. Others said: “[First comes] Allah [then] nature and then humans”, “Nature is a Divine trust”, and “Nature does not need humans, but humans need nature”. I classified their statements into three groups based on their background: *Sedulur Sikep*, Muslims, and Muslims who converted to *Agama Adam of Sedulur Sikep*. First, I will review the statement of KK1, who comes from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, when answering this question. She said:

Text 8.

In my opinion, [God, humans, and nature] are a unity that is inseparable even though their names may vary. Based on my personal experience, I believe that there is a life that cannot be seen and invisible but can be felt. People who have supernatural sight may see [the invisible life], which can be invited to communicate. Based on what I experienced when I faced the Gresik cement factory, I started the movement with men and have not found women [to join]. I finally felt that this [problem] could not be solved without the unity of the three [God, human, and nature] because the desire of nature, those supernatural beings, and of humans must unite. [It is fine] if the desire of humans is in line with the desire of nature or blessed by the Almighty. Because of this [belief], I have ever talked with the brothers and sisters from Sedulur Sikep that I wanted to visit a site in the Kendeng mountains. I did not know what site that was, but I felt that I wanted to go there. Well, when I was there, I just found ... At that time, I was at the site of Dewi Kunti⁷². I did not see her figure, but I felt that I wanted to get closer to Kendeng. I felt that there was something alive and had feelings. I talked to her like I talked to you. Then I asked her permission. I conveyed that there was

72 Female figure in the puppet show, mother of Pandawa.

a particular condition in this region. Mount Kendeng was threatened. If it was threatened, then all the sites in the Kendeng mountains, whether or not a historical site, would be lost. As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng, whatever their names and appearances, should also do [something to defend] as best as they could. Thus, the relationship between the three is inseparable. Then, human beings also have to take care of nature. Thus, nature, human beings, and the Almighty must unite.⁷³

In the rest of her answer, she connected her belief about the three with her other experience, KK1 continued:

Text 9.

Whatever humans do to take care of nature, it always reacts by giving signs. One of them was in late 2008 or early 2009 ... the brothers were in a meeting at the house of MAK1 until 11:30 at night. The next day, they would face the final AMDAL [environmental impact assessment] trial of the Gresik cement factory at the Pati Regional Office. They got a phone call from the brothers in Kedu saying that the spring in the Wareh cave had stopped, the water had dried up, and the fish had disappeared for one hour. [This incident has changed the stance of the community]. Previously, only a few of them were in the 'tolak' (rejection) position. It might be said that [the ratio was] 80% to 20%. Only 20% of them joined 'tolak'.

73 Nek menurutku sih yo satu kesatuan sing ora iso dipisahke, senjata mungkin bedo-bedo penyebutane. Tapi contoh aku pribadi, aku mempercayai bahwa ono kehidupan sing ora ketok disawang, sing kasat mata, mungkin isone dirasakno. Ning wong sing nduwe opo keahlian sing luwih ning yo iso sampek weruh dan yo iso diajak komunikasi. Soko sing tak alami dewe, waktu aku ngadepi semen Gresik dan aku sing awale gerak bareng bapak-bapak durung nemokno ibu-ibu, akhire aku keroso bahwa iki gak iso rampung tanpo ono bersatune ketiga iku. Mergo kekarepane alam, kekarepane sing ora iso disawang karo menungso iki kudu nyawiji. Iyo nek kekarepane menungso iki dadi karepe alam, iya nek entuk pangestune soko sing kuoso paribasane. Mangkane aku pernah sampek yo rembukan karo dulur-dulur, aku kepingin tilik ning satu tempat ning pegunungan Kendeng, aku ora ngerti ning rasane aku pingin rono. Nah, ketika ning kono, yo aku mungkin sing tak adepi mung.. nek waktu ndisek neng petilasane ibu Dewi Kunti, aku gak nyawang sosok e tapi rasane aku kepingin luwih cedhak neng Kendeng. Nah, yo aku merasa kono yo urip, nduwe roso, yo tak jak rembukan koyo aku rembukan karo njenengan. Terus aku izin, pamit nek, aku rembukan bahwa iki ning wilayah kene ono kahanan koyo ngene. Gunung Kendeng arep diancam, nek diancam, iki papan panggonan sing ono ning pegunungan Kendeng mboh kuwi situs sejara opo iki bakal ilang. Nah aku sebagai menungso lumrah yo aku tak tumindak nganggo opo isaku, ning sing manggon ning Kendeng mboh kuwi arane opo, ujude opo yo kudu tumindak nganggo isane. Dadi hubungan ketigane iki gak iso dipisahke. Terus wonge yo kudu ngerawat lingkungan. Mangkane antara alam, wonge, karo sing kuoso yo kudu bersatu.

*However, after that incident, the situation] has changed ... This [incident] made me aware; thus, I believe that the three must unite.*⁷⁴

An experiential value is noticeable when KK1 describes her beliefs and knowledge about the relationship between God, humans, and nature, using phrases such as “in my opinion” and “I believe”. She also strengthens her statement with her experiences when she says: “Based on my personal experience” and “Based on what I experienced”. Those sentences are overwording to emphasize the belief of KK1. She repeats some words and phrases such as “unity”, “inseparable”, and “must unite” to highlight her perspective on the relationship between God, humans, and nature. Moreover, the use of “must” in “must unite” is a normative statement with obligational modality (Fairclough, 1992). The ambiguity between normative and affirmative sentences appears in the statement KK1 (the three are “a unity” and the three “must unite”).

Sometimes, KK1 mentioned that the three are humans, nature, and the Almighty, and sometimes she mentioned that the three are humans, nature, and spiritual beings. She used an overwording to refer to “spiritual beings” employing the following phrases and sentences: “a life that cannot be seen and invisible but can be felt”, “can be invited to communicate”, “something alive and had feelings”, “*Dewi Kunti*”, and “those who dwell in *Kendeng*, whatever their names and appearances”. The use of the words “lost” and “threatened”, which is repeated twice, is an overwording for the phrase “particular condition”. The use of the phrases “the site of *Dewi Kunti*” and “historical site” serves as an alternative wording to highlight the current threatened state of the North Kendeng Mountains.

When KK1 stated “As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng, whatever their names and appearances, should also do [something to defend] as best as they could”, she indicated a social relationship between human and nature. Here, she assumes that both humans and nature are part of an interdependent society, which should cooperate to defend the North Kendeng Mountains from disastrous cement mining.

The following sentences: “The brothers were in a meeting at the house of MAK1 until 11:30 at night” and “The next day they would face the final AMDAL [envi-

74 Opo sing dilakoni wong kanggo melestarikan lingkungan, iki selalu alam ngeke'i tondo. Salah sijine contoh sing paling arep keru tahun 2008 akhir/awal 2009 kui ... dulur-dulur rapat ning nggonggo MAK1, rapat bengi sampe 11.30, sesok arep ngadepi sidang AMDAL terakhir semen Gresik di kantor Bakorwil Pati. Dapat telpon soko sedulur Kedu, soko ibu-ibu Kedu kondong yen sumber mata air gua Wareh kui mati, banyune asat, garing, iwak-iwak ilang, satu jam. Sing awale dulur-dulur Kedu iki durung sepiro akeh sing tolak, mungkin bisa dibilang 80:20%, sing tolak mung 20 %, bar kejadian kuwi dadi berubah ... Menyadarkan... aku percaya bahwa hubungan ketiganya iku kudu nyawiji.

ronmental impact assessment] trial of the Gresik cement factory” are alternative wording of “whatever humans do to take care of nature”. The various efforts they made to defend Kendeng, such as regular meetings and the submission of an Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL), were part of their commitment to care of the natural world. As a reaction, nature gave “signs” in different forms: “Spring in the Wareh cave had stopped”, “The water had dried up”, and “The fish had disappeared for one hour”.

MAK1, who also came from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, answered the question on the relationship between God, humans, and nature in the next statement:

Text 10.

All living things actually have a sense like us [humans], so if you hurt the grass or whatever, one day [you] will be counted for [it].⁷⁵

The use of the words “grass” and “whatever” is an overwording of the phrase “all living things”. A rewording is visible when MAK1 uses the words “sense”, “hurt”, and the phrase “will be counted for”. This statement holds experiential value, reflecting MAK1’s belief and knowledge about the natural world as a sentient entity that responds to human actions.

There is a different perspective from those who came from Islamic tradition. Answering the question on the relationship between God, humans, and nature, KK3 said:

Text 11.

In my opinion, [animals and plants] do not differ [from us]. [All] are similar. The difference is that they are animals and plants [while] we are humans. That’s all.⁷⁶

KK3 commenced her answer using the phrase “in my opinion”, which has experiential value to indicate her knowledge and belief regarding the relationship between humans and nature. She did not mention God in her answer. The use of the phrases “do not differ from us”, “all are similar”, and the second sentence “The difference is that they are animals and plants while we are humans” is an overwording that emphasizes the belief of KK3 in the sameness between humans, animals, and plants. Moreover, the last sentence, “That’s all”, is an emphatic restatement of the overwording.

75 Kabeh makhluk hidup due roso koyok awak dewe kabeh, mulane nek kue dak sio karo suket tah opo besok ditageh.

76 Kalau bagi saya [binatang dan tumbuhan] tidak ada bedanya [dengan kita]. [Semua] sama. Cuma kan bedanya dia binatang dan tumbuhan [sementara] kita [adalah] manusia. Itu aja.

For KK4, nature is “a Divine trust”. She said:

Text 12.

All [human beings] have an obligation to preserve nature and to preserve the environment because nature is [bestowed upon humanity] as a Divine trust, a trust from the Almighty for us to care for. If we do not preserve it, Allah must be angry. We never know. Earthquakes or floods could occur as a form of anger from God Who makes life because we ignore and do not preserve nature that He left with His ummah (human beings).⁷⁷

The statement has experiential value, indicating the belief and knowledge of KK4, who comes from an Islamic tradition regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature. The use of the words “God”, “the Almighty”, and “Allah” is an overwording. God is the trust giver, and human beings are the trust recipients in the form of an “obligation” to care for and preserve nature. She repeats the word “preserve” four times to emphasize its status as an obligation from God and the importance of preservation activities. The use of the words “angry” and “anger” is a metaphor for natural disasters in the form of “Earthquake” or “flood”.

Another statement, which contains a message of obligation, comes from MAK2. He said:

Text 13.

In terms of Islam, Islam is rahmatan lil ‘aalamiin, a mercy to all creations. So, the universe does not only [consist] of humans but also plants, animals, and other creatures. As human beings, we should function as saviours [for the natural world] and not [the opposite] such as oppressors or ... We, human beings, are the noblest creation [of God]. We should be able at least to maintain [nature] and not destroy it. That is my view.⁷⁸

77 Semua punya hak untuk melestarikan alam, melestarikan lingkungan karena itu kan titipan dari Allah, itu titipan dari yang Kuasa untuk kita merawatnya. Kalau memang kita tidak merawatnya, Allah pasti murka dengan cara Allah. Kita gak tau, mungkin ada gempa, mungkin ada banjir itu adalah kemarahan dari Sing Gawe urip, karena kita lalai dan tidak merawat alam yang Dia titipkan kepada umatNya.

78 Kalau dari sisi Islam, Islam itu kan rahmatat lil alamin, menjadi rahmat bagi seluruh alam, jadi alam ini bukan hanya manusia. disitu ada tumbuhan, ada hewan, jadi ada makhluk lainnya. Kita sebagai manusia harusnya sebagai penyelamat bukan sebagai apa ya istilahnya, penindas atau ... Seharusnya kita ini sebagai manusia yang diciptakan paling mulia diantara semua. Kita ini harus bisa menjaga paling tidak seperti itu, bukan merusak. Itu pandangan saya.

MAK2 opens his talk with a meso statement: “In terms of Islam, Islam is *rahmatan lil ‘aalamiin*, a mercy to all creations”. Then he moves to the macro level when he says: “As human beings, we should function as saviours [for the natural world]”. The meso level points to his position as a Muslim, and the macro level shows his position as a human. He also emphasizes the mission of Islam as a mercy for all creations by using the words “universe”, “human”, “plants”, “animals”, and “other creatures” as overwording. To give extra attention to humans’ responsibility, he juxtaposes two opposing words, namely “saviours” versus “oppressors” and “destroy” versus “maintain” as a rewording.

A different perspective is presented by MAK4, who converted from Islam to Agama Adam of *Sedulur Sikep*, and KK2, a female Muslim who is very much influenced by *Sedulur Sikep* tradition. In terms of the relationship between God, humans, and nature, MAK4 expressed the following statement:

Text 14.

In my opinion, nature does not need humans, but humans need nature. So, no matter what [the situation] is, we must make an effort to preserve nature so it will not be damaged quickly.⁷⁹

His opening sentence, “In my opinion”, has an experiential and expressive value, indicating his belief and social identity regarding the human-nature relationship. He did not mention God in his statement, although the question is about the relationship between God, humans, and nature. His use of “must” in his statement contains obligational modality (Fairclough, 1992). Furthermore, as an emphasis on this obligation, he juxtaposes oppositional words, namely “preserve” versus “damaged”.

KK2 stated:

Text 15.

In my opinion: [First comes] Allah [then] nature and then humans because nature has been created by the Almighty Creator, Allah, and we work [to meet the needs of life] and bow [to worship God during salah/prayer] by means of the natural world. So, [God, nature, and humans] are inseparable because logically [Muslims during their prayers] surely kiss the Earth. Consciously or not ... [the Earth is] the medium to [worship] Allah ... I believe that Allah knows everything. Allah does

79 Saya kira alam tidak butuh manusia, manusia yang butuh alam. Jadi bagaimanapun kita harus berusaha menjaga alam agar tidak cepat rusak.

not sleep. If [I have] a good intention, I'll be saved later on by [Allah through] nature ... after every prayer, I declare: "[Dear Earth], all the people and I will not bother you. Instead, we want to save you. So, please understand and be nice!"⁸⁰

This statement holds experiential and expressive value in describing the identity and beliefs of KK2 regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature. She said: "In my opinion" and "I believe". She puts the three in hierarchical relations with humans at the lowest level, after God and nature. She also moves from the micro-level to the meso-level. The micro level is when KK2 describes her personal belief about the three using the phrase "In my opinion", while the meso-level is when she speaks about collective practices among Muslims, she said: "[Muslims during their prayers] surely kiss the Earth". The appearance of the phrase "The Almighty Creator" and the word "Allah" is an overwording that emphasizes the position of God as the Creator Who "knows everything" and "does not sleep". Her notion on "prayer" is also overwording, which highlights the importance of prayer for Muslims, the believers. The phrases "will not bother you" and "want to save you" are alternative wording to underline the intention of KK2 and her fellow humans in Kendeng towards their surrounding natural world. The use of the word "understand" and the phrase "be nice" is also an overwording to emphasize the hope of KK1. The use of the phrase "[the Earth is] the medium to [worship] Allah" and "I'll be saved later on by [Allah through] nature" is an overwording to emphasize the status of the Earth and the natural world as mediators between human beings and Allah.

The Way We Pray has to do with the Earth

The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* illustrates that the Kartini Kendeng movement is steeped in spiritual values. At the communal level of the movement, the poem of *Ibu Bumi* becomes a prayer recited together during their demonstrations. I asked if those involved in this movement have their special prayers related to their struggle against cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains. Based on information from

80 Menurut kulo nggeh [sepindah] gusti Allah, [lajeng] alam, nembe manusia. Keranten alam meniko ingkang nyiptaaken kan nggeh ingkang nggawe gesang, nggeh meniko gusti Allah ... Kita ini bekerja [nggolek urip] juga sujud kepada gusti Allah lewat alam. Dadi antarane [gusti Allah, alam, ugi menungso niku] niku orah iso dipisahke keranten logikane wong Islam iku [nek sembahyang] mesti ngabung bumi. Sadar mboh ora ... [bumi] niku [lantaran] menuju gusti Allah ... Kulo yakin nek gusti Allah roh kabeh, ora sare ... Nek niatku apik tek yo Allah mesti melindungi liwat alam niku wau ... Setiap kulo bar sholat kulo ndunga: "Aku lan duludulur nek kene ora arep ganggu kowe, tapi arep nyelametno dadi kowe seng ngerti ya seng apik!"

interviewees, some of them explicitly mention “*Ibu Bumi*”, “the Earth”, or “ancestor” in their prayers, and others have an implicit notion. KK1, for instance, stated:

Text 16.

Personally, as part of Sedulur Sikep, [I think] the way we pray has to do with the Earth... Before doing anything, I ask permission from my mother, before eating or drinking or doing something else. Moreover, [Earth] that gives [life], I also mention [it]. I do not only mention [it] but also remember [it]. I remember [it]. Perhaps you have noticed [people of] Sedulur Sikep when they eat or drink, they first drop [the water on the Earth], ‘plink’. What does that mean? To remember those who gave [lives], the elders. [Their] mothers were given first. Only then do I drink and eat.⁸¹

In this text, KK1 opened her talk with the phrase “Personally, as part of *Sedulur Sikep*” to indicate a micro level as a person. She also used the pronouns “I” and “they” interchangeably to transition from the micro level as an individual to the meso level to explain the tradition of *Sedulur Sikep*. The use of “ask permission”, “remember”, and “mention” is an overwording that indicates the importance of the Earth in the prayer of *Sedulur Sikep*. The overwording also appears in the use of the phrase “those who gave [lives]”, and the words “the elders”, and “mothers” through which KK1 metaphorizes her ancestors, mother, and the Earth. In other words, those words are used in this text with two different notions. The first one indicates a person that has a relationship with KK1: “my mother” and “the elders”, while the second is a metaphor for Mother Earth, “[Their] mothers were given first”.

During my first fieldwork in 2019, I had the opportunity to attend the ceremony celebrating Indonesia’s Independence Day on August 17 in Kendeng with all members of the Kartini Kendeng movement from Pati and Rembang, as well as some activists who support this movement. In the prayer that was read, MAK1 explicitly mentioned “ancestors”. He said:

81 Aku pribadi Sedulur Sikep ngunu coro penyebutan doa ki ono hubungane karo bumi ... Ape lapo wae kan aku pamiit ibuku, lha semono ugo dalam aku arep lapo wae arep mangan, arep ngombe arep lapo, opo maneh sing maringi iki yo, yo tak sebut. Dan mungkin ora mung tak sebut, tapi yo tak ilingi, tak ilingi. Nek mungkin njenengan ngematke ono Sedulur Sikep nek do maem utowo minum netesno sek ‘thek’. Itu apa maknanya? yo ngelingi seng maringi sek, sing luweh sing luweh sepuh. Ibune, diparingi sek. Baru setelah itu aku lagi minum, aku lagi maem.

Text 17.

The brothers and sisters in the Kendeng Mountains have a desire to inform their ancestors and the ancestors of the ancestors who dwell in the Kendeng Mountains. Hopefully, the life of [the Kendeng community] is in good condition forever.⁸²

The text possesses expressive and experiential values through which MAK1 conveys his identity and knowledge as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which believe in the spirits of their ancestors who dwell in Kendeng, a concept mentioned twice in this prayer. Furthermore, his repetition of the phrase “Kendeng Mountains” emphasizes its significance for the local community, including the Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community, as their homeland.

The explicit notion of *Ibu Bumi* appears in the prayer of KK7, who comes from Islamic tradition. She reads the prayer daily and during her visit to the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang. She stated:

Text 18.

In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Compassionate⁸³. O Allah, I ask for [Your] guidance or help [for] Ibu Bumi that I step on, Ibu Bumi that I care for. If someone has done something wrong or is making trouble in Kendeng, I ask for your help to keep Kendeng intact, tolak balak (ward off misfortune), safe and secure. That was my prayer. Then I recited Qulhu three times and al-Fatihah three times. That was my prayer... when I visited [the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang... I read]: ... I beg for Your blessing with the intermediary of mbah Nyi Ageng Ngerang and Ki Ageng Ngerang, may I be prayed [by them] to Allah to be safe, healthy, guarded, and given spirit to protect the Ibu Bumi or Kendeng.⁸⁴

KK7 opens her prayer with *Basmalah* (in the name of Allah), the opening sentence in every prayer in Islamic tradition. She then explicitly mentions *Ibu Bumi* in her

82 Dulur sak pegunungan Kendeng gadah karep kepingin merohi danyange para sedulur pegunungan Kendeng lan danyang para danyang sing manggon teng pegunungan Kendeng. Dalanipun menawi sageto becik sepindah kangge selami-lamine.

83 This first verse of al-Fatihah is well-known among Muslim as *Basmalah*.

84 *Bismillahir-rahmanir-rahim*, Ya Allah kulo nyuwun pitedah utowi pitulungan, ibu bumi sing kulo anci'i, ibu bumi sing kulo lindungi, mbok menawi wonten tiang sing badhe salah, badhe nyalahi anane Kendeng kulo nyuwun tulung kaleh njenengan Gusti mugi-mugio Kendeng kersane wutuh, tolak balak, paring selamat, lujeng, kulo ngoten. Nggeh niku terus kulo wacakke Qulhu ping tigo, al-Fatihah ping tigo, nggih niku dungane kulo ... Nek ziarah [makam Nyi Ageng Ngerang ... kulo maos]: "... Nyadong pangestu dumateng mbah Nyi Ageng Ngerang, Ki Ageng Ngerang lantaranane saget disuwunake Allah ta'ala. Diparingi sugeng kwarasan, selamat kelujengan, dipun paringi semangat kangge nyelametake Ibu Bumi nopo Kendeng.

prayer. She mentions “Kendeng” as an alternative wording for “*Ibu bumi*”. The overwording appears in the use of the words “guidance” and “help” as well as the use of the words “intact”, “*tolak balak*”, “safe”, “secure”, “healthy”, “guarded”, and “given spirit”, which describe the hope of KK7 for Kendeng. She then use the phrase “done something wrong” and “making trouble” as an overwording to depict how dangerous the mining activities are for the safety of the North Kendeng Mountains. Another overwording is observable in the use of the phrases “step on”, “care for”, and “protect”, which indicate the close relationship between KK7 and the Earth. The notion of the tombs of “Nyi Ageng Ngerang” and “Ki Ageng Ngerang” is a metaphor of the importance of figures regarded as saintly persons by the Muslims in the North Kendeng Mountains.

The other explicit notion of the “Earth” is observable in the prayer of KK2. She noted:

Text 19.

There is a [special prayer]. Every time I depart [for ‘tolak’ action I pray]: O Allah, I intend to fight, to fight for this Earth to remain sustainable so that it can be passed on to my children and grandchildren. That’s all my prayer, Javanese prayer. For me, whatever our prayers, whatever our language, God surely understands”.⁸⁵

Although both KK7 and KK2 recite their prayers in Javanese, they do not forget to mention “Allah”. This is to indicate their belief as well as social identity as female Muslims. The word “fight” is used as a metaphor for the movement. As an emphasis, KK2 repeated the word “fight” in her statement. Another overwording is detectable in the use of both “children” and “grandchildren” that indicates the future goal of the movement.

A distinct type of Javanese prayer is evident in the prayer of KK9, who also comes from an Islamic background. She stated:

Text 20.

When at home I step on the threshold using my right foot before leaving as my father taught [me]. I step three times and pray: “the Earth I step on, help me to carry out my duties at ...” Later on, when I arrive at Semarang or other places -when leaving [I] face east, when arriving at Semarang or other places [I] face

85 Wonten, nek kulo setiap berangkat: Ya Allah niat ingsun kulo berjuang, merjuangke bumi iki supoyo tetep lestari supoyo iso disemulurke anak putu. Pun nikuwes, pokok e niku thok dungane dungo Jowo niku, soale apapun doa kita, apapun bahasa kita gusti Allah tetep ngertos, ngoten nek kangge kulo.

west- [I step on the Earth with my left foot] and pray: “the Earth I step on, the sky where I take shelter, thank you! I have arrived here.”⁸⁶

She mentions “I step” four times in her text to emphasize the significance of stepping in her prayer activities. The use of “leaving” and its antonym “arriving”, “east” and “west”, “right foot” and “left foot”, “Earth” and “sky” is a type of lexical cohesion. KK9 does not mention Allah or God in her prayer, but she puts “the Earth” as the object of the imperative sentence, “help me”.

Women on the Front Line

According to the information communicated by KK1, the participation of women in this movement initially did not manifest. However, as time progressed, women demonstrated a growing interest and became actively involved, eventually assuming prominent roles at the forefront of protests against cement mining. As the sister of MAK1, KK1 used to participate in JMPPK meetings. She was the only woman in every meeting held by JMPPK. She then visited women in her neighbourhood door-to-door and invited them to participate in the movement. KK1 stated: “Based on what I experienced when I faced Gresik cement factory, I started the movement with men and have not found women [to join]”.⁸⁷ This statement indicates the social relationship between KK1 and other women at the very beginning of this movement. She then invited women, especially women from the Muslim community, to get involved in the movement to resist the construction of the cement plant in their homeland. The statement of KK4 corroborates this. She states:

Text 21.

Initially we did not know about this problem... what the impact would be if there was a cement factory... then there were Sedulur [Sikep] from Sukolilo including KK1 who came [here]... [they] held meetings here... explaining what the environmental impact would be if there was a cement factory... finally, we joined the

86 Nek mulai saking ndalem niku kulo niku ten ngarepan niku kulo injek, nah nak badhe mangkat niku pesene bapake kulo sikil tengen nggih, ngidek ping tigo, bumi tak inciki, rewangono lehku tandang gawe ... Lha mengke nek mpun sampai ten Semarang nopo mriko, nggih nek badhe mangkat menghadap ke timur, mengke nek mpun ten Semarang nopo nggih menghadap ke barat [melangkahkan kaki kiri] bumi tak inciki, langit tak aupi kulo mpun maturnuwun kulo mpun ten mriki.

87 Soko sing tak alami dewe, waktu aku ngadepi semen Gresik dan aku sing awale gerak bareng bapak-bapak durung nemokno ibu-ibu.

*meetings. Then [a group] of women was formed in this area and in our neighbourhood. We hold meetings every week.*⁸⁸

This statement, in general, indicates a social relationship between Muslim women and the *Sedulur Sikep* community in the North Kendeng Mountains. The adverb “initially” indicates the role of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, including KK1, in raising people’s awareness regarding cement mining and its environmental impact. The notion of “*Sedulur Sikep*” and “KK1” is an overwording to indicate their significant role in this movement. The adverb “finally” indicates the influence of all that has been done by the *Sedulur Sikep* community to “[a group] of women” regarding cement mining and its adverse impact. Additionally, the repetitive notion of “meetings” is also an overwording to emphasize the importance of raising people’s awareness towards the “environmental impact” caused by the “cement factory”.

After the meetings and gathering activities, women stay on the frontlines during demonstrations to resist the construction of a cement plant in the North Kendeng Mountains. Explaining this situation, MAK2 stated:

Text 22.

*Compared to men, compared to men, men took 40 % and women took 60%, why? This might be a strategy from ... actually this is not ... This is a secret, a secret but I reveal it. This is a strategy. Why did we mobilize women during our actions? [Because] they tend to have more patience than men. So, when there is a chaos, it will be easier to [prevent] ... [and violence] does not occur. So, because the action of JMPPK is not the action that wants to riot, or ... So, we want it to be a smooth, peaceful, peaceful action.*⁸⁹

88 Itu dari awal itu kita gak tau masalah ini ... apa dampaknya kalau ada pabrik semen ... lalu ada sedulur dari Sukilo termasuk mbak KK1 itu datang ... mengadakan sosialisasi di sini ... memahamkan seperti apa dampak lingkungan kalau ada pabrik semen di sana ... akhirnya kita ikutlah sosialisasi di sana, lalu ada pembentukan [perkumpulan] ibu-ibu di daerah sini, juga di RT-RT kita, kita bikin pertemuan setiap seminggu sekali.

89 Untuk selama ini memang e... ibu-ibu ini keterlibatannya memang hampir kalau saya prosentase mbak, ketimbang bapak-bapak ya ra... ketimbang bapak-bapak ini kalau bapak2 40% ibu-ibu lebih ke 60%. Kenapa? ini mungkin strategi dari, sebenarnya ini gak ... apa ya rahasia, rahasia tapi saya ungkapkan ini adalah salah satu strategi, kenapa kalau kita aksi kita kerahkan ibu-ibu. Ibu-ibu itu kan condong kesabarannya lebih tinggi ketimbang bapak-bapak. Jadi ketika di situ ada kericuhan ini kan akan lebih mudah di apa ya, tidak terjadi. Jadi karena aksi kita JMPPK itu mbak ini bukan aksi yang kepengen rusuh, atau kepingin... jadi kepingin kita itu halus, dengan damai, aksi damai.

The repetition of the phrase “compared to men” at the beginning of the statement is an overwording that emphasizes the foundation of the percentage of men and women’s involvement in the movement. MAK2 also repeated the word “strategy” twice with different modalities. The first one indicates his hesitation when he uses “might be” as a modal verb in the sentence. This hesitation is also emphasized by the word “secret”. However, he wants to erase his doubt by repeating the word “strategy” in a more emphatic sentence without using the modal verb “might be”. Another way to emphasize this strategy is visible in his rhetorical question: “Why did we mobilize women during our action?” This question does not need an answer from the audience. The answer is delivered by MAK2, the questioner, at once. The inclusive “we” and the word “mobilize” in this rhetorical question indicate the strategy of men at the beginning of this movement. The use of the word “patient”, “smooth”, and “peaceful” is an overwording to describe the mission behind women’s position in the frontlines, namely, to prevent “chaos” and “riot”. In the same vein, KK4 also stated:

Text 23.

This is because men are provoked by emotions, and we are not. We do not want to cause a riot and commotion. We just want peace and to meet lots of relatives, lots of friends. When women [are in a demonstration] no matter and how bad the situation is they will not use punches.⁹⁰

The comparison of men’s and women’s reactions to the demonstration she mentioned at the beginning of the sentence has experiential value, which denotes the knowledge of KK4 on men’s and women’s emotions. She uses an inclusive “we” in her sentence, “and we are not”, to position herself as part of the women who share a similar perspective on women’s ability to handle their emotions. The statement generally depicts women’s perspective and strategy in the movement. KK4 then mentions “riot”, “commotion”, and “punches” as an overwording to emphasize the conditions and situations prevalent during the demonstration. She also uses the words “peace”, “relatives”, and “friends” as an overwording to underline the purpose of the demonstration conducted by JMPPK.

90 Soalnya kalau bapak-bapak kan kepancing emosi, kita nggak, nggak mau bikin kerusuhan dan keributan . Kita mintanya damai dan banyak saudara, banyak teman itu aja. Kalau ibu-ibu kan nggak, walaupun separah apapun, ibu-ibu nggak, nggak bakal pakai pukulan.

Apart from emotional issues and strategies to avoid violence, MAK1 addressed the following statement:

Text 24.

Yes, those were the opinions, which were popular [among the community]. Women on the front line was part of the strategy. However, actually [their involvement emerged] naturally. Please check [this statement]. It was totally natural ... actually, the reason of environmental struggle is that when the environment is damaged it is women who are affected by the [adverse impact] more than men. When there is a water shortage, [for instance], or other shortcomings, it is women [who are more affected].⁹¹

In this text, MAK1 notes that women's involvement is not "part of strategy". First of all, he uses the adverb "naturally" and the phrase "totally natural" as an overwording to emphasize the reason behind women's appearance on the front lines. Secondly, he reinforces his statement when he invites the audience to check by saying: "please check [this statement]". Thirdly, he describes the "reason of environmental struggle". He uses the sentence "it is women who are affected" and "it is women [who are more affected]" as an overwording to underline his knowledge regarding women position as one of the most affected groups in the community when the environment is damaged. He also uses the phrase "water shortage" and "other shortcomings" as an overwording of environmental problems. It was with his knowledge and understanding of the environmental impacts of mining that MAK1, together with KK1, invited the community in North Kendeng, including women, to unite in defending their homeland.

None of the previous statements, which I gained during my first fieldwork, mentioned Kartini as their inspiration in this movement. However, the following statements are different. I met some members of the Kartini Kendeng movement for the second time during my third fieldwork in 2021. When I asked them about women's involvement in this environmental movement, some of them mentioned Kartini. KK10, for instance, stated:

91 Iya itu opini-opini sing dibangun [di tengah masyarakat]. Bahwa yang di depan perempuan itu [adalah] bagian dari strategi. Tapi sebenarnya [ini terjadi] secara alami. Coba cek [pernyataan ini] di lapangan ... Itu [terjadi secara] alami total ... Faktane perjuangan lingkungan [adalah] ketika lingkungan rusak maka perempuanlah yang paling lebih merasakan [dampak buruknya] dari pada bapak-bapak. Ketika [terjadi] kurang banyu, [misalnya], kurang opo kan ibu-ibu [sing lebih merasakan dampaknya].

Text 25.

We are Kendeng residents. [Every] woman [can play a role] as Kartini. You could say [Kartini is our] role model and we are following in Kartini's footsteps. Even though she is a woman, she has a role as a warrior and is worth following.⁹²

KK10 begins her statement with expressive modality, which conveys her social identity as a resident of Kendeng. She also mentions “Kartini” twice to emphasize her position as a role model for women. The use of the phrase “following in Kartini’s footsteps” and “worth following” is an overwording to emphasize the position of Kendeng residents in relation to Kartini’s struggles. The use of “even though” in her last sentence implies linking two contrastive ideas between patriarchal tradition, which underestimates women, and the reality that shows women’s agency. In line with her, KK2 also mentioned Kartini. She said:

Text 26.

Kartini continued the struggle of [previous heroine] in her way. For her, women had to go to school. Now, together with brothers and sisters in Kendeng, especially those who live in Rembang, [we realize] that the grave of Kartini is here. There is a conflict over the establishment of a cement factory [in Rembang, the location of Kartini's grave]. Why don't we continue [Kartini's] struggle even in a different form? [Our struggle] now [is the struggle for] the environment because the environment is now badly damaged ... We voice the importance of the environment, the importance of the natural world for life.⁹³

KK2 repeats the notion of “Kartini” in her statement, which indicates the significance of the inspiration of Kartini in the movement. Meanwhile, the phrase “the grave of Kartini” is used as a metaphor for the important historical site in the North Kendeng Mountains. She also repeats the word “struggle”, which highlights the spirit of both Kartini and the Kendeng community. Another overwording is visible

92 Kami adalah warga Kendeng dan [setiap] wanita [bisa berperan] sebagai Kartini. Bisa dibilang [Kartini adalah] suri tauladan dan kami mengikuti jejak Kartini. Walaupun dia [Kartini] adalah seorang wanita tapi dia punya peran sebagai pejuang yang layak diikuti.

93 Dulu Kartini meneruskan perjuangan para [pahlawan] wanita dengan caranya yaitu perempuan harus sekolah. Tapi kalau sekarang ini saya sama sedulur-sedulur yang lain di Kendeng, terutama yang ada di Rembang, [kita menyadari] ada makam Ibu Kartini juga ada konflik pendirian pabrik semen di sana. Mengapa kita tidak meneruskan perjuangan [Kartini] walaupun dalam bentuk yang berbeda? [Perjuangan kita] sekarang [adalah perjuangan] lingkungan karena lingkungan sekarang sudah rusak parah ... Kita menyuarakan pentingnya lingkungan, pentingnya alam bagi kehidupan.

in the repetition of the word “environment” and “the natural world”, which emphasizes the focus of the movement. Moreover, the word “school” is used as a metaphor for the emancipation of women. KK2 uses the interrogative question, “Why don’t we continue [Kartini’s struggle] even in a different form?” It is a rhetorical question intended for complaint and does not require an answer.

Role Sharing or Shift of Gender Roles

Women’s participation in the Kartini Kendeng movement impacted domestic dynamics, as evidenced by their extended absences from home during specific demonstrations. For instance, during the foot cement action executed in front of the presidential palace in Jakarta, women were required to abandon their familial responsibilities for a duration exceeding a week, leaving behind their children and husbands. I asked my interviewees about the impact of these absences. The first person I asked about this was MAK1 and his wife during my first visit to their house in Pati in 2019. Explaining the husband-wife relationship, MAK1 stated:

Text 27.

The involvement of women is not only in the Kendeng issue. In all organizations where I am considered a senior, I always totally prepare the people who are quote in quote being “caretakers”. I explain that organization cannot be done without being acknowledged by family [members] and role sharing with them. So, maybe what brought women to be popular, women to be critical is [because] I always involve [them] ... [For example], the division of roles between me and my wife, she preferred to go to the fields and take care of the fields. Because that was how she chose, then [I told her]: “Please take care of them”. While KK2, for instance, her husband preferred to stay at home. When women stay at home, their duties are cooking, caring for children, taking care of rice fields, and caring for cows. Their burden at home will be heavier than taking part in the movement.⁹⁴

94 Keterlibatan perempuan tidak hanya persoalan Kendeng, di semua aku dituakan di organisasi, itu aku selalu nganu totalitas mensiapkan dari orang-orang sing memang dalam tanda kutip ‘padane pengurus lah’ itu memang opo tak clearkan. Jadi berorgansasi gak iso tanpa sepengetahuan keluarga, terus bagi peran keluarga. Jadi ya mungkin sing selalu membawa perempuan jadi dikenal, perempuan dadi kritis itu aku selalu melibatkan ... Bagi peranku karo mbak Tatik itu yo ndekne milih pergi ke sawah, ngopeni sawah mergo ono kuwi yo wes kue seng ngurusi. Padane koyok KK2 sing lanang lebih mileh sing ning omah. Ibu-ibu, ketika ning omah itu tugase masak, ngopeni anak, ngopeni sawah, ngopeni sapi, beban e akan lebih berat di rumah dari pada ikut aksi.

This text overall has relational value, indicating the hegemonic social relations between MAK1 and his wife, as well as his social position within the community as a senior in specific organizations. The phrase “I always” indicates the alliance between men and women in both public and domestic contexts, whereas men usually take the initiative, and women take over the agency. He uses the word “sharing” as an overwording of the phrase “being acknowledged,” which depicts the importance of family support when someone joins any organization. The use of the modal “cannot be done” in his statement describes the impossibility of women’s involvement without family acknowledgement. The phrase “being popular” is an overwording of the phrase “being critical,” which represents the possible positive effect of the preparation done by MAK1 before women’s involvement in any organization. The overwording appears in the use of “cooking”, “caring for children”, “taking care of rice fields”, and “caring for cows”, which emphasizes domestic duties. Another overwording is noticeable in the use of the word “organization” that underlines its function. Confirming this statement, KK8, stated:

Text 28.

Essentially, there must be a balance [between husband and wife], otherwise [this movement] will not run [well]. Moreover, [both husband-wife] should understand each other. I take care of the children and the rice fields so that [the duties of husband and wife] run [smoothly]. I take care of the rice fields to meet economic needs, because the Sedulur Sikep community depends on farming ... [it] has become a provision [of human life]; sorrow and happiness, it is the provision of human life, so [husband-wife] must understand each other.⁹⁵

The repetition of the phrase “understand each other” is an overwording that emphasizes the importance of the husband-wife relationship. This phrase is also a overwording of the word “balance” used by KK8 to insist on the statement of MAK1 regarding the “role sharing” between husband and wife. The repetition of the phrase “rice fields” is an overwording that indicates the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, which depends on farming. The use of “sorrow” and its antonym “happiness” is a kind of lexical cohesion (Fairclough, 1992, p. 176). It is also an overwording at once for the phrase “provision of life”. KK8 starts and closes her statement by a normative statement with obligational modality (Fairclough, 1991, p. 151) when she

95 Intine kudu imbang, nek ora imbang mengko rak mlaku, trus saling memahami, ya aku kan ngopeni anak, garapan, yo ben podo mlakune. Yo, ngopeni sawahe kanggo nyukupi ekonomine, nek dulur sikep kan tandur ... jenenge genepe wong kan susah, seneng, gatuluk e wong urip ngunu, jadi saling memahami.

said: “There must be a balance [between husband and wife]”, “[Both husband-wife] should understand each other”, “so, [husband-wife] must understand each other”.

The importance of mutual understanding also comes from MAK5, he stated:

Text 29.

Usually, there is a mutual understanding [between us]. When [my wife] wants to go [somewhere] we have discussed about it before. When she goes to a place nearby, I usually come along with her ... Yes, [I] already understood that [my wife] goes to fight for the environment for my children and grandchildren.⁹⁶

Through this statement, MAK5 shows his position in a husband-wife relationship. He uses the phrase “mutual understanding” and the word “discussed” as an overwording of the phrase “come along” to explain his position when his wife has to go somewhere. He then uses the word “fight” as a metaphor for the movement. The word “environment” is used in his last sentence as an overwording for the words “children” and “grandchildren”. All of them reflect their significance as the basis of the movement.

Each household has its own form of negotiation to keep this movement running well. MAK4 in the following statement explains how this movement has shifted the role sharing in his household. He stated:

Text 30.

Realizing that what we are doing is not [finished in] one or two days, [but it is] a long term [movement]; so, there is a shift of [gender] roles, there is a shift of [gender] roles. Men had been taking care of the rice fields or going for money. However, because of such a situation, there is a shift of [gender] roles. What was the purpose? To let this [movement] stay longer and to breathe longer ... There is a shift of [gender] roles. You can ask [about this situation] to the brothers and sisters (dudur-dudur). Because of such problems women are required to come forward [in demonstrations]. Like or dislike, men who previously never cooked have to cook and feed cows.⁹⁷

96 Biasane kan mpun saling pengertian, coro kesah-kesah nopo kan sak derenge kan nggeh mpun musyawarah, coro ten pundi ngoten. Nek teng caket-caket ngeten niki kan nggeh sareng-sareng ... nggeh mpun ngertos kesah e memperjuangkan lingkungan kangge anak putu.

97 Karena kita tahu bahwa apa yang kita lakukan ini tidak hanya sehari-dua hari, jangka panjang, jadi ada roling, ada roling. Oh, yang tadinya bapak bapaknya ngurus sawah atau pergi nyari uang, tapi karena ada situasi seperti ini ada pergantian peran, tujuannya apa? Biar ini panjang, nafas ini biar panjang ... di sini ada pergantian peran, bisa ditanyakan ke dudur dudur, mungkin yang tadinya g pernah masak, berhubungan ada persoalan seperti ini, perempuan diharuskan untuk maju, ya mau gak mau kita di rumah ya masak, ya ngombeni sapi sendiri.

He repeats the phrase “a shift of [gender] roles” as an overwording that depicts the current situation in his household. The phrase “one or two days” is a rewording of the phrase “a long term” that indicates the continuing movement. An overwording is detectable in the use of the phrases “taking care of the rice fields” and “going for money,” which emphasize men’s traditional role in their households. The use of the word “cook” and the phrase “feed cows” is an overwording that indicates women’s domestic duties. Additionally, he uses an interrogative sentence, “What was the purpose?” as a rhetorical question that does not require an answer. It is stated to explain to the reader the reason behind the “shift of [gender] roles. To emphasize this current situation, MAK4 moves from the micro level, where he explains the shifting of gender roles in his household, to the meso level when he invites the reader to clarify with the brothers in the North Kendeng Mountains.

The previous statements describe this movement as a family movement. If one of the family members is involved in this movement, then the rest of the family, whatever their status, whether father, mother, husband, wife, or child, will support them in their own way. The following statement from KK8 gives a broader description of this:

Text 31.

The people of Sedulur Sikep are used to commit [laku prihatin action]. When the mothers and fathers are out of the house for a [demonstration] action, for instance, [the children and other family members] who are at home commit the laku prihatin action such as staying up late until midnight. This is a common tradition [among the people of Sedulur Sikep].⁹⁸

Overall, the previous statement holds experiential and expressive value, through which KK8 highlights her knowledge and social identity as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which has a *laku prihatin* tradition. The use of the words “father”, “mother”, “children”, and the phrase “other family members” is an overwording, which indicates the members of the nuclear family in the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition. To emphasize the “*laku prihatin*,” she uses the phrase “staying up late until midnight” as an overwording.

⁹⁸ Nek ten Sikep kan kulino [prihatin]. Nek padane bapak e ibune do aksi kan [anak-anak dan anggota keluarga lain] sing teng griyo nggeh do prihatin padane melek ngasi wengi, niku kan do dilakoni [*Sedulur Sikep*].

Kendeng and Historical Sites

Sacred and historical places for the Javanese are a form of collective memory that defines their identity and connection to their ancestors (Laksana, 2014). To maintain this connection, they make pilgrimages to these places on specific occasions. The story of KK1, who visited the site of *Dewi Kunti* in the previous text, serves as a reminder of this tradition. The following text is the continuation of her story related to the historical site in Kendeng. She stated:

Text 32.

These historical sites must be respected as a reminder. Especially considering that those who live around the Kendeng slope are not only Sedulur Sikep [community]. These [historical] places are needed by others [outside the Sedulur Sikep community]. If it is not the locals who take care of them, then the next generation will lose their traces. For example, the tomb of Shaykh Jangkung, as soon as [the tomb is] lost because of [natural] destruction, then [what remains] is only a story. [The tomb of] Nyi Ageng Ngerang in Tambak Romo is the same. There are also many [historical sites] here [in Kendeng] ... [It was] informed by MAK8 about the Jolotundo well, the site of Prabu Angling Dharma.⁹⁹

KK1 commences her statement using an obligational modality when she says: “must be respected”. This is to indicate her knowledge and social relations as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, who live among the Muslim majority. This social relation is then emphasized by her following sentence: “Especially considering that those who live around the Kendeng slope are not only *Sedulur Sikep* [community]”. The notions of “Shaykh Jangkung”, “Nyi Ageng Ngerang”, and “Prabu Angling Dharma” are metaphors of historical figures and sites in Kendeng whose very existence depends on the local community. The use of the following phrases: “will lose their traces”, “as soon as [the tomb is] lost”, and “[what remains] is only a story” is overwording that indicates the adverse consequences of “[natural] destruction”.

Pilgrimage to some historical sites is also popular among Muslims. The following story from KK3 explains this. She said:

99 Nggon-nggon sing koyo nggon sejarah ngunu kuwi perlu dihormati, kanggo pengiling-iling. Opo meneh yen ngilingi sing manggon ning sekitar lereng Kendeng kan yo ora mung *Sedulur Sikep*. Nggon-nggon kuwi sangat dibutuhkan karo liyane. Nek iku ora sing manggon ning kono melu njogo dewe, sesuk sing keru mburi kan wes ora weruh bekase. Iki padhane iki nggone mbah Syekh Jangkung. Tapi begitu ora ono mergo rusak kan tinggal cerita. Mbah Nyi Ageng Ngerang yang Tambakromo [yo ngunu]. Neng kene yo akeh [nggon bersejarah] ... Sampek ono wingi dikandakne MAK8 ono e.. sumur Jolotundo nggone prabu Angling Dharma.

Text 33.

Prior to every [demonstration] trip, I make a pilgrimage to [the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang] to do an intermediary [prayer] because the [belief] of the people here to [their] danyang. Danyang is the ancestor, and she (Nyi Ageng Ngerang) is [the ancestor here]. I went there for a pilgrimage. The purpose of the pilgrimage was that through the intermediary of mbah¹⁰⁰ Nyi Ageng Ngerang to be given safety, there were no obstacles, and my trip brought blessings and nothing bad happened. That's the first, because we as humans can only pray, we do not know when [those prayers are] answered. Indeed, prior to every trip, I go there the night before.¹⁰¹

KK3 commences and closes her statement with the phrase “prior to every trip” to indicate the importance of “pilgrimage” for her. The use of the words “danyang” and “ancestors” is an overwording. It indicates the belief of KK3 in them. She positions herself as part of the community that believes in their ancestors or danyang. The notion of “Nyi Ageng Ngerang” is a metaphor of historical religious figures in the community. The phrases “given safety”, “without any obstacles”, “brought blessings”, and “nothing bad happened” are overwordings that emphasize the hope and prayer of KK3. The use of “can” in the sentence “we as humans can only pray” is a normative statement with optional modality.

Another statement comes from MAK2, who recounted a story from his spiritual teacher about the North Kendeng Mountains. He said:

Text 34.

I had a teacher in Sukolilo ... but he passed away. [He was] a spiritual teacher. He told me that the Kendeng Mountains is the incarnation of the dragon of Angling Dharma. If I remember correctly [and] if I recall, [part of the Kendeng Mountain] in Tuban is its mouth. [Other part of Kendeng Mountain] in Taban, Kudus, is its tail. Here, in Tegal Rejo, there is a magical reservoir ... the reservoir is magical. It is magical because it [is located] on the side of the road, on the edge of the roadway.

100 ‘Mbah’ is the word used to address the elderly.

101 Nek kulo ajeng kesah [demonstrasi] nggeh mriku [makam Nyi Ageng Ngerang] kan lantaranane sing marai mriki kan danyang, kan ngoten. Danyang kan kados sesepuh kan ngoten niku kan mriku. Mriku niku kan ziarah, ziaraha niku kan jenenge wong kan nggih nyuwune kulo nggeh niku namung lantaranane mbah Nyi ageng ngerang kulo nyuwun keselamatan, mboten wonten alangan punopo-punopo. Nggeh kulo kesah niki kan ibarate niku mbawa berkah, mboten kados pundi kan ngoten. Nggeh kaping pindah niku nggeh awak dewe mek menungso, kabeh mek nyuwun, kapan sing diwe'i kan dereng ngertos, kulo ngoten. Ancen nek kulo angger ajeng kesah niku dalu mriku.

When it heavily rains the water never overflows. It never overflows even to the edge of the road. During the dry season [it] never dries up. Yes, according to my spiritual teacher, [the reservoir] is the stomach of the dragon, the dragon of Angling Dharma is right there. That is a story from my spiritual teacher, but he has passed away.¹⁰²

MAK2's repetition of the phrase "spiritual teacher" has relational value to indicate a student-teacher relationship between MAK2 and this teacher. He uses the phrase "if I remember correctly" and "if I recall" as an overwording to emphasize the knowledge he has gained from his spiritual teacher. Based on the information communicated by MAK2, his teacher uses the words "incarnation" and "dragon". They are metaphors to indicate the teacher's belief regarding the North Kendeng Mountains. To emphasize this belief, the teacher of MAK2 also uses other metaphoric words, namely "mouth", "tail", "magical", and "stomach" of the dragon. Another emphasis on this belief is observable in the repetition of "the dragon of Angling Dharma".

We are Farmers and we are Villagers

According to the Corporate Secretary of PT Semen Indonesia, the operation of the cement plant in Rembang employed around 1,600 people. However, this number is not equivalent to the losses that the North Kendeng community would have to endure. The agricultural sector serves as the primary source of local revenue in Grobogan, Pati, and Rembang. The proposition to establish a cement manufacturing facility, which necessitated land, would undoubtedly affect the land ownership of farmers who were compelled to relinquish their agricultural land (Perempuan, 2019: 12).

The image that farmers were part of a poor and backward community was often used as a supporting narrative by the 'pro' group to justify industrialisation. This narrative was later refuted by KK2 once she was invited to share her insight in a seminar session in Semarang, the capital of Central Java. One of the other speakers insulted her as a representative of the poor and backward community of the North

102 Saya juga pernah, pernah berguru ke orang Sukolilo mbak ... tapi sudah meninggal orangnya. Ya guru spiritual. Dia juga pernah cerita bahwa pegunungan Kendeng ini adalah jelmaan dari naganya Angling Dharma, kalau nggak salah, kalau seingat aku, di Tuban itu mulutnya, di Taban, Taban kudus itu ekornya. Dan di daerah Tegal Rejo ini ada sebuah waduk ajaib, waduk itu ajaib. Ajaibnya gini, itukan di pinggir jalan, pinggir jalan raya, ketika hujan deras pun nggak pernah airnya meluap, sampai ke bibir jalan pun nggak pernah meluap, dan ketika kemaraupun tidak pernah kering. Iya, lha itu kalau menurut guru spiritual saya itu adalah perutnya naga, naganya Angling Dharma, di situ itu. Itu cerita dari guru spiritual saya tapi sudah meninggal dunia orangnya.

Kendeng Mountains since they rejected cement mining in the area. When KK2 got her turn to speak, she stated:

Text 35.

If you think that the people in Tegaldowo are poor, I disagree. Those people during harvest season, I myself, for instance, I have one-hectare land and can harvest seven tons ... that is only what I take home, excluding those eaten by wild boars. When the price of the corn is two thousand [per kilo], [I] got fourteen million [IDR/ Indonesian Rupiah] or even more. [Indeed], each house [in Tegaldowo] does not have a bank account, but their savings are in the form of cows. What do you consider poor? If you are not convinced, you can try to come straight and visit them in their homes. [This is better for me] than being rich but poor-hearted, isn't that so?¹⁰³

An expressive value is visible when KK2 describes her social identity as a farmer in *Tegaldowo* who has economic security. She moves from the meso level to the micro level when discussing the farmers in *Tegaldowo* in general. Then she sets herself as an example of the economic status of the farmers. To underline this status, she uses the phrases “one-hectare land”, “seven tons”, and “fourteen million” as an overwording. She also uses the words “savings” and “cows” as an overwording of the word “bank account”. This overwording also functions as supporting evidence for the economic security of the farmers in *Tegaldowo*. The negative tag question with positive assertion in the last part of her speech, “isn’t that so?” indicates the affinity and shared knowledge between KK2 and the audience. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 160), positive assertions with tag questions and negative questions are expressed to indicate solidarity and affinity rather than to get an answer.

The statement about the social status of peasants in the North Kendeng Mountains also appears in the speech of MAK1 during the Indonesian Independence Day ceremony held by the community on August 17, 2019. He stated:

103 Nek njenengan ngarani masyarakat Tegaldowo miskin kulo boten nerimo. Masyarakat Tegaldowo niku, panen niku lho, niki kulo piyambak, niku gadah lahan satu hektar niku panen 7 ton, niku dereng anu kok, niku sing digowo muleh tok, durung sing dipangan Celeng. Lha niku nek jaman jagung rego 2000 niku sampun angsal 14 juta mbak, luweh... lha tiap omah niku memang mboten gadah tabungan, ning tabungane nggeh sapi. Sing njenengan arani miskin iku seng pripun, kulo ngoten. Nek njenengan boten percoyo, jenengan cobu njenengan teko dewe, njenengan mlawang neng omahe masyarakat Tegaldowo. Sakniki, timbangane sugeh harta ning miskin hati nggeh a mbak?

Text 36.

*We are Kendeng farmers and members of JMPPK. We have been struggling since 2006 until today for the preservation of the Kendeng mountains to build [our] life. The life of powerful farmers, the life of independent farmers over their production space without worrying about the extinction of water sources. The life of dignified farmers that are not underestimated as a lower-class society. Because it is the farmers who actually provide sufficient food for all the nation's generations. Farmers are the pillars of the nation; however, until today the state has neglected [the position of farmers]. The withdrawal of the Semen Gresik factory from Sukolilo, Pati, did not make the government realize that the Kendeng Mountains is indeed worth preserving for the sake of the sustainability of the ecosystem.*¹⁰⁴

MAK1 uses the exclusive “we” (*kami*) to position himself and the whole peasant community of the North Kendeng Mountains before the government. The overwording appears in the use of the following phrases: “powerful farmers”, “independent farmers”, and “dignified farmers”, which are used as critiques and metaphors for the idealized condition of farmers that the entire population hopes for. He juxtaposes the phrase “to build [our] life” and the phrase “without worrying about the extinction of water sources” to indicate that their agricultural activities do not harm the environment. He positions himself at the meso level at the beginning of his speech, identifying himself as part of the farmer community in the North Kendeng Mountains. He then moves to the macro level when he speaks about the role of all farmers in general in providing food for the whole “nation’s generation”. The notion of the words “state”, “government”, and “Semen Gresik” is an overwording through which MAK1 metaphorizes the hegemonic power of cement mining. They are also rewording for the words “preservation” and “sustainability” of the ecosystem of the North Kendeng Mountains.

¹⁰⁴ Kami petani Kendeng yang tergabung dalam JMPPK sejak tahun 2006 hingga hari ini masih terus berjuang untuk melestarikan pegunungan Kendeng guna terbangunnya kehidupan. Kehidupan petani yang berdaya, kehidupan petani yang merdeka atas ruang produksinya tanpa kuatir akan musnahnya sumber-sumber mata air. Kehidupan petani yang bermartabat tidak dipandang sebelah mata sebagai masyarakat kelas bawah. Karena petanilah yang sesungguhnya memberikan kecukupan bahan pangan bagi segenap anak bangsa. Petani adalah soko guru bangsa, tetapi hingga hari ini negara abai, karena mundurnya PT Semen Gresik di kecamatan Sukolilo tidak membuat pemerintah tersadar bahwa pegunungan Kendeng memang layak untuk dijaga kelestariannya demi terjaganya kesinambungan ekosistem.

Almost all members of the Kartini Kendeng movement wear *kebaya*, *jarik*, and *selendang*¹⁰⁵ during their demonstrations, regardless of their religious background. They also wear a *caping*, a wide hat made from woven bamboo, which farmers usually wear to protect themselves from the sun and rain. When asked about the reason for choosing these kinds of outfits, they answered: “the identity of villagers” and “traditional outfits of the villagers”. KK2 expounded:

Text 37.

Demonstration depicts [our] difficult situation. If we wore a hijab and a long dress during our demonstration, there would be no difference between the outfits for demonstrations and for a stroll or picnic. The people who were pro [to cement mining] used to criticize us for wearing kebaya and jarik. They commented cynically. At that time, the situation was still heating up. However, now, gradually they are inspired [by us and they wear jarik and kebaya like us]. Maybe because [they realized that these clothes] are the identity of the villagers... So, I feel proud ... [Jarik and kebaya as symbol] of Indonesian identity, the identity of Indonesian women ... Because if we wear jarik and kebaya, our village identity will be visible ... they (jarik, kebaya, and selendang) also cover the aurat¹⁰⁶ [of Muslim women].¹⁰⁷

KK2 begins her explanation by differentiating between “demonstration” and “stroll or picnic”. For her, demonstration is contradictory to strolling or picnicking. Therefore, the notion of “demonstration” and “stroll or picnic” is a rewording. Since they are different, the outfits that suit each are also different. Headcover or hijab and long dress, which Muslim women usually wear during a stroll or a picnic, are ill-suited for the context of a demonstration that signifies the social issues they encounter. The text in general has expressive and relational value through which KK2 depicts

105 *Kebaya*, is an Indonesian traditional long sleeves blouse for women that hugs the upper body and sometimes is combined with *jarik*, a versatile traditional garment for the lower body. *Selendang* is a traditional shawl worn around shoulder or to cover baby or women’s head.

106 *Aurat* is part of human body which is mandatory to be covered based on the command of God. The minimum and maximum limit of the *aurat* of Muslim women is debatable in Islamic jurisprudence.

107 Demo itu kan suasana prihatin, kalau kita aksi pakai kerudung dan pakai jubah itu kan nggak ada bedanya dengan [penampilan] saat kita jalan-jalan atau piknik. Orang yang pro dulu mencela melihat kita memakai kebaya dan memakai kain, mereka berkomentar sinis. Pada saat itu situasi masih memanas. Tapi sekarang lambat laun mereka malah terinspirasi [kita dan menggunakan jarik dan kebaya]. Karena mungkin [menyadari bahwa pakaian] ini [menjadi] identitas orang kampung ... Jadi aku juga merasa bangga ... [jarik dan kebaya sebagai symbol] identitas Indonesia, identitas perempuan-perempuan Indonesia ... Karena kalau kita memakai jarik dan kebaya identitas kampung kita masih kelihatan. Itu juga menutup *aurat*.

her social identity and social relations as part of the ‘tolak’ group with the ‘pro’ group.¹⁰⁸

Additionally, the use of the word “criticize” and the phrase “commented cynically” is an overwording that accentuates a negative attitude of the ‘pro’ group towards the ‘tolak’ group. When KK2 mentions “the identity of the villagers” and continues with “Indonesian identity” and “the identity of Indonesian women”, she positions herself at the micro level as a villager. Then she moves to the macro level as an Indonesian woman. For her, *jarik* and *kebaya* are symbols of Indonesian villagers as well as Indonesian women. She then ends her statement by mentioning the word “*aurat*”, a metaphor of religious teaching.

In line with KK2, KK8 also mentioned villagers. When I asked her about *kebaya*, *jarik*, and *selendang* as the outfits she wears during demonstrations, she said:

Text 38.

Those [kebaya, jarik, and selendang] are traditional outfits of the villagers. When we go to the paddy fields, we are also used to wearing these long-sleeved clothes [to protect ourselves from the weather], likewise, during the [demonstration] action. When it is hot [we] get hot and when it is raining, [we] get rained on.¹⁰⁹

KK8’s notion of “traditional outfits” and “long-sleeved clothes” is an overwording that highlights the criteria of “*kebaya*, *jarik*, and *selendang*” worn by villagers. The use of the word “villagers” and the sentence “when we go to the paddy fields” is also an overwording that emphasizes that the majority of villagers are farmers. The notion of “hot” and “rain” is a rewording, which depicts two different situations she experiences during the demonstration.

108 It is mentioned in Chapter I that contestation is observable in the Kartini Kendeng movement, which then the ‘tolak’ group are framed as backward, non-educated, and non-religious group. On the other hand, the ‘pro’ group who support government decision to mine the North Kendeng Mountains are considered as enlightened, educated, and religious people. To counterbalance the Kartini Kendeng movement, the ‘pro’ group also often organised counter demonstrations. To show their identity as a religious community group, the women involved in the ‘pro’ group demonstrations wore jilbab, skirts, and pants as a form of opposition to the dress code of the ‘tolak’ group (Ja’far, 2017).

109 Itu [kebaya, jarik, dan selendang] adalah pakaian orang-orang desa. Kalau ke sawah, kami [petani] juga terbiasa memakai pakaian panjang [untuk melindungi diri dari cuaca]. Demikian juga keadaan saat aksi [demonstrasi]. Saat panas [kami] kepanasan dan saat hujan [kami] kehujanan.

The Upper Floor is Used for Worshiping the Almighty, and the Lower Floor is for the Meeting Room

It is mentioned before that Yu Patmi was a member of the Kartini Kendeng movement. She passed away during a demonstration in front of the presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017. The health authorities declared that Yu Patmi died of a heart attack. However, all members of JMPPK, both men and women, who struggle to defend the North Kendeng Mountains, considered her a warrior. This is because she has always told her family and fellow members of JMPPK that what she did was a fight to defend the North Kendeng Mountains. According to MAK6, on the day of her departure to Jakarta to participate in the foot cementing action, Yu Patmi said to MAK6:

Text 39.

I want to go to Jakarta to fight ... to fight for environmental [sustainability] so that future generations can benefit from [this fight].¹¹⁰

Her notion of “fight” is a metaphor for her struggle against power holders. Through crowdfunding and with the support of activists sympathetic to the Kartini Kendeng movement’s struggle, the JMPPK members managed to build a prayer room (*langgar*) named after her, *langgar* Yu Patmi. According to MAK6, the construction of the *langgar* was related to Yu Patmi’s dream of building a prayer room on her own land, where the surrounding community could come for prayers and send their children to learn writing and recite the holy Quran. However, she could not make her dream come true until she passed away on 21 March 2017 in front of the presidential palace, Jakarta, after a week of protest in which she, together with no less than fifty people, sank her feet in cement blocks.

The *langgar* Yu Patmi consists of two floors, the lower floor was prepared as a meeting room. The second floor was prepared as a prayer room. The first floor was equipped with a gamelan set.¹¹¹ Different from the tambourine, which is frequently used as background music for *salawat*¹¹² and Islamic music, a gamelan set is

110 Aku arep berjuang nang Jakarta ... tujuane yo merjuangne lingkungan sokmben ben anak putune ben iso ngrasakne [hasil perjuangan].

111 Gamelan is an Indonesian conventional music instruments. It is widely used by Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese communities. The most frequently utilized instruments are metallophones, *Gong*, and a collection of hand-drums known as *kendang*.

112 *Salawat* is the plural form of *salat* which literally means prayer. However, *salawat* is used in Islamic tradition to refer to Arabic phrases which contain praises and salutation upon the Prophet. *Salawat* usually is chanted by Muslim in Indonesia during Islamic celebration or special occasion. Some people also chant *shalawat* in their daily life for entertainment purposes.



Langgar Yu Patmi.

commonly used for Javanese music and dances. MAK1 explained the background of equipping the *langgar* with a gamelan set. He stated:

Text 40.

*There were specific problems. There were issues related only to the people there that also needed to be resolved. Finally, I thought that the upper floor [of the langgar] could be used for worship before the Almighty and the lower floor for discussing fraternity and environmental issues.*¹¹³

The use of the words “problem” and “issues” is an overwording that emphasizes the situation faced by the local community of Tambak Romo, where the *langgar* is located. Moreover, he mentioned two activities, “worship before the Almighty” and “discussing fraternity and environmental issues”, which depict the dual function of the *langgar*. It also depicts a religious vision of MAK1, which unites both sacred and profane aspects of community life in one place.

KK6 also confirmed the statement of MAK1 and explained the current problem among the local community in Tambak Romo. She stated:

Text 41.

*[The aim of equipping the langgar with gamelan was] to gather the ‘tolak’ people. However, maybe the ‘pro’ people were willing to join us when [they knew] the gamelan [was there], who knows? Likewise, when there was a demonstration, [people] gathered there so that they could exchange information and unite with each other. The medium [to gather them] was the gamelan music.*¹¹⁴

This text points out the social relationship between the ‘pro’ and the ‘tolak’ group. KK6 describes that the side target of the gamelan set was to include the ‘pro’ people. The repetition of “gamelan” is an overwording that highlights its importance as a medium to gather the local community. Her question, “Who knows?”, is a rhetorical question that conveys a sense of hope. Furthermore, the phrase “exchange information” is an alternative wording of “unite with each other”, which implies another

113 Di sana kadang ada masalah yang lebih spesifik. Ada persoalan yang hanya lingkup lingkungan kono perlu juga digarap. Akhire mikir oh ya nduwur ngge ibadah menghadap Sing Kuoso, ngisor nggo rembuk hal-hal terkait paseduluran, lingkungan.

114 Untuk menyatukan bolo-bolo sing tolak. Sopo reti bolo-bolo sing ‘pro’ ono alat gamelan kono iso bersatu karo awak dewe. Karo nek ono aksi opo kan ngumpul ning kono kan yo saling memahamno, mempersatukan. Alate musik iku maeng.

function of the first floor of the *langgar*, a basecamp for the JMPPK members who live in Tambak Romo.

Other information from MAK3 describes disputes among the local community in Tambak Romo regarding the placement of the gamelan set on the first floor of the *langgar*. MAK3 said:

Text 42.

Indeed, building a prayer room, which has a meeting room, provokes a lot of voices. [Some people say:] “Why was the Gong¹¹⁵ placed there?” ... There have been a lot of negative thoughts. We were aware that people talked about it randomly [because they] did not understand and only observed from afar. In fact, if we looked back [at the history of Islam in Indonesia we found that] Sunan Kalijaga did his dakwah using wayang [and] gamelan. The purpose of the gamelan here was also for environmental dakwah. That was the only objective. The hope was not only ‘tolak’ people who played the gamelan. It was hoped that the ‘pro’ people would also join, [especially those] who were interested in [playing] the Gong, and it happened a lot. Initially, the ones who played gamelan were brothers and sisters [from JMPPK, the ‘tolak’ group], but then the ‘pro’ people started to approach because their hobby or interest was playing gamelan. That was the hope and the goal. At least it could embrace [people from the ‘pro’ group]. Even though they were enemies [in the context of cement mining], they should not be considered enemies.¹¹⁶

The text in general has relational value, which describes the social relations between the ‘tolak’ and ‘pro’ groups and their perspectives on the placement of gamelan in the *langgar*. This social relation is then emphasized by the use of phrases such as “a lot of voices”, “negative thoughts”, and “talked about it randomly” as an overwording of disputes from the local community towards the placement of the gamelan

115 The Gong is part of gamelan set. It is a percussion instrument with circular shape made from metal. Usually, it is struck in the centre with leather-covered stick.

116 Memang, membangun langgar dengan ruang pertemuan ini banyak suara-suara: “langgar kok diwenehi Gong” itu sudah banyak. Fikiran-fikiran negative sudah banyak ... Tapi kita sadar kalau memang orang yang ngomong ngalor ngidul belum paham [dan] hanya melihat dari jauh. Padahal kalau kita menengok ke belakang, *Sunan Kalijaga* melakukan dakwah kan pakai wayang, gamelan. Nah tujuan gamelan disini juga tujuan dakwah lingkungan, tujuannya hanya itu. Harapannya yang nabuh jangan hanya orang-orang yang pro. Harapannya orang yang pro ini mau mendekat, yang seneng dengan Gong. Ternyata ada itu. Banyak mbak yang latihan itu awalnya memang sedulur-sedulur tapi orang-orang pro mulai mendekat karena memang hobinya atau kesenangannya itu di gamelan. Itu yang harapan dan tujuan seperti itu. Paling ngak bisa merangkul lah walaupun dia musuh tapi jangan dianggap musuh.

set at the *langgar*. The notions of “*Sunan Kalijaga*”, “*wayang*”, and “*gamelan*” serve as a metaphor for an important figure and also the medium of *dakwah* used, in this case, through musical instruments. Another metaphor is observable in the use of the phrase “environmental *dakwah*”, which describes music performance using *gamelan* set to appeal to people’s interest in environmental issues. The use of the words “join”, “interested”, and “approach” is an overwording to emphasize the reaction of ‘pro’ people towards *gamelan*. The word “embrace” is a metaphor of intimacy between the ‘*tolak*’ and the ‘pro’ people. The word “enemies” is also a metaphor for a feud in the community in response to cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains.

III.2. Interpretation and Explanation

In conducting CDA, I integrate the interpretation and explanation stages. The interpretation stage involves a meticulous examination of the discursive practice, encompassing the production, distribution, and consumption of text. The analysis of discursive practice examines the intricate interplay between linguistic practice (text) and social practice (context). Text production (communication) and consumption (interpretation) rely on members’ resources (Fairclough, 1989; 1992) or mental models (Van Dijk, 2008) stored in long-term memory. These resources possess dual dimensions: cognitive and social. They exist cognitively within individuals’ minds and socially as a result of social construction (Fairclough, 1989).

While Fairclough (1992) offers various approaches to discursive analysis, the present research will concentrate on two primary tools: intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Intertextuality in the present research examines the transformation of text, ranging from manifest intertextuality, such as discourse representation (direct or indirect), to vocabulary, narratives, metaphors, and grammatical choices (Fairclough, 1992, p. 131). On the other hand, interdiscursivity and order of discourse focus on the types of discourses employed within the text. The key question to be addressed is: What members’ resources or mental models do members of the Kartini Kendeng movement and activists utilize to communicate (produce) and interpret (consume) texts? Additionally, how are these members’ resources represented in their texts?

Moving on to the explanation stage, the focus is on the conditions and effects of the texts in order to discern the nature of the social practice in which the discourse is embedded. This stage explains why the discourse practice is structured as it is, as well as the impact of the discourse practice on social practice. To analyse

this, the concepts of ideology (Althusser, 1971) and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) are employed as analytical tools. Fairclough (1992, p. 87) posits that discursive practices are inherently ideological, as they involve the creation of meanings that support the “production, reproduction, or transformation” of power relations. When drawing on their mental models, interviewees may either reproduce or transform them. In this analysis, the focus will be on the ideational and relational transformations, specifically the subject position and social identities. The key question at this stage is: What are the socio-cognitive conditions and effects of the statements made by the interviewees?

The same texts or narratives from the description level will be presented again in this level with a different focus of analysis. An overlap is unavoidable because analysing text production and consumption will also refer to the features of the text. Moreover, analysing the ideational function and meaning of language in discursive practice will also relate to the relational and identity functions of language, which depict the condition and effect of the text (Fairclough, 1992).

Ibu Bumi (The Mother Earth) as a Sentient Being

According to Fairclough, interdiscursivity can be defined as the interconnectedness and interactions between discursive formations or between various types of discourse (1992, p. 47). Interdiscursivity is visible when MAK1 clarifies the meaning of the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*. First, MAK1 refers to the discourse of family relations when he mentions personification of the Earth and the mother-children relationship. This aims to highlight the intense interconnectedness or unity between humans and nature, likening it to the closeness of a family. He uses this mental map to explain the meaning of the concept of *Ibu Bumi* (Mother Earth), due to the similarity between the Earth and a mother in caring for and sustaining human life. For him, “The Earth is a mother”.

The sentence of text 3, “For me, maybe not only for me but also [for other people of] *Sedulur Sikep*, remembering Earth while sleeping, awake, or stepping on the Earth becomes an utterance”, is the main frame of reference to the living tradition of *Sedulur Sikep* community in explaining the meaning of the poem. MAK1 positions himself as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, who perceives the Earth as a mother that they always remember and respect. Second, when explaining the first stanza of the poem, *Ibu Bumi wis maringi* (the Mother Earth has given), he refers to the discourse of the relationship between humans and nature. He mentions the sameness between the Earth that “satisfies and sustains [human’s life]” and the mother that “gives birth, gives life and sustains human’s life”. Through this sentence, MAK1 perpetuates the shared knowledge of the *Sedulur Sikep* community

regarding humans' independence on the natural world. Humans' existence depends on mothers who deliver them into life.

Third, to explain the meaning of the second stanza, MAK1 mentions the "irresponsible [action]" of those who did not respect *Ibu Bumi* by "throwing garbage everywhere" or "[the Earth] is being dug up". MAK1 leaves the subject of this sentence unknown. However, by mentioning "irresponsible [action]", he classifies humans into two groups: (1) the *Sedulur Sikep* community, of which he is a part, that respect *Ibu Bumi*, and (2) those who do not respect *Ibu Bumi* by throwing garbage everywhere and digging up the Earth. Here, MAK1 positions the second group as doing "irresponsible action" towards the natural world. This second stanza is also a rhetorical statement of complaint, evaluating humans' irresponsible manner and actions. Another complaint and evaluation are visible when he conveys a rhetorical question: "Why is it still being hurt?". In addition to strengthening his perspective on humans' "irresponsible [action]", he conveys his reaction and says: "This makes me cry". "Furthermore, if [the Earth] is being dug up". This personal reaction that refers to the condition of mining reinforces his reference to the living concept of the *Sedulur Sikep* community that views the Earth as a mother, a living being. Any behaviour that hurts the Earth is the same as hurting his mother, and that makes him cry. By giving examples of human irresponsible action to explain the meaning of the second stanza of the poem, MAK1 introduces a discourse on human behaviours that hurt *Ibu Bumi*. Throwing garbage everywhere and digging up the Earth for mining may be considered permissible by some people, and the issuance of mining licenses by the government to PT Semen Gresik for economic interest is considered a common thing. However, for MAK1, this is a manner and action that is irresponsible towards *Ibu Bumi* and is against environmental ethics.

Fourth, in the third stanza of the poem, *Ibu Bumi kang ngadili* (the Mother Earth will judge), MAK1 draws on emotional response, namely anger. He said: "Sometimes, Mother [Earth] is angry in such a way, but [humans] have not yet realized it". Here again, MAK1 refers to the member resource of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which considers the Earth as a living being — a mother with feelings. Anger is commonly used to explain a feeling of displeasure or annoyance in humans or animals when something frustrates them, and it may have a destructive effect. In this sentence, the word "angry" is transformed to explain the natural disasters as a response of *Ibu Bumi* toward humans' irresponsible behaviour.

The interconnection between the discourse of family relations, the relationship between humans and nature, human behaviours that harm *Ibu Bumi*, and emotional responses introduces a new discourse in relation to the dominant discourse that says that the Earth is an object. The new discourse is the 'personification of the Earth',

where *Ibu Bumi* is viewed as a living being. *Ibu Bumi* is not an inanimate object that can be treated as humans please. Instead, it is a living being like humans. The behaviour of humans towards *Ibu Bumi* determines the sustainability of their life on it. This is because there is a very close reciprocal relationship between humans and *Ibu Bumi*. If humans behave well towards *Ibu Bumi* and care for it, *Ibu Bumi* will also sustain their lives. Conversely, if humans behave destructively towards *Ibu Bumi*, it will express its anger through natural disasters. Here, MAK1 shows humans' weakness when facing the "anger" of *Ibu Bumi* in the form of natural disasters. This weakness should prompt a shift in humans' attitude toward nature.

This is what Fairclough (1992, p. 87) refers to as an ideological struggle through which MAK1 restructures the discourse of cement mining that destroys the Earth, the mother of all beings. For MAK1, as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, the Earth is like humans' biological mother, who always cares, sustains, and satisfies human life. As a mother, the Earth will react to her children's irresponsible manner and actions. When this anger occurs in the form of natural disasters, humans realize their powerless position. Thus, to maintain a good relationship with their mother and as a sign of respect, human beings must defend Mother Earth from any disastrous activities, including cement mining, to avoid her anger that could destroy human life.

Another statement which corroborates the new discourse in relation to the dominant discourse that perceives the Earth as an object is visible in the statement of KK1 in Text 8:

At that time, I was at the site of Dewi Kunti. I did not see her figure, but I felt that I wanted to get closer to Kendeng. I felt that there was something alive and had feelings. I talked to her like I talked to you. Then I asked her permission. I conveyed that there was a particular condition in this region. Mount Kendeng was threatened. If it was threatened, then all the sites in the Kendeng mountains, whether or not a historical site, would be lost. As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng, whatever their names and appearances, should also do [something to defend] as best as they could.

KK1 refers to "Dewi Kunti", a female figure in a Javanese puppet show. She is the mother of Pandawa, the five brothers in the Hindu epic text, the Mahabharata. However, "Dewi Kunti" in this text is reproduced and referred to as a spiritual being that is "alive and has a feeling", "those who dwell in Kendeng whatever their names and appearances" whom she can talk to and communicate with. KK1 also said in

text 9: “Whatever humans do to take care of nature, it always reacts by giving signs”, “the spring in the Wareh cave had stopped, the water had dried up, and the fish had disappeared for one hour”. Her explanations of the natural world’s reaction to humans’ behaviour maintain the living concept among the *Sedulur Sikep* community, who perceive the Earth as a sentient being, a mother. It is explained in Chapter II that the teaching of Samin Surosentiko is influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism which include beliefs in the existence of spiritual beings. *Dewi Kunti* is a figure in a Hindu Epic. The reference of KK1 to “*Dewi Kunti*” reinforces the influence of Hinduism in the belief of the *Sedulur Sikep* community in the spirit of their ancestors who dwell in the Kendeng region. The reference to those ancestors is also noticeable in the prayer read by MAK1 in Text 17: “The brothers and sisters in the Kendeng Mountains have a desire to inform their ancestors and the ancestors of the ancestors who dwell in the Kendeng Mountains.

By making reference to the ancestors, both KK1 and MAK1 maintain the shared knowledge of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which involves believing in the spirits of their ancestors who dwell in the North Kendeng Mountains.

The *Sedulur Sikep* community introduces a new discourse in relation to the instrumental perspective regarding the Earth. The concept of *Ibu Bumi*, the Earth as a mother, a living being, is not a popular concept among Muslims in the North Kendeng Mountains. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 10; p. 105), any discourse practice becomes a kind of hegemony when it is widely accepted and naturalized. It means that the acceptance of Muslims towards the concept of *Ibu Bumi* is a kind of hegemony which transforms the previous hegemonic perspective of the Earth as an inanimate object to be exploited to the new one, the Earth as a sentient being.

Another statement, which depicts the belief of the natural world as a sentient being, comes from KK2 when she stated in text 15: “After every prayer, I declare: “[Dear Earth], all the people and I will not bother you. Instead, we want to save you. So, please understand and be nice!” She communicates with the Earth as if she were communicating with sentient beings. She uses the pronouns “I” and “you” in her communication, and she believes that the Earth will “understand” what she wants.

The story of MAK2 in text 34 also corroborates the perspective of my interviewees regarding the Earth as a sentient being. Indeed, he did not explicitly mention the Earth as a mother or living being who responds to humans’ behaviour; however, he made a direct reference to his spiritual teacher, who told him that the North Kendeng Mountains are the incarnation of the dragon of Angling Dharma. He said:

He told me that the Kendeng Mountains is the incarnation of the dragon of Angling Dharma. If I remember correctly [and] if I recall, [part of the Kendeng Mountain] in

Tuban is its mouth. [Other part of Kendeng Mountain] in Taban, Kudus, is its tail. Here, in Tegal Rejo, there is a magical reservoir ... the reservoir is magical. It is magical because it [is located] on the side of the road, on the edge of the roadway. When it heavily rains the water never overflows. It never overflows even to the edge of the road. During the dry season [it] never dries up. Yes, according to my spiritual teacher, [the reservoir] is the stomach of the dragon, the dragon of Angling Dharma is right there.

King Angling Dharma is one of the legendary figures in Javanese tradition. He is considered a descendant of Arjuna, one of the five brothers (*Pandawa*) in the Mahabharata, a Hindu epic text. He was the king who ruled the *Malwapati* kingdom, whose teacher and friend was a dragon called Nagaraja or Naga Bergola. The king was assisted by his *patih* (prime minister), Batik Madrim, in ruling the kingdom. Nagaraja (the dragon) in Text 34 is reproduced as the Kendeng mountains, and the “magical reservoir” in Tegal Rejo is the “stomach of this dragon”. This then reinforces the production of a new discourse that develops among the community in the North Kendeng Mountains about the Earth and the natural world as living entities. MAK2 claims himself as an ‘Islam KTP’ (Islam by Identity Card). Referring to Geertz statement (1960), Subayu (2022) classified Islam KTP as part of *Abangan* group who believe in spiritual beings and influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism. By making reference to King Angling Dharma that comes from a Hindu epic, Mahabharata, MAK2 reproduces his status as an ‘Islam KTP’.

Ibu Bumi (The Mother Earth) as my Prayer

It is observable in text 1 that MAK1 classifies his poem as a prayer. To strengthen his perspective, he uses the phrase “more solemn”. He also refers to the living tradition among the *Sedulur Sikep* community as one that always “remembering Earth” in their daily routine. He said in text 3:

For me, maybe not only for me but also [for other people of] Sedulur Sikep, remembering Earth while sleeping, awake, or stepping on the Earth becomes an utterance.

KK1’s statement in text 16 validates the statement of MAK1. She refers to the shared knowledge of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, whose prayer is closely related to the Mother Earth, “The way we pray has to do with the Earth”. When MAK1 creates the poem of *Ibu Bumi*, he produces a new discourse of prayer and recognizes the poem of *Ibu Bumi* as a sacred text by which he praises God and his ancestors during

prayers. He then intends to introduce this prayer to everyone involved in this movement, including the Muslims. However, he realizes his status as a non-Muslim, so he asks for opinions from others whom he considers having the capacity. He refers to “MAK7 from Rembang,” who proposes the addition of the sentence ‘*Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah*’ (there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah) to the poem. This proposal, presented by MAK7, upholds the enduring practice of discourse within JMPPK, where MAK1 assumes a shared position with fellow members to facilitate the exchange and dissemination of ideas, as well as mutual assistance. MAK7 is a prominent figure among Muslims along the north coast of Central Java, renowned for his sermons delivered through songs and music.

To answer the question of MAK1, MAK7 refers to the two statements of *Shahadah* (confession of faith in Islam) that read: I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah (*ash-hadu an laa ilaaha Illallaah wa ash-hadu anna Muhammadan Rasuulullaah*). However, MAK7 reproduces the two statements and deletes the sentence I bear witness (*ash-hadu*) and puts the rest of the two statements ‘*Laa ilaaha Illallaah Muhammadur Rasuulullaah*’ (there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah) as part of the prayer poem.

The combination of the poem and these parts of the *Shahadah* in this prayer serves as a mediator between the two groups: the *Sedulur Sikep* community and Muslims who participate in the movement. Considering the status of MAK1 as a non-Muslim, MAK7’s idea to add these parts of the *Shahadah* is also a strategy to position MAK1 among his Muslim counterparts.

Moreover, MAK7 in text 2 made a reference to the concept of Tawhid as a background for the addition of *Shahadah*. Tawhid is a mental model in Islam that describes pure monotheism (Ouis, 1998; Khalid, 2010; Al-Faruqi, 1992), and *Shahadah* constitutes the subsequent tier of the comprehensive notion of Tawhid. His reference to both *Shahadah* and Tawhid is inspired by the comprehensive meaning of Tawhid, which has three tiers. The initial tier entails acknowledging the oneness of God within one’s heart, while the second tier involves articulating this belief through the recitation of the *Shahadah*. Lastly, the third tier necessitates the practical application of all the teachings of Tawhid in one’s daily existence.

According to MAK7, the Kartini Kendeng movement is an example of the implementation of the teaching of Tawhid. Thus, adding the *Shahadah* is permissible to strengthen the spirit of Tawhid so that it does not “fade away”. MAK7 also refers to some of God’s traits, namely “The One Who owns [the Earth and the universe]” and “The One Who has control over everything”. His reference to Tawhid and two

of God's traits is ideological, as it transforms the shared knowledge of the majority of Muslims regarding Tawhid, which is understood as merely the oneness of God, into a broader concept that promotes the equality of all God's creatures and avoids any dualism.

As mentioned previously, combining the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* and the *Shahadah* is considered problematic by some Muslims and people of *Sedulur Sikep*. This addition raises objections from both sides, especially those who do not support the Kartini Kendeng movement. Some people of *Sedulur Sikep* came to MAK1 and expressed their objection. MAK1 then answered in text 6:

If you think [adding the Shahadah to the poem of Ibu Bumi] is wrong, you can take legal action to complain ... Whether my status fades or not, please prove it!

By making reference to "legal action", MAK1 is defending himself and at the same time challenging anyone who wants to report him if it is deemed wrong. He also challenges anyone to prove that the addition of the *Shahadah* in the prayer poem does not change any of his status as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community. Additionally, he refers to the Javanese people in text 6, stating, "The majority of Javanese people understand the meaning of *Ibu Bumi*, on which we reside". This reference aims to maintain the current understanding of both the *Sedulur Sikep* community and Muslims in the area, who share a Javanese origin, regarding the meaning of *Ibu Bumi*.

The introduction of the Muslims involved in this movement to this prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* led to a new discourse of prayer. Some Muslims then call it *doa Ibu Bumi* (literally meaning "prayer of the Mother Earth"), and others call it *doa Nusantara*, which means "prayer of Nusantara."¹¹⁷ The statement of MAK6 in text 7, "KK5 recited this prayer", "Gus Nuril also reads the prayer", and "If someone commented

¹¹⁷ The term Nusantara was initially documented in the book *Negarakertagama*, which was authored by Empu Prapanca in 1365 AD. Empu Prapanca, a Buddhist scholar at the Majapahit court, elucidates that Nusantara originates from two ancient Javanese words, namely "nusa" and "antara". "Nusa" signifies an island, while "antara" denotes the outermost. The utilization of the term Nusantara pertains to the statehood concept of Majapahit, which encompasses the islands in Southeast Asia. During that period, the term Nusantara employed by Majapahit also encompassed Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam. Gajah Mada, a prime minister of the Majapahit kingdom, made reference to the term Nusantara in his Palapa Oath. In the 20th century Ki Hadjar Dewantara proposed it as the name for an independent state that would encompass the former Dutch rule in the Dutch East Indies. Although the name Indonesia was chosen Nusantara continues to be used as a synonym to denote the Indonesian archipelago (Bomantama, 2022). <https://www.inews.id/multimedia/infografis/infografis-asal-usul-kata-nusantara-nama-ibu-kota-baru>. [Accessed on 4 January 2024].

on it, it must be because they did not know the meaning and purpose of the prayer”, confirms this new discourse. As mentioned above, Gus Nuril was a student and friend of Gus Dur. He was greatly inspired by Gus Dur, particularly in terms of his perspective on the indigenization of Islam. The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* is a form of indigenization that appreciates and accommodates local culture without violating religious norms. By making reference to Gus Nuril, MAK6 positions himself as part of those who respect this kind of indigenization. He also opposes the puritanical¹¹⁸ attitude shown by the village religious functionary, who considers the poem not purely Islamic.

Furthermore, some members of the Kartini Kendeng movement explicitly mention *Ibu Bumi* in their prayer, such as the statement of KK7 in text 18:

*In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Compassionate*¹¹⁹. O Allah, I ask for [Your] guidance or help [for] Ibu Bumi that I step on, Ibu Bumi that I care for. If someone has done something wrong or is making trouble in Kendeng, I ask for your help to keep Kendeng intact, *tolak balak* (ward off misfortune), safe and secure. That was my prayer. Then I recited *Qulhu* three times and *al-Fatihah* three times. That was my prayer.

KK7 starts her prayer by reciting the *Basmalah* that reads: “In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Compassionate”. Next, KK7 refers to “Allah” to ask for help and guidance. She also completes her prayer by reciting *al-Fatihah* and *Qulhu*. By making reference to *Basmalah*, KK7 positions herself as a Muslim. This reference also preserves the living tradition within Islam of always beginning every activity with the *Basmalah*. Besides, her reference to Allah, *al-Fatihah*, and *Qulhu*, KK7 also reproduces the Islamic teaching that instructs Muslims always to invoke the name of Allah and recite verses of the Quran in their prayers. She then mentions “*Ibu Bumi*” and “Kendeng” in her prayer, which implies the influence of *Sedulur Sikep* in her prayer.

118 It is explained in Chapter II that both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, possess contrasting viewpoints regarding indigenous practices (Turmudi, 2012). Muhammadiyah asserts that numerous local customs in Indonesia encroach upon religious principles, thereby necessitating a process of purification. Conversely, NU upholds the notion that local customs can still be accommodated within the community. As a result, these two entities are often characterized as puritanical versus traditionalist organizations. The indigenization of Islam finds favor among adherents of Traditionalist Islam. According to Fuad (2018), modernism and purification are two underlying concepts of *dakwah* within Muhammadiyah.

119 This first verse of Surah *al-Fatihah* is well-known among Muslim as *Basmalah*.

In contrast to KK7's explicit mention of "*Ibu Bumi*", KK2 and KK9 mentioned "Earth" in their prayers. KK2 said in text 19: "O Allah, I intend to fight, to fight for this Earth to remain sustainable so that it can be passed on to my children and grandchildren". While KK9 said in text 20: "The Earth I step on, help me to carry out my duties at ... the Earth I step on, the sky where I take shelter, thank you!".

KK2 starts her prayer by making reference to "Allah" through which she positions herself as a female Muslim who should address her prayer to Allah. However, while KK9 comes from an Islamic background, she does not mention Allah or God in her prayer. Instead, KK9 refers to her father who has taught her a specific Javanese prayer to recite before the house, by stepping on the thresholds with her right foot and mentioning heaven and Earth. The mention of "*Ibu Bumi*", "Earth", and "heaven" by both KK2 and KK9 reinforces the emergence of a new discourse on prayer among Muslims, as recognized through the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* introduced by MAK1.

Both new discourses on *Ibu Bumi* as a sentient being and the poem of *Ibu Bumi* as a prayer are ideological struggles (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) that transform relation of domination, power, and exploitation between Kartini Kendeng and the cement mining. Those who reside in the North Kendeng Mountains criticize the mechanistic worldview that considers the Earth as an object to be exploited for economic gain and development interests. This criticism is delivered in the form of the Kartini Kendeng movement, which accommodates a spiritual practice, a prayer. Through the discourse of *Ibu Bumi*, those involved in this movement identify the Earth as a living entity, a mother who sustains human life. Being a living entity, the Earth responds to all human actions and behaviours. Consequently, if humans desire to endure and maintain their livelihoods, they must demonstrate reverence towards the Earth. Failure to do so will result in continued destruction, which will eventually lead to a catastrophic impact on human survival as a whole. This has already been evident, for example, in the severe water scarcity experienced during the dry season, coupled with the occurrence of devastating floods in both Pati and Rembang during the rainy season. These natural events serve as tangible evidence of the anger of *Ibu Bumi*. In these situations, my interviewees position women as the most affected members of the community.

Through the strong image of *Ibu Bumi*, the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement negotiate and reinforce a new position as powerful agents in defending their homeland from cement mining. This negotiation to restructure and reinforce a new power relation position is what Fairclough referred to as ideology.

God, Human, and Nature

It is clear from the previous linguistic stage that when it comes to the relationship between God, humans, and nature, some members of the Kartini Kendeng movement and the activists mentioned the three “are unity”, “inseparable”, “nature is a Divine trust”, “nature does not need human, but humans need nature”, and “[first comes] Allah [then] nature and then humans”. There are three subheadings in this section. This division is related to the background beliefs of each group.

Sedulur Sikep and the unity of God, human, and nature

When KK1 says: “In my opinion, [God, humans, and nature] are a unity that is inseparable”, “Thus, nature, humans, and the Almighty must unite”, she introduces the discourse on the unity of God, humans, and nature. To strengthen this new discourse on the unity of God, human, and nature, KK1 refers to her personal experiences, “based on my personal experience...” and “based on what I experienced...”.

Direct discourse representation is observable when KK1 refers to those “who have supernatural insight”. According to her, those people “may see the invisible life”. “The invisible life” is then reproduced in her statement in two different notions. Sometimes it is referred to as “the Almighty”, and sometimes it is referred to as “spiritual beings”. To strengthen her belief about the unity of God, humans and nature she explains the interdependence between the three by saying: “As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng whatever their names and appearances should also do [something to defend] as best as they could”. She also said: “Whatever humans do to take care of nature, it always reacts by giving signs”.

By explaining the interdependence between the three, KK1 positions the Almighty/spiritual beings, human, and nature on the same level as partners in maintaining the sustainability of the natural world. This discourse on the unity of God, human, and nature (both in affirmative and obligatory forms) is ideological in the sense that it transforms the dominant discourse, which sees the three entities as separate things. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 87), the discursive practice is ideological when it maintains, reproduces, or transforms power relations. For KK1, God, humans, and nature are obliged to work together in defending the North Kendeng Mountains from any disastrous activities, including cement mining. Thus, according to KK1, the Kartini Kendeng movement is an effort to implement unity and synergy among the three by rejecting the construction of a cement plant that threatens the North Kendeng Mountains.

Human beings as stewards

A different discourse regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature emerges from those with an Islamic background, such as KK4, and MAK2. To explain the relationship between the three KK4 mentioned the word “obligation” in text 12:

All [human beings] have an obligation to preserve nature and to preserve environment because nature is [bestowed upon humanity] as a Divine trust, a trust from the Almighty for us to care for. If we do not preserve it, Allah must be angry. We never know. Earthquakes or floods could occur as a form of anger from God Who makes life because we ignore and do not preserve nature that He left with His ummah (human beings).

This obligation to preserve nature relates to the status of nature as “a Divine trust” or “a trust from the Almighty for us to care for”. By referring to the “Divine”, “the Almighty”, “Allah”, KK4 positions herself as a female Muslim, a believer in God. Additionally, when stating that nature is “a trust from the Almighty for us to care for”, KK4 is inspired by the instruction in the Quran, Surah 7:56. The actual text reads: “And do not create disorder in the land after the fair ordering thereof and call Him with fear (of His displeasure) and with hope (of His mercy). Surely the mercy of Allah is always close to the doers of good to others”. Since this verse explains the prohibition of misuse of the Earth after it had been set in order, it is obligatory for humans to preserve and maintain the Earth to remain in its order.¹²⁰ Understanding the Quran, Surah 7: 56, transforms the relationship between humans and nature from exploitation to preservation.

When human beings are unable to carry out their responsibilities to protect the Earth that has been entrusted to them, the consequence is that “Allah must be angry”. KK4 reproduces God’s anger as natural disasters such as “Earthquakes and floods” that will destroy human life. Through her statement, KK4 would like to convey that humans are powerless before God and that there is a relationship between the duty to preserve nature and human survival. The imperative to preserve nature is not merely an obligation. It should be done for the sake of human life. By

¹²⁰ Although this verse does not explicitly mention the obligation or mandate to preserve the Earth, Al-Shafi’i, one of the four great Imams of Sunni schools of law, insist the concept of *Mafhum al-Mukhalafah* (contradictory understanding or implicit meaning), which indicates that the ruling of the unpronounced is opposite to the ruling of the pronounced. The pronounced in the verse is the prohibition of mischief on Earth; thus, the unpronounced is the obligation to preserve the Earth.

carrying out this mandate, humans protect their lives from God's anger, which can befall humans in the form of natural disasters.

Another reference to the obligation toward nature is observable in the statement of MAK2 in text 13.

In terms of Islam, Islam is rahmatan lil 'aalamiin, a mercy to all creations. So, the universe does not only [consist] of humans but also plants, animals, and other creatures ... We, human beings, are the noblest creation [of God]. We should be able at least to maintain [nature] and not destroy it.

MAK2 makes reference to the Islamic concept of “*rahmatan lil 'aalamiin*” in order to elucidate the obligation to preserve nature. He expounds upon Muhammad's vision as depicted in the Quran, specifically Surah 21:107, which states: “And we did not send you, [O Muhammad!], but as a blessing and mercy for all beings”. The personification in this verse portrays Muhammad's vision as a source of blessing and mercy for all beings. However, MAK2 presented it as Islam's vision of being a blessing and mercy for all beings, including “humans, plants, animals, and other creatures”. Furthermore, the responsibility to fulfil the obligation of preserving nature is not solely applicable to Muslims but also extends to all “human beings”.

By identifying the duty of humans to preserve and maintain nature, KK4 and MAK2 reproduce the mainstream idea of the relationship between God, humans, and nature. Humans are powerless in the face of God, and their survival is contingent upon their attitudes towards nature. When humans uphold the preservation and maintenance of nature, God will safeguard their lives. Conversely, when they disregard this obligation and exploit nature through activities like cement mining, God will demonstrate His power and express His anger through natural calamities such as “Earthquakes or floods”. Hence, for both KK4 and MAK2, defending the North Kendeng Mountains from cement mining is an obligation that must be fulfilled in order to ensure the safety of humans from God's anger.

Nature is above human beings

Both MAK1 and KK2 have different perspectives regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature. The intertextuality is observable in the statement of MAK1 in text 14. He said:

In my opinion, nature does not need humans, but humans need nature. So, no matter what [the situation] is, we must make an effort to preserve nature so it will not be damaged quickly.

According to Fairclough (1992, pp. 121-122), the utilization of negative sentences is commonly employed for polemical intentions. They possess distinctive forms of assumptions that also function intertextually. Through this negative opening sentence, “Nature does not need humans”, MAK1 positions himself differently from the commonly held belief that human beings are necessary for the sustainability of nature. According to his perspective, it is humans who are, in fact, dependent on nature. In order to reinforce his viewpoint, he employs the use of obligational modality in his statement, asserting that “We must make an effort to preserve nature”. The onus of nurturing and conserving nature arises not due to nature’s reliance on human beings, but rather due to humans’ reliance on nature. The preservation of nature consequently equates to the preservation of human existence.

KK2, a female Muslim who is heavily influenced by the tradition of *Sedulur Sikep*, establishes a hierarchical relationship among the three, namely, God, nature, and humans. She also mentions that the three are inseparable, but it does not mean the unity of the three. She said: “So, [God, nature, and humans] are inseparable because logically [Muslims during their prayers] surely kiss the Earth. Consciously or not ... [the Earth is] the medium to [worship] God”. The Earth, being an integral component of the natural realm, serves as a conduit for Muslims to express their devotion to God, compelling them to bow down to the Earth at least five times per day during the observance of prayer, also known as *salah*. Indirectly, devotion to God results in an obligation for Muslims to protect the Earth in order to save their relationship with God. Since prayer (*salah*) is obligatory, preserving the Earth, a medium to perform prayer (*salah*), is also mandatory. That is why KK1 expresses her intention to the Earth, stating, “We want to save you.” This is a way to carry out the responsibility of human beings towards the natural world.

Women on the Frontline as a Strategy, Totally Natural, or Inspired by Kartini?

When discussing women’s appearance on the frontline, some interviewees made references to “KK1”, while others mentioned “strategy”, “totally natural”, “riots”, “emotions”, and some referred to “Kartini” in their statements. KK4 stated in text 21:

Initially we did not know about this problem ... what the impact would be if there was a cement factory ... then there were Sedulur [Sikep] from Sukolilo including KK1 who came [here] ... [they] held meetings here ... explaining what the environmental impact would be if there was a cement factory ... finally, we joined the meetings there. Then [a group] of women was formed in this area and in our neighbourhood. We hold meetings every week.

By making reference to KK1 (in text 21), KK4 maintains the pivotal roles played by the *Sedulur Sikep* community in this movement. KK1 was the first woman to join every JMPPK meeting led by MAK1, who happened to be her older brother. She then invited other women in her neighbourhood to be actively involved in the movement against the construction of a cement plant in the North Kendeng Mountains, their homeland. KK4 also mentioned “meetings”, and “environmental impact” to explain the new discourse on the initial women’s involvement in the environmental movement in the North Kendeng Mountains. KK4 puts the sentence “then [a group] of women was formed in this area and in our neighbourhood” in a passive voice to hide the agent. However, since she discusses the role of KK1 in the initial meetings, the agent is identified. According to KK4, it is KK1 who forms the women’s group in that area.

When women are actively involved in the movement, they have consistently been at the forefront during demonstrations and negotiations. According to MAK2 in text 22, women’s position on the frontline is a kind of “strategy”, which relates to the prevention of “riot” and “chaos”. KK4 confirmed the statement of MAK2 by mentioning “emotion”, “riot”, “commotion”, and “punches” in text 23. On the other hand, both MAK2 and KK4 also mentioned “more patience”, “smooth”, “peaceful action”, meeting lots of “relatives” and “friends”. The inclusion of those words, along with their antonyms, signifies the intention of those who are involved in this movement to introduce a novel discourse on demonstration. Historically, demonstrations in Indonesia have been predominantly associated with violence, riots, chaos, commotion, and physical confrontations.

Nonetheless, the Kartini Kendeng movement aims to present an alternative form of protest and demonstration characterized by peace, friendship, and patience. To achieve this, men have placed women at the forefront of demonstrations, as the men believe that women possess the ability to suppress emotions, both their own and those of police and security personnel. MAK2 said in text 22:

This is a strategy. Why did we mobilize women during our actions? [Because] they tend to have more patience than men. So, when there is a chaos, it will be easier to [prevent] ... [and violence] does not occur.

His selection of the terms, “strategy”, “mobilize”, and “easier to prevent”, constitutes a discourse on the utilization of women in this movement. Women’s capacity to subdue their sentiments and emotions is harnessed to attain the objectives of this movement. This implies that their position at the forefront of demonstrations does not suggest that their agency and active participation stem from a state of

consciousness, but rather from a state of passivity. Naturally, this situation perpetuates gender inequality and places an additional burden on women.

Another text, which shares a similar notion of women's positions on the front-line as a strategy, comes from MAK4 in text 30 when he said: "Because of such problems, women are required to come forward [in demonstrations]". He uses the passive voice: "Women are required to come forward". According to Fairclough, one of the ideological reasons for using passive voice is to "obfuscate agency and hence causality and responsibility" (1992, p. 182). Who did require women to come forward in demonstration? The agent is unknown. However, based on the mental model of the majority of my interviewees, who view women as capable of managing their emotions, it is the strategy of the men that requires women to be on the front lines during the demonstrations.

Apart from this kind of strategy, MAK1 mentioned a different opinion. This aims to initiate a discussion on the relationship between women and environmental issues. According to Fairclough (1992, pp. 114-115), interdiscursivity assumes a significant role in the development of new discourse within the framework of hegemony and power struggle. Thus, the choice of MAK1 to use phrases such as "totally natural", women as the most "affected" group by "environmental problems", and so forth in text 24 maintains the existing discourse on the close relationship between women and the environment. MAK1, in Text 24, also stated that environmental issues are women's issues due to the social construction that puts women as household caretakers. Thus, the involvement of women in this movement is "totally natural". MAK1 said in text 24:

Actually [their involvement emerged] naturally. Please check [this statement]. It was totally natural ... actually, the reason of environmental struggle is that when the environment is damaged it is women who are affected by the [adverse impact] more than men. When there is a water shortage, [for instance], or other shortcomings, it is women [who are more affected].

A different voice regarding women's positions on the front line came from some members of the Kartini Kendeng movement when they made reference to "Kartini", a heroine figure whose name was later attached to this movement by the media. Both KK10 and KK2 are among the few women who made reference to the figure of Kartini in their involvement in this movement. They mentioned "role model", "Kartini's footsteps", "warrior", and "struggle" to show their admiration for Kartini's legacy. They proceeded to continue Kartini's legacy, albeit in a distinct mani-

festation, yet maintain the same essence caring for the existence of humanity. KK2 stated in text 26:

Kartini continued the struggle of [previous heroine] in her way. For her, women had to go to school. Now, together with brothers and sisters in Kendeng, especially those who live in Rembang, [we realize] that the grave of Kartini is here. There is a conflict over the establishment of a cement factory [in Rembang, the location of Kartini's grave]. Why don't we continue [Kartini's] struggle even in a different form? [Our struggle] now [is the struggle for] the environment because the environment is now severely damaged ... We voice the importance of the environment, the importance of the natural world for life.

Kartini's struggle centred on the opportunity for women to obtain an education, and presently, the new Kartini focus is on mitigating the perils posed by human-made natural disasters. Additionally, KK2 also refers to "the grave of Kartini". The reference to Kartini is ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) for two reasons. Firstly, it aims to transform the hegemonic discourse on the utilization of women in the movement. Women have their own perspective on their position on the front line during the movement. They are involved in defending the North Kendeng Mountains because of their agency as women who follow in the footsteps of Kartini. Secondly, it transforms the discourse on cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains, which overlooks the existence of Kartini, Indonesia's national heroine, whose grave is located no more than three kilometres from the mining point of PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang.

Hence, linking the renowned name of Kartini to the current environmental movement encompasses more than simply "remembering" her efforts. It also serves as a form of ideology to transform the dominant discourse of the Central Java province government, which has overlooked Kartini's significant merits by continuing to authorize mining permits for PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang, the ultimate resting place of the heroine.

Nyi Ageng Ngerang as a Symbol of Intergenerational Connectedness

The excessive mining activities have resulted in natural devastation, which may eventually lead to the destruction of historical sites in Kendeng. Consequently, future generations of Indonesia will be deprived of their ancestral history. This was once expressed by KK1 in text 32:

These historical sites must be respected as a reminder. Especially considering that those who live around the Kendeng slope are not only Sedulur Sikep [community]. These [historical] places are needed by others [outside the Sedulur Sikep community]. If it is not the locals who take care of them, then the next generation will lose their traces. For example, the tomb of Shaykh Jangkung, as soon as [the tomb is] lost because of [natural] destruction, then [what remains] is only a story. [The tomb of] Nyi Ageng Ngerang in Tambak Romo is the same. There are also many [historical sites] here [in Kendeng] ... [It was] informed by MAK8 about the Jolotundo well, the site of Prabu Angling Dharma.

The individuals KK1 refers to hold great historical importance, particularly within the local community residing in the North Kendeng Mountains area. Defending the North Kendeng Mountains from cement mining also signifies the preservation of historical continuity for the society. Besides “*Dewi Kunti*”, “Prabu Angling Dharma”, and “*Syaikh Jangkung*”, the figure mentioned the most by my interviewees is Nyi Ageng Ngerang or Nyai Ageng Ngerang, with five direct mentions in texts 1, 32, and 33. This reference is ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) in the sense that it transforms the discourse of power relations between PT Semen Indonesia and the community. PT Semen Indonesia shows no respect to the ancestors of the local community and ignores the interconnectedness of the past, present, and future generations.

This is why some of my interviewees metaphorically describe their movement as a “fight,” as expressed in KK2’s text 19, MAK5’s text 29, and Yu Patmi’s text 39. They also juxtapose the word “fight” with their reference to their “children”, “grandchildren”, and “future generations” in their texts. Both KK2 and MAK5, for instance, juxtapose the word “fight” and the phrase “my children and grandchildren” in their texts. In text 29, MAK5 stated, “Yes, [I] already understood that [my wife] goes to fight for the environment for my children and grandchildren”. Meanwhile, the late Yu Patmi juxtaposes the word “fight” and the phrase “future generations” in text 39. By employing the word “fight” as a metaphor for their movement and coupled with their reference to “children”, “grandchildren”, and “future generations”, my interviewees identify their ideology (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) to restructure ongoing discourse in maintaining the intergenerational connectedness that has significant influence on the cultural identity of Javanese society.

According to Laksana (2014), historical sites hold a crucial role in Javanese culture because they serve as a collective memory through which individuals define their cultural identity and maintain a connection with their ancestors. In the Javanese tradition, visiting the graves of ancestors or historical figures is a way to nurture this connection and express one’s cultural identity. Therefore, within

the context of the Kartini Kendeng movement, designating the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang, for instance, as a gathering place for Muslims and people of *Sedulur Sikep* to pray together before commencing a demonstration is deemed acceptable and ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) in the sense that it transforms the discourse on power relation of PT Semen Indonesia, which perceives Kendeng as an object that can be extracted for economic interests, ignoring the historical connection between the local community residing in the North Kendeng Mountains and their ancestors.

The way Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community pray and perceive their ancestors in their prayers may differ; however, they share a similar mental map and collective memory of their ancestors in defining their cultural identity. The prayer of KK7 in text 18, for instance, where she mentions “Nyi Ageng Ngerang” and “Ki Ageng Ngerang” in her intermediary prayer, confirms the status of KK7 as part of Javanese Muslims. Likewise, the prayer of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which mentions their ancestors in text 17, strengthens the mental model of this community in their belief in their ancestors or “*danyang*”.

The Kartini Kendeng Movement and the Shift of Gender Roles

Women’s involvement in the Kartini Kendeng movement had effects on their household arrangements. Each family has its own way of negotiating this new situation. MAK1 and KK8 mentioned “being acknowledged by family”, “understand each other”, and “balance” in both texts 27 and 28 while MAK5 mentioned “mutual understanding” in text 29. In addition, MAK4 mentioned “a shift of [gender] roles” in text 30. According to Fairclough, discourse is a mode of action (1992, p. 63). It means that through these words, MAK1 and KK8 transformed the discourse on the men-women relationship to an egalitarian one. Both share the domestic and public activities and are free to determine whether to tackle household routines or get involved in the movement. Whatever commitment one chooses whether it is taking care of the household or participating in a demonstration, the decision is equally important and must be respected. MAK1 said in text 27:

[For example], the division of roles between my wife and me, she preferred to go to the fields and take care of them. Because that was how she chose, then [I told her]: “Please take care of them”.

MAK1 also refers to the division of labour in the household of KK2 when he stated in text 27: “While KK2, for instance, her husband preferred to stay at home”. This reference maintains the mental model of all those involved in the movement regarding the negotiable division of labour between husband and wife.

According to MAK4, this kind of negotiation is important not only for the household relationship but also for the sustainability of this movement. MAK4 said in text 30:

Because of such a situation, there is a shift of [gender] roles. What was the purpose? To let this [movement] stay longer and to breathe longer ... Because of such a problem, women are required to come forward [in demonstrations]. Like or dislike, men who previously never cooked have to cook and feed cows.

Besides making reference to “such situation” and “problem” as the background of the shift of gender roles, MAK4 also refers to traditional shared knowledge on husband-wife labour division, namely “to cook and feed cows”. These references position him as part of the activists in this movement who share a common concern about cement mining activities undertaken by PT Semen Indonesia and also highlight the shift in gender roles. Suppose it turns out that women prefer to leave the house to take part in demonstration actions, in that case, the men inevitably have to accept the consequences of this “shift of [gender] roles” for the sake of the sustainability of this movement.

Additionally, my interviewees often refer to their families when discussing this environmental movement and its impact on domestic arrangements. Through the phrase “being acknowledged by family”, MAK1 introduces a new discourse on “family-based environmental movement” as a manner of action (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63). He identifies the movement as including all family members of any household. When the father, for instance, decided to join this movement, the whole family would support him as much as possible in various forms. The statement of KK8 in text 31 said:

The people of Sedulur Sikep are used to commit [laku prihatin action]. When the mothers and fathers are out of the house for a [demonstration] action, for instance, [the children and other family members] who are at home commit the laku prihatin action such as staying up late until midnight. This is a common tradition [among the people of Sedulur Sikep].

KK8 makes reference to “laku prihatin”, a shared knowledge among *Sedulur Sikep* community. *Laku prihatin* is *kerata basa* or backronym from three words: *perih ing batin*, which literally means inner suffering. It refers to all human actions that are carried out to exercise self-control over the impulse of anger and harmful desires that will affect the morals, inner attitudes, and behaviour of daily life. However,

“*laku prihatin*” in this text is reproduced by KK8 as “staying up late until midnight”. By making reference to “*laku prihatin*”, KK8 positions herself as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community. Additionally, this reference fosters social cohesion within the *Sedulur Sikep* community. Each family member plays their role according to their wishes, either attending the demonstration location or staying at home to carry out household responsibilities, and they respect each other’s choices.

This new discourse on family-based environmental movement is ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) since it transforms the discourse on the relationship of power and hegemony over nature practiced by PT Semen Indonesia. The rationale behind this criticism lies in the enduring and far-reaching ecological consequences associated with mining activities undertaken by PT Semen Indonesia, which cannot be equated to the short-term economic benefits derived from such practices. According to my interviewees, the endorsement of mining operations implies subjecting future generations, including their descendants, to the afflictions of a natural world that is impaired and deteriorating. Conversely, opposition to mining signifies a commitment to safeguarding the prosperity of the future generation.

We are Proud to be Farmers

Almost all individuals involved in this movement are engaged in agricultural activities, either as land-owning farmers or as labour farmers. Their occupation as farmers has been passed down from one generation to another. Despite the occasional underestimation of their status, they take pride in their agricultural heritage. KK2, in text 35, shares her personal experience challenging the shared knowledge that being a farmer equates to being impoverished. She highlights her own wealth, such as owning a “one-hectare land”, earning “fourteen million” IDR per harvest season, and possessing “cows”. These details, which reflect the economic situation of farmers in Tegaldowo, Rembang, where KK2 resides, are sufficient to transform the discourse on the economic status of farmers.

The pride of farmers extends beyond their economic stability and is also evident in their everyday behaviour. They choose to wear traditional Indonesian farmer-style clothing, as described in texts 37 and 38 by KK2 and KK8. They mention “*jarik*”, “*kebaya*”, “*selendang*”, and “long-sleeved clothes” as their daily outfits, including wearing them during demonstrations. KK2 mentions a “difficult situation” to explain that her choice to wear farmer-style clothing is not only a form of pride but also a kind of ideological struggle. It is a symbol of the farming community’s resistance to government policies that have issued mining permits, especially currently to PT Semen Indonesia in Rembang. KK2 also refers to the concept of “*aurat*” in Islamic jurisprudence or *Fiqh*. According to *Fiqh*, *aurat* is part of a male

or female Muslim's body that should be covered. A lengthy debate occurs in *Fiqh* regarding the *aurat* of female Muslims because there is no single verse in the Quran that explains in detail the limits of women's *aurat*.

The dominant view or *Jumhur* in *Fiqh* is that women's *aurat* is the whole body except their face and palms, both during prayers or *salah* and outside of prayers (Al-Zuhaili, 2004). The debates around women's *aurat* relate to the interpretation of the Quran 33:59 that reads: "O Prophet, tell thy wives and daughters and believing women that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad). It is most convenient that they should be known (as such) and not molested. Allah is Oft Forgiving and Most Merciful".

According to Atiyya (d. 1141), it is imperative to grasp the contextual background of the revelation of this particular verse in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding. According to his analysis, the instruction to conceal the chests of women cannot be dissociated from the social practices prevalent in ancient Arab society, including how enslaved women would extend their veils towards the posterior part of their bodies, thereby leaving their chests exposed. The divine revelation of this verse sought to establish a distinctive demarcation between women who embraced the faith and those who were in servitude (Atiyya 2001 Vol. 4: 399). In light of the contemporary societal landscape, wherein the institution of slavery has been abolished, it becomes pertinent to reassess the applicability of this command critically. For this reason, some female Muslims cover their entire body except for their face and palms, while others cover their head with a scarf and leave some of their hair and neck exposed, or do not cover their head at all.

By making reference to the "*aurat*" and the "*selendang*" KK2 uses to cover her head, she maintains her position as a female Muslim who is aware of the discourse on this matter. Additionally, this reference is also ideological since it transforms the dominant and peripheral voice in the understanding of the concept of *aurat*, especially among the 'pro' group, who consider the 'tolak' group less Islamic.

KK2 also refers to the changing attitude of the 'pro' group, who "commented cynically" on their farmer-style clothing. Now, the 'pro' group is also wearing "*jarik*", "*kebaya*", and "*selendang*" as their daily outfit. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 87), the ideological struggle is effective when it is naturalized and accepted as common sense. The acceptance of the 'pro' group to the outfit of the 'tolak' group means that the ideological struggle undertaken by the 'tolak' group to restructure the power and domination of PT Semen Indonesia has been effective.

This pride of being farmers does not necessarily guarantee the survival of farmers in the North Kendeng Mountains due to the looming threat of environmental damage, particularly from cement corporations that may jeopardize the water

sources crucial to their agricultural activities. Consequently, farmers who reside in Pati and Rembang are united in this movement to defend the North Kendeng Mountains, their nurturing mother, whose springs sustain the lives of all residents under its flow.

As part of the Kendeng farmers' community, MAK1 seizes the opportunity during the Indonesian Independence Day ceremony to criticize the government's lack of support for farmers in text 36. He said:

We are Kendeng farmers and members of JMPPK. We have been struggling since 2006 until today for the preservation of the Kendeng mountains to build [our] life. The life of powerful farmers, the life of independent farmers over their production space without worrying about the extinction of water sources. The life of dignified farmers that are not underestimated as a lower-class society. Because it is the farmers who actually provide sufficient food for all the nation's generations. Farmers are the pillars of the nation; however, until today the state has neglected [the position of farmers]. The withdrawal of the Semen Gresik factory from Sukolilo, Pati, did not make the government realize that the North Kendeng mountains is indeed worth preserving for the sake of the sustainability of the ecosystem.

MAK1 mentions the year "2006" when the farmers in the North Kendeng Mountains started to defend their homeland from cement mining. This is to reinforce the continuation of the struggle undertaken by the farmers in this area to reject cement mining. MAK1 mentioned two phrases, "to build [our] life" and "without worrying about the extinction of water sources," through which MAK1 transforms the mental model of 'building life' activities from the egocentric perspective to the more eco-centric perspective. The eco-centric perspective transforms the way humans relate to nature, enabling them to understand the interconnectedness between humans and the natural world. In addition, since the eco-centric perspective contains transformation of value, it is ideological (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). This eco-centric perspective challenges the developmentalist perspective, which often overlooks environmental sustainability. This choice to ignore is evident in the actions of the government of Central Java province, which continues to grant mining licenses to PT Semen Indonesia despite the existence of a presidential decree (No. 26/2011) designating North Kendeng Mountains as a conservation area that should be protected from all forms of harmful activities, including mining.

MAK1 also mentions the ideal attributes of the Kendeng farmers, namely "powerful farmers", "independent farmers", and "dignified farmers" that enable them to be "the pillars of the nation". When referring to the latest attribute, MAK1

was indirectly inspired by the two founding fathers of Indonesia, Soekarno and Hatta, who said that “the farmers are the pillars of the nation”. This is to reassure of the significant role of farmers in terms of food production and supply for the whole nation. However, those ideal pictures of farmers are “neglected” by the present government.

Words that contain political meaning (“powerful”, “independent”, and “dignified”) are ideological through which MAK1, together with the whole members of JMPPK, criticize and challenge hegemonic discourse over nature and marginal groups, namely farmers. The decision to issue permits for several cement corporations to exploit the North Kendeng Mountains is a proof that the government does not prioritize preserving nature and the welfare of those farmers. However, since 2006, activists have proven, and will continue to prove, that as farmers, they will not stop defending their homeland and the North Kendeng Mountains from any disastrous activities that could cause them to die and no longer be able to sustain the people through their springs.

In *Langgar* Yu Patmi We Pray and Play

It is stated in the linguistic stage that equipping the first floor of the *langgar* with gamelan is considered a kind of negotiation to resolve the current problem of social alienation between the ‘tolak’ and the ‘pro’ group who live in Tambak Romo, where the *langgar* is located. MAK1 said in text 40:

There were specific problems. There were issues related only to the people there that also needed to be resolved. Finally, I thought that the upper floor [of the langgar] could be used for worship before the Almighty and the lower floor for discussing fraternity and environmental issues.

When MAK1 says, “Finally, I thought...” he positions himself as a leader and a decision maker in dealing with the current situation in Tambak Romo. As part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, he positions himself as a mediator between the majority of Muslims in Tambak Romo, both the ‘tolak’ and the ‘pro’ groups. Gamelan is considered effective in gathering both groups.¹²¹

121 It is described in Chapter I that the decision of the government of Central Java province to permit mining for several mining factories caused social conflict in the community, resulting in the emergence of two opposing groups, namely the ‘pro’ group and the ‘tolak’ group. However, the present research focuses on the ‘tolak’ group. According to Ja’far (2017), the ‘pro’ group identify the ‘tolak’ group as anti-development, backward, non-religious, and non-educated people.

From the perspective of MAK1, *langgar*, which is a sacred place for Muslims, is expected to be a magnet for the two disputing groups. He says: “upper floor ... for worship” and “lower floor for discussing fraternity and environmental issues”. Through these sentences, MAK1 transforms the discourse on the function of *langgar*. The mental model of the local community considers *langgar* merely a place for prayer. MAK1 changes this mental model and introduces a *langgar* with diverse functions. Through this multifunctional *langgar*, MAK1 negotiates to unite both vertical relationships with God and horizontal relationships with fellow humans in one place.

Residents of the North Kendeng Mountains used to love and respect each other as a community. However, the ‘pro’ group and the ‘tolak’ group are currently feuding over a difference of opinion about cement mining. The arrival of cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains has made them hostile. Thus, *langgar* and its gamelan are expected to bring back the warmth of the relationship that once existed between them. MAK3 said in text 42: “Even though they were enemies [in the context of cement mining], they should not be considered enemies”.

In addition, the statement from KK6 in text 41 clarifies the situation in Tambak Romo. She said:

[The aim of equipping the langgar with gamelan was] to gather the ‘tolak’ people. However, maybe the ‘pro’ people were willing to join us when [they knew] the gamelan [was there], who knows? Likewise, when there was a demonstration, [people] gathered there so that they could exchange information and unite with each other. The medium [to gather them] was the gamelan music.

The situation in Tambak Romo relates to the social alienation between the ‘tolak’ and the ‘pro’ group. KK6 positions herself as part of the ‘tolak’ group, which is in conflict with the ‘pro’ group. According to her, the ‘tolak’ group tries to reach the ‘pro’ group. Gamelan, as a musical instrument, is considered an effective tool for bringing together both the ‘tolak’ and the ‘pro’ people. Thus, the gamelan, as a musical instrument, serves a social function. It is not only used as an instrument to gather both the ‘tolak’ and ‘pro’ people, but it is also used to attract the attention of the surrounding community, who are interested in joining the movement against cement mining.

The statement of MAK3 in text 42 strengthens the social function of gamelan. He said: “The hope was not only ‘tolak’ people who played the gamelan. It was hoped that the ‘pro’ people would also join”. It turns out that their hopes were rewarded. MAK3 in text 42 continued his statement:

Initially, the ones who played gamelan were brothers and sisters [from JMPPK, the 'tolak' group], but then the 'pro' people started to approach because their hobby or interest was playing gamelan.

Moreover, MAK3 also refers to the history of *Sunan Kalijaga*, who preached and attracted the attention of the community at that time through music. MAK3 said: "*Sunan Kalijaga* did his *dakwah* using *wayang* [and] *gamelan*". He also refers to "environmental *dakwah*".

MAK3's reference to "*Sunan Kalijaga*" maintains his status as part of Javanese Muslims who honour the *Wali Songo* for their significant role in spreading Islam in Java (*Sunan Kalijaga* is one of *Wali Songo*). Moreover, MAK3's reference to "*wayang*" and "*gamelan*" is a kind of ideological struggle (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87) through which he maintains the mental model of the indigenization of Islam known among traditional Muslims in Indonesia. According to Baso (2002), indigenization is the process by which Muslims appreciate local cultures or traditions without transgressing any religious principles. For MAK3, utilizing gamelan has nothing to do with the purity or impurity of the religiosity of Muslims.

At the end of his statement, MAK3 refers to "*dakwah*", a mental model in Islam that traditionally relates to activities aimed at inviting people to become Muslims; however, he transforms the term "*dakwah*" and connects it with raising environmental awareness through gamelan. Thus, he transforms the discourse in *dakwah* to "environmental *dakwah*". The word "*dakwah*" in the Arabic language means to invite. Quran 16:125 reads: "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction and argue with them in a way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from His way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided". This verse is one of the most referred verses when talking about *dakwah* or preaching in Islam. According to Al-Alusi (1994), the meaning of the phrase "the way of your Lord" is Islam. This is the shared knowledge among Muslims regarding the meaning of *dakwah*, inviting others to Islam. The term "environmental *dakwah*" introduced by MAK3 is ideological since it transforms the meaning of *dakwah*. It does not limit the invitation to others to become Muslims. Instead, it includes any activities aimed at inviting others and convincing them, in this case, of the importance of environmental awareness.

Conclusion

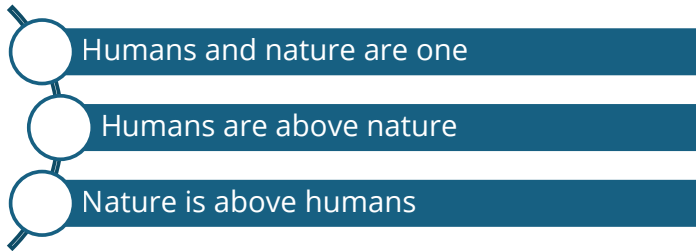
It is stated in the introduction to this chapter that the aim here is to elaborate on the ideological beliefs of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature from the perspectives of ecofeminism and eco-Islam, and to observe how this perspective inspires their movement and social identity.

After conducting a thorough analysis of the data acquired through three field-works between 2019 and 2021, I discovered that the Kartini Kendeng movement serves as a nexus between ecofeminism and eco-Islam, allowing me to observe the dynamic dialogue between these two ideologies.

In terms of the relationship between God, humans, and nature, the background of my interviewees has had a significant role in shaping their perspectives. Those who come from a *Sedulur Sikep* background perceive the unity of the three. For them, God, humans, and nature are partners who have to work together to maintain the sustainability of the Earth. However, there is an ambiguity regarding what they meant by 'God'. Sometimes interviewees meant "the Almighty", but sometimes they meant the "spiritual beings" who dwell in the North Kendeng Mountains.

On the other hand, those who come from an Islamic background maintain the stewardship perspective, which views human beings as stewards of God, with a responsibility to care for the natural world. Being stewards of God necessitates that humans cannot refuse or escape their responsibility and obligation to care for nature. The survival and existence of human beings are proportional to the extent to which they carry out their responsibility to care for nature. Thus, there is a transformation of understanding related to their mental model of stewardship. It relates to the responsibility for the sustainability of the Earth which is manifest in the signs of the existence of God, the Earth that is referred to by one of them as a trust from the Almighty to care for. This responsibility is referred to by one of them as *rahmatan lil 'aalamiin*. It means that all Muslims are obliged to manifest the vision of Islam as mercy for all beings.

For MAK4, who converted to *Agama Adam* of *Sedulur Sikep*, and KK2, who is very much influenced by the tradition of *Sedulur Sikep*, nature is above human. It is the responsibility of human beings to ensure the well-being of the natural world, not due to a necessity for assistance from nature, but rather to ensure the sustainability of human existence, which is contingent upon the well-being of the natural world.



Despite their differing perspectives on the relationship between God, humans, and nature, all interviewees share the perception that the Earth is akin to a maternal figure. Both Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community share a common mental model, as manifested in the concept of *Ibu Bumi*, which translates to “Mother Earth.” For them, *Ibu Bumi* encompasses more than a concept; rather, it serves as a practical ethical framework that shapes their perspectives regarding permissible actions for the sustainability of the planet Earth.

Ibu Bumi was popular among the *Sedulur Sikep* community long before the movement as a shared knowledge embodied in their daily spiritual practices. They consistently include *Ibu Bumi* in their daily prayers before they eat, drink, sleep, wake up, start planting and harvesting, and so forth. MAK1 then introduces this concept in the form of a prayer poem to the Muslims involved in the movement. As a negotiation to bridge the two groups who have different belief backgrounds, the *Shahadah*, which reflects the concept of Tawhid, was added in the poem. Tawhid in this environmental movement has a broader meaning. Besides its conventional meaning of the oneness of God, Tawhid also means the equality of all God’s creatures.

This merging of two traditions in one prayer poem is problematic not only within the Muslims but also within the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The rejection is often raised because the combination of these two traditions is considered a form of impurity in their respective faiths. However, Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement prove that it will not change any of their faiths. For Muslims, the combination of the prayer poem and *Shahadah* represents a form of indigenization of Islam. For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, the inclusion of *Shahadah* in the poem is a gesture of respect for their predominantly Muslim brothers. This prayer poem has now become an anthem for the movement.

For Muslims who are divided into the ‘pro’ and ‘tolak’ groups, the provision of gamelan in *langgar* Yu Patmi is a form of negotiation to resolve internal conflicts between them. Gamelan can attract the ‘pro’ group to come to the *langgar* and play

music together. This moment is then used as a medium to do what they call 'environmental *dakwah*'.

As a form of opposition to PT Semen Indonesia and any mining activities that contradict the concept of sustainability, the movement has played a role in shifting the gender roles among those who are involved in this movement. The previous patriarchal gender roles have been transformed to be egalitarian, where men and women share their public and domestic responsibilities. Moreover, this environmental movement becomes a family-based movement, which not only unites all family members but also establishes close relationships with their ancestors who have preceded them, as well as their children and grandchildren in the future. Their ancestors are always included in their prayers, and their children and grandchildren serve as encouragement that spurs them on. Apart from that, this movement can raise awareness that humans are an inseparable part of the universe. The Earth and all its contents are alive and able to respond to every human behaviour.

There are different perspectives regarding women's agency in this movement. Some of them utilize women's ability to manage their emotions as a strategy to put women on the frontlines during demonstrations. This fact highlights the persistence of male dominance in this movement. However, what happens next is that women are then able to play their roles effectively in public areas, and men compensate by shifting their gender roles in handling domestic work. Men took the initiative, and women took over the agency. Women are on the frontline because they follow in the footsteps of Kartini.

One interviewee views women's involvement in this movement as a natural response, as they are the most affected group when environmental problems arise. From the women's point of view, they refer to the national heroine, Kartini, as their inspiration in their movement. For them, this is how they continue the struggle of Kartini.

In Indonesia, the discourse surrounding ecofeminism is still evolving and dynamic due to its perceived Western origins and lack of relevance within the Indonesian context, particularly in relation to Islamic teachings. Nevertheless, through the data collected in the present research, it has been established that both ecofeminism and eco-Islam find their empirical manifestation within the Kartini Kendeng movement. Discourses on *Ibu Bumi*, the Earth as a sentient being, the broader meaning of Tawhid, women's agency in the environmental movement, the shift in gender roles, family-based environmental movements, and environmental *dakwah* are among the empirical findings that are intertwined within the perspectives of ecofeminism and eco-Islam.

Chapter IV

Gendered Ethics of The Kartini Kendeng Movement

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the correlation between the literature review and field-work data as presented in the previous chapters. The three parts in this chapter will help meet the research objective and answer the research questions stated in Chapter I.

In the first part of this chapter, I present the Kartini Kendeng movement from an ecofeminist perspective, aiming to identify the genuine values that distinguish this movement from others and clarify the extent to which the Kartini Kendeng movement represents ecofeminism. This section of the thesis will also help answer the question regarding the perspective of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement on the relationship between God, humans, and nature.

The second part focuses on ecological ethics within the Kartini Kendeng movement and its intersection with ecofeminism and eco-Islam. This movement is a hybrid one, uniting diverse voices, the voice of the Mother Earth, women, and religious background, including Islam, *Agama Adam* of *Sedulur Sikep*, and converts. The dialogue between these Muslims and *Sedulur Sikep* may strengthen the thesis of Ali (2015), who argues that a productive dialogue between Islamic and non-Islamic thought is crucial for bridging the gap between the two and fostering a broader understanding of Islamic ethics. This part contributes to answering the question on the ethics of ecofeminism and eco-Islam that emerged in the movement.

The dialogue between Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community, will be the focus of the third part of this chapter. The coalition between *Sedulur Sikep*, as adherents of *Agama Adam*, and the Muslim community in this movement leads to the contestation of the cultural identities of both communities. This will help in responding to the question about the role of this movement in shaping the cultural identity of both Muslims and *Sedulur Sikep*.

IV.1. The Kartini Kendeng Movement and Ecofeminism

It has been stated previously that this part of the thesis examines the position of the Kartini Kendeng movement within ecofeminism, while also challenging ecofeminism by using this movement as a case study. This part consists of three sections. The first deals with positioning the concept of *Ibu Bumi* between romanticism and essentialism. The second examines the concept of ecofeminism in analysing the relationship between God, humans, and nature within the Kartini Kendeng movement. The third focuses on the gender shift within this movement.

IV.1.1. The Concept of *Ibu Bumi* between Romanticism and Essentialism

All those involved in this movement, whether male or female, Muslims or *Sedulur Sikep* community, describe their close relationship to nature through the metaphor of the Earth as a mother, utilizing the concept of *Ibu Bumi*. The concept of Mother Earth that declares the motherhood of the Earth as well as the Earthness of the mother (Kim, 2011) is quite universal. It is found in early Greek mythology, as well as in Latin American and Southeast Asian folk religions. The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth was presented at the 2010 World's People Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba. This declaration was made after the failure of the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit to address the rights of Mother Earth. Although this declaration is a non-binding legal instrument, it serves as a foundational document for global environmental law (Kauffman et al., 2025).

In Indonesia, it is symbolized by *Dewi Sri*, also known as *Shridevi*, the pre-Hindu and pre-Islamic rice Goddess, who is still worshiped in Java, Bali, and Lombok today. Frazer describes it in his book *The Golden Bough* (1922), where he states that the Rice Mother in the East Indies was based on “the simple conception of the rice as animated by a soul” and “believing the rice to be animated by a soul”. Similar rice Goddesses were worshipped in the Indonesian archipelago and neighbouring countries. After the adoption of Hinduism in the archipelago in the first century, *Dewi Sri* merged with *Shri Lakshmi*, the Hindu Goddess of prosperity.

In terms of the Kartini Kendeng movement, the concept of *Ibu Bumi* cannot be separated from the land-centred worldview of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, which play a significant role in the movement. The *Sedulur Sikep* community indirectly introduced this concept to the neighbouring Muslim community, which was not previously familiar with it. Initially, the *Sedulur Sikep* community highlighted the detrimental effects of cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains, including

water shortages, air and drinking water pollution, scarcity of natural landscapes, wildlife extinction, and social conflicts. Eventually, the Muslim community realized the importance of defending its homeland. Respecting Mother Earth has become a common ground that unites local communities, regardless of their religious and social backgrounds. The emergence of the poem of *Ibu Bumi* symbolizes the merging of indigenous beliefs and Islam in this movement.

From the perspective of ecofeminist theory, as elaborated in Chapter II, the personification of the Earth as a nurturing mother can be traced back to the influence of romanticism and essentialism. Romanticism views the universe as an organic whole and believes in the innate emotional and intuitive knowledge of human beings regarding nature (Ling, 2014). Essentialism, on the other hand, emphasizes a special interconnection between women and nature.

Romanticism influences cultural ecofeminism that is anti-science and anti-technology. Some cultural feminists propose the revival of spiritual practices to worship a goddess in honour of women's reproductive capacities (Merchant, 2005, p. 202; Warren, 2001, p. 5495). Moreover, according to Romanticism, the harmony of the cosmos depends on the integration of each part; therefore, everything should obey the laws of nature that correspond to the will of God (Ling, 2014). The statement of KK1 regarding the unity of God, humans, and nature: "Thus, nature, humans, and the Almighty must unite" (Text 8), corresponds to romanticism within cultural ecofeminism.

The rituals and prayers of the interviewees in the present research confirm spiritual practices within romanticism that symbolize a close relationship between humans and nature. The members of the *Sedulur Sikep*, for instance, always relate their prayers to their ancestors and *Ibu Bumi*, the Mother Earth, as a symbol of respect and gratitude to their mothers and ancestors. That kind of prayer also symbolizes gratitude toward the North Kendeng Mountains, which have provided them with care and nourishment through fresh water, clean air, fertile soil, and biodiversity, among other benefits. This gratitude has existed within the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition far before the Kartini Kendeng movement. The people of *Sedulur Sikep* incorporate Earth-related prayers into all their daily activities, including drinking and eating. When they have to deal with a big problem and make decisions that determine their life, they provide offerings for their ancestors called *Brokohan* or *Selamatan* and perform joint prayers with the whole family and the surrounding community and consume the offerings together afterward.

Moreover, the people of *Sedulur Sikep* believe in the spirits of their ancestors and their ability to interact with humans through communication, responding to human actions. The story of KK1, who visits a site in the North Kendeng Mountains and

complains to *Dewi Kunti* about the precarious situation being faced by the Kendeng community, reflects the spiritual connection and respect towards the ancestors. She said in text 8:

At that time, I was at the site of Dewi Kunti. I did not see her figure, but I felt that I wanted to get closer to Kendeng. I felt that there was something alive and had feelings. I talked to her like I talked to you. Then I asked her permission. I conveyed that there was a particular condition in this region. Mount Kendeng was threatened. If it was threatened, then all the sites in the Kendeng mountains, whether or not a historical site, would be lost. As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng, whatever their names and appearances, should also do [something to defend] as best as they could.

For Muslims in the North Kendeng Mountains, explicit mention of *Ibu Bumi* and the Earth in their prayers (Earth-related prayers) emerge during the movement when they become familiar with the concept of *Ibu Bumi*, introduced by the *Sedulur Sikep* community, and realize a close connection between their fate and the North Kendeng Mountains. Like other religions, Islam also encourages Muslims to pray before and after their daily activities. Additionally, Islam recommends specific times and places for prayer, known as efficacious times and places, such as Mecca and Madinah. However, discussion on pilgrimages to the shrines and tombs of saints and pious figures in Islam cannot avoid the dynamic debates on the legitimacy of this ritual.¹²²

Muslims in the North Kendeng Mountains, including those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement, are familiar with pilgrimages to the sacred tombs of saints, especially the tomb of Nyai Ageng Ngerang, also known as Nyi Ageng Ngerang, who is revered as a female saint by the local Muslim community. They usually visit this sacred site to seek the blessings of God for their specific concerns, ranging from acquiring material wealth to ensuring a good harvest or securing a successful career, often with the intermediary help of the saint. Sometimes, they

122 In terms of pilgrimage tradition in Javanese Muslim society, puritanical Muslims opposite the traditional one who consider pilgrimage to the shrines and tombs of saints and pious figures as permissible taking into account the nature and legitimacy of this tradition and its local characters. According to the puritanical Muslims, pilgrimage to these places is kind of dangerous innovation or *bid'ah* and not authorized by the Quran, Sunnah, and the practice of the *Salaf* (the first generation of Islam) (Laksana, 2014, pp. 11-15). Please refer to the difference between Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama in regard to local customs and the classification of both organizations as modern and puritanical versus traditional.

also visit this sacred place to express gratitude for a bountiful harvest, a successful business, a harmonious marriage, and so forth. The construction of a cement mine prompts the local Muslim community to explicitly mention their Earth-related prayers during their visit to the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang. KK7 in text 18, for instance, said:

I beg for Your blessing with the intermediary of mbah Nyi Ageng Ngerang and Ki Ageng Ngerang, may I be prayed [by them] to Allah to be safe, healthy, guarded, and given spirit to protect the Ibu Bumi or Kendeng.

The contact of Muslims with the *Sedulur Sikep* community in the Kartini Kendeng movement stimulates a new understanding and system of belief among Muslims regarding the human-nature interrelationship, as reflected in their Earth-related prayers. Moreover, their introduction to ecological discourse helps them to transform towards an ecologically aware society.

The disputes on essentialism within ecofeminism relate to the maintenance of sexist culture and women's subordination. However, due to the diverse experiences of women regarding their closeness to nature, Merchant (1980) proposes putting essentialism on an empirical stage to examine the formulation of humans' world-view toward nature.

The concept of *Ibu Bumi* does not limit the work of caring for the Earth to women only; it also applies to men. This concept is reminiscent of the tradition of respecting mothers in Javanese culture, which can be traced back to the upbringing practices within the Javanese family. Geertz (1961) described how mothers in the Javanese tradition play essential roles in their children's lives, from early childhood to adulthood. The relationship between children and their mothers is described as follows:

The relationship with the mother remains as strong and secure as before and lasts throughout the individual's life ... The mother is seen as a bulwark of strength and love to whom one can always turn. In contrast, the father is distant and must always be treated respectfully (Geertz, 1961, p. 107).

Children in a traditional Javanese family are often placed in their mother's cradle using a long shawl called a *selendang* until they reach weaning age, which typically occurs between 14 and 18 months, allowing them to walk properly (Geertz, 1961, pp. 104-105). This model of carrying is called *nggendong*. It symbolizes "mother's total care". During this period, children commonly urinate and defecate in their mothers' cradles. It is relevant to the statement of KK9, which equates the Earth

with her mother: “For me, the Earth is like my mother, as KK1 said that the Earth is being stepped on, urinated on, and defecated on by us, just like my mother.” For KK9, mothers always gladly cuddle their children no matter the situation, like the North Kendeng Mountains, which always embraces the local community with its blessings.

In this modern era, mothers might not use a *selendang* to carry their children. Instead, they utilize modern factory products that serve a similar purpose. However, these factory products do not change the close relationship between children and their mothers. These psychological processes and the close relationship between mothers and children in the Javanese tradition foster respectful manners towards mothers, laying the foundation for a caring awareness among those involved in this movement, including men and women, towards *Ibu Bumi*.

In addition, this caring awareness not only motivates individuals to defend their homeland from any destructive manner but also motivates their nuclear families. In other words, when a person decides to join the Kartini Kendeng movement, it means they represent their family. It becomes a ‘family-based movement,’ enabling all members of the Kartini Kendeng movement and other activists to negotiate between family interests and the ecological sustainability of the North Kendeng Mountains. KK8, for instance, said in text 31:

The people of Sedulur Sikep are used to commit [laku prihatin action]. When the mothers and fathers are out of the house for a [demonstration] action, for instance, [the children and other family members] who are at home commit the laku prihatin action such as staying up late until midnight. This is a common tradition [among the people of Sedulur Sikep].

The tradition of *laku prihatin* critiques essentialism, which ignores the capacity of men to care and form a close relationship with nature. The concept of *Ibu Bumi* places both men and women, children and adults in the same position, giving them equal opportunities and agency to play their role in defending the North Kendeng Mountains from any disastrous activities.

IV.1.2. God, Humans, and Nature Relationship within the Kartini Kendeng Movement

Ecofeminism proposes a new worldview and social system that insists on mutual relations, cooperation, interdependence, renewal, and sustainability. It resists mechanistic worldviews that prescribe control over women and nature for the prosperity of human beings. Moreover, ecofeminists resist the dichotomic paradigm

propagated by the scientific revolution, which transformed the traditional belief that the Earth is a living organism and nurturing mother into a market-oriented culture that views nature as a source of wealth (Merchant, 1980; Shiva, 1988). In this section, I will elaborate on the living worldviews among the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement and the activists in the North Kendeng Mountains regarding God, humans, and nature. Referring to the Human and Nature Scale (HaN scale) developed by de Groot and van den Born (2007). Inspired by Kockelkoren (1993), de Groot and van den Born classify four types of human-nature relationship: master, steward, partner, and participant.¹²³

The land-centred worldview among the *Sedulur Sikep* community shapes the participant relations. They believe that human beings are part of nature. Additionally, they perceive the unity of God, humans, and nature, and maintain a holistic view of the cosmos as an interconnected unity. For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, all creatures are considered alive, like humans, and respond to human actions. Their belief in the unity of God, humans, and nature assures them that the spiritual beings dwell in nature, as well as the spirits of their ancestors, will always accompany their movement. According to KK1, only those who have supernatural sight may see and encounter interpersonal communication with the spiritual beings. However, everyone may communicate with them through prayers. KK1 herself communicates with the spiritual beings dwelling in the North Kendeng Mountains. She said in text 8:

In my opinion, [God, humans, and nature] are a unity that is inseparable even though their names may vary ...As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng whatever their names and appearances should also do [something to defend] as best as they could. Thus, the relationship between the three is inseparable. Then, human beings also have to care for nature. Thus, nature, human beings, and the Almighty must unite.

Her statement signifies the interdependence of God, humans, and nature (including spiritual beings dwelling in nature). As a unity, reciprocal cooperation between the three is influential on the success or failure of an effort. Nature often provides signs as a response to human actions, serving as a form of communication. KK1 shared the experience of the local community who witnessed a 'magical' natural phenomenon as a response and sign from nature. She said in text 9:

¹²³ Please refer to Chapter II for detailed explanation on Human and Nature scale.

It is proven in the era of Sukolilo that whatever humans do to take care of nature, it always reacts by giving signs. One of them was in late 2008 or early 2009. E... the brothers and sisters were in a meeting at the house of MAK1 until 11:30 at night. The next day, they would face the final AMDAL [environmental impact assessment] trial of the Gresik cement factory at the Pati Regional Office. They got a phone call from the brothers and sisters in Kedu saying that the spring in the Wareh cave had stopped, the water had dried up, and the fish had disappeared for one hour.

On the other hand, Muslims in the area tend to see human beings as stewards of God. For them, being stewards of God means that human beings should manifest the Divine Qualities and Names. It relates to the idea that all creatures manifest the existence of The Divine (Nasr 1968: 96). The Quran surah 41:53 reads: "We will show them Our signs in the universe and within themselves until it becomes clear to them that this Quran is the truth. Is it not enough that your Lord is a Witness over all things?". This verse implies both humans and the cosmos are two realities that reflect the existence of God (Arabi, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 421; Chittick, 1989, p. 6). Those who can reflect the Divine Qualities will reach the degree of being *al-Insan al-Kamil*, a Universal Man.

The involvement of human beings, the stewards of God, in maintaining and caring for nature is significant for them for being *al-Insan al-Kamil*. Being *al-Insan al-Kamil* means that human beings are the channel of God's grace on which the life and breath of the natural world depend. This intimate relationship between human and nature results in a reflection of nature toward the inner state of the human. In other words, when humans' inner state has shifted to one of greed and exploitation, nature has also become imbalanced and unstable (Nasr, 1968, p. 96).

The statements of the Muslim interviewees describe their awareness of carrying out their responsibility as stewards of God. Through the Kartini Kendeng movement, Muslims critique the flawed understanding of the concept of stewardship, in which humans are perceived as having power over nature. Muslims are aware that being stewards of God means they are obliged to be actively involved in maintaining the harmony of nature as a form of reverence for God (Negus, 1992, p. 44). Being stewards of God also means that humans have a duty to develop themselves, society, and their surroundings in order to meet the Divine order (Al-Faruqi, 1992, p. 14).

According to Nasr (2005), humans have two positions, stewards and servants of God on Earth. However, humans' status as servants of God should be emphasized over their status as stewards. Al-Sa'di (2002) posited that servanthship implies that humans cannot represent the existence of God on Earth until they fulfil their

responsibilities as God's servants. When servanthship occurs, according to Islamic teachings, humans have succeeded in reflecting Islam as a mercy and blessing for the entire universe. The statement of MAK2 corresponds to this idea. He said in text 13:

In terms of Islam, Islam is rahmatan lil 'aalamiin, a mercy to all creations. So, the universe does not only [consist] of humans but also plants, animals, and other creatures. As human beings, we should function as saviours [for the natural world] and not [the opposite] such as oppressors or ... We, human beings, are the noblest creation [of God]. We should be able at least to maintain [nature] and not destroy it. That is my view.

Besides the models of unity and stewardship relations between God, humans, and nature, there is another category or variety of human-nature relationships. This category places nature in a higher position than human beings, based on human dependence on nature in both their physical and spiritual lives. This category is popular among those who convert from Islam to *Agama Adam of Sedulur Sikep* or very much influenced by *Sedulur Sikep* tradition. MAK4, the convert, said: "...nature does not need human, but humans need nature...", while KK2 puts God, humans, and nature in hierarchical position. She puts nature above humans, "In my opinion: [First comes] Allah [then] nature and then humans".

All previous perspectives on the relationship between God, humans, and nature support the goal of ecofeminism to eliminate dualism and reconstruct a social system that perpetuates competitive power, or 'power over,' towards a mutually beneficial relationship. The unity model of relationships positions humanity and nature as equals, alongside the involvement of the Divine. This model necessitates the collaboration of God, humans, and nature in pursuit of sustainability. Likewise, a non-mastery interpretation of the concept of stewardship encourages human beings to negotiate their roles in preserving nature, the signs of God, as a form of responsibility before God. Moreover, the other category, which prioritizes nature over humans, advocates for a respectful approach toward nature. The unity model is similar to the participant model of the HaN scale, while the non-mastery stewardship is similar to the eco-centric stewardship of the HaN scale.

IV.1.3. The Kartini Kendeng Movement and Gender Shift

In this section, I will describe the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure in the Kartini Kendeng movement and its relevance to the gender shift.

From the perspective of ecofeminism, the current ecological crisis in general is the result of toxic masculinity, which emerges from a mechanistic worldview towards nature. According to d'Eaubonne (2000, pp. 175-177), the patriarchal system is responsible for men's domination over women and nature, especially with the introduction of modern scientific inventions that have led to a mechanistic order and a market-oriented society, promoting male control over both women and nature.

As a universal phenomenon, the men-women relationship has been socially constructed with female gender stereotyping and subordination. In terms of Javanese tradition, patriarchal culture emerges in some metaphors, such as "*konco wingking*" (meaning a friend behind), which subordinates and domesticates women (Kurnia, 2019). Moreover, *Serat Centhini*, a Javanese encyclopaedia written in 1814, describes the subordinate position of women in marital relationships. In this encyclopaedia, through the story of Nyi Hartati and her advice to her daughter, the writer conveys a symbolic meaning of the names of human fingers in the Javanese language, particularly in regard to men-women relations¹²⁴ (chant 81 verses 14-24). According to the writer, *Jempol* (thumb) means *pol ing tyas* (complete submission). *Panuduh* (index) means *aja akumawani anikel tuduhing kakung* (never argue with the words or instructions of your husband). *Panunggul* (middle finger) means *kakangmu unggul-unggulna* (respect your husband and defend his dignity). *Jari manis* (ring finger) means *dèn-amanis ulat atanapi têmbung* (always show a happy face while serving your husband). *Jejenthik* (pinkie) means *Karêpe athak ithikan, dèntarampil marang sabarang kardi* (women must be skilled and multi-talented).

This story exemplifies the Javanese philosophy which implies that a woman's life, status, and destiny depend on their husbands. However, the situation is changing. In some households, a woman may have a full authority over households' affairs and dominate her husband (Poedjosoedarmo, 1983). Women in the Javanese tradition nowadays have a broader opportunity to advocate for gender equality and participate in the public domain (Jamilah, 2023; Firyanti et al., 2023). Kartini is one of the national heroines known for her tenacity in fighting against women's inequality. Her spirit is passed down through generations, fighting for equality and justice. The Kartini Kendeng movement is one of the tangible expressions of Kartini's enduring legacy. The statement of KK10 in text 25 describes the embodiment of the spirit of Kartini, the national heroine, in this movement. KK10 said:

124 It relates to *Kerata basa*, a specific technic of explanation in Javanese language by merging some syllables or words to construct an etymology in one scheme with which it rhymes.

We are Kendeng residents. [Every] woman [can play the role] as Kartini. You could say [Kartini is our] role model and we are following in Kartini's footsteps. Even though she is a woman, she has a role as a warrior and is worth following.

The Kartini Kendeng movement promotes gender equality within the community through role sharing and mutual support between men and women, in both domestic and public spheres. In addition, this movement also considers women's experiences and negotiation in determining the appropriate action to defend the North Kendeng Mountains. Women's position in the front line during their protests, as either a strategy of negotiation or a symbol of a women-nature close relationship, eventually requires men to get involved or take over domestic duties. In this situation, husbands are forced to negotiate and experience domestic activities that are usually carried out by their wives, such as childcare, food preparation, and taking care of their livestock. MAK4 shared his personal experience of role-sharing in text 30. He said:

There is a shift in [gender] roles. You can ask [about this situation] to the brothers and sisters (dulur-dulur). Because of such a problem, women are required to come forward [in demonstrations]. Like or dislike, men who previously never cooked have to cook and feed cows.

Gender reversal has the potential to transform social structures from patriarchal to egalitarian. The construction of cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains results in 'democratization of discourse'. Fairclough (1992, p. 201) stated:

By democratization of discourse, I mean the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations, and prestige of groups of people.

The peasant communities that relied on the blessings of the North Kendeng Mountains now face a significant problem: the construction of a cement plant, which has the potential to harm their source of livelihood. This brings them to broaden their perspective, knowledge, and network. They have come in contact with academics, lawyers, environmental activists, human rights activists, non-government organisations, interreligious leaders, and many more to discuss and find a solution to their problems. This eventually extends their access to new discourses, including environmental sustainability, ecological justice, air, water, and land pollution, as well as the balance of nature and other related topics.

In terms of men-women relationship, the democratization of discourse in this movement brings a new discourse on role sharing, equal access to information, and negotiation in decision making, both in their domestic affairs and the public sphere. Moreover, this movement offers a broader platform for the *Sedulur Sikep* community to share their perspectives and beliefs on the human-nature relationship. Both Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community have been living together in harmony; however, the social role of the *Sedulur Sikep* community is minimal due to their status as a minority. Through this movement, the Muslim community in North Kendeng becomes aware of new discourses on caring for and respecting *Ibu Bumi*, introduced by the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The peripheral voice of the *Sedulur Sikep* community became the dominant voice in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

In addition, this process of democratization of discourse eliminates power asymmetry and gender inequalities in the society and put those lay people, men and women, in the North Kendeng Mountains on an equal footing with academics, activists, lawyers, interreligious leaders and many more as evidenced by frequent invitations to share their experiences in discussion forums at local, regional, national, and international levels. Muslims, *Sedulur Sikep* community, men, and women have the same opportunity to play their role in this movement. Consequently, this condition brings about a new knowledge and system of belief, and all of them, including Muslims, the *Sedulur Sikep* community, men, and women, experience a gender shift that supports egalitarianism not only in men-women relations but also in the relationships between community members and the natural world.

IV.2 The Kartini Kendeng Movement and Ecological Ethics

Ecological ethics is a key concern in contemporary ecological philosophy (Warren, 2000). Both ecofeminism and eco-Islam emphasize ethics by exploring the responsibilities of humans in preserving nature and their roles in promoting its sustainability. This part will examine the intersection between ecofeminism and eco-Islam in ecological ethics, as observed in the Kartini Kendeng movement. This part consists of two sections: the concept of *Ibu Bumi* as a form of ‘care-sensitive ethics’ and the ethic of balance for environmental sustainability.

IV.2.1. The Concept of *Ibu Bumi* as a Form of ‘Care Sensitive Ethics

Based on the elaboration in the previous section, specifically IV.1.1 and IV.1.2, *Ibu Bumi* has been observed from two different perspectives. Firstly, all those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement identify Mother Earth, *Ibu Bumi*, as a subject—a

living organism that gives life to humans through water, plants, animals, forests, seas, mountains, and many other elements. Therefore, *Ibu Bumi* deserves humans' respect by maintaining and preserving its sustainability. Secondly, *Ibu Bumi* is considered to be an ethical concept that underlies the perspective of those people regarding human and non-human interdependency. The genuine ethics of caring enables them to highlight ecological problems they find in their homeland and recommend proper caring actions with the potential to create a harmonious relationship between humans and nature.

From the perspective of ecofeminism, *Ibu Bumi* as a concept embodies what Warren (2000) referred to as a 'care-sensitive ethic'. According to Warren, 'care-sensitive ethic' has three main elements: (1) 'ability to care' which suggests moral motivation to 'care about' others; (2) 'situated universal' which entails real-life experiences or actions and globally relevant; and (3) 'care practices' that accommodates diversity in practices and actions to protect, maintain, or enhance the welfare of others.

The concept of *Ibu Bumi* meets all three features of 'care-sensitive ethics'. Firstly, *Ibu Bumi* serves as a moral motivation for those involved in this movement to work together defending their homeland. Their deep-rooted understanding of their dependence on the North Kendeng Mountains, whose springs always irrigate the rice fields, raises awareness of any threats that come from cement mining. These threats will not only jeopardize their life, but also their very identity. For both Muslims and *Sedulur Sikep* community involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement, sacred historical sites and graves of their ancestors are important for their identity.

Historical sites are considered important for the religious and cultural identity of the Javanese people (Laksana, 2014). Those sites are made sacred by the community because of their function in connecting the sacred past and the future orientation of the community. Javanese people consider history not as a matter of fact from the past, but rather as a sacred point in the foundation of the community, as well as a memoir of the ancestors and founders. Thus, defending the North Kendeng Mountains not only means ensuring the local populace from human-made environmental calamities but also means preserving their very identity and facilitating intergenerational relationships. The destruction of the North Kendeng Mountains means the destruction of their ancestors' traces, as well as the loss of future orientation for their children and grandchildren.

Secondly, *Ibu Bumi*, as an ethical motivation to defend the North Kendeng Mountains, is not a theoretical concept, but rather a worldview that seeps into daily behaviour. It fosters a deep-seated understanding of the interdependency between humans and nature among the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement, as embodied in their actual practices. Those involved in the Kartini Kendeng move-

ment resist cement mining not just because it will jeopardize the North Kendeng Mountains, their homeland, but rather because of their awareness of the Earth as an organic whole whose parts are interrelated. This ecological awareness brings them to a perspective that human fate depends on how nature is treated. The current ecological crises facing human beings result from careless and exploitative behaviour.

Thirdly, grounded in the concept of Ibu Bumi, the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement and activists in the North Kendeng Mountains promote a non-violent movement through demonstrations, protests, negotiations, legal reviews, prayers, and offerings (such as Brokohan and Selamatan) at both personal and communal levels. They combine physical and spiritual efforts in their movement, with nonviolence serving as their guiding principle. Their demonstrations differ from similar demonstrations that criticize government policies, which are usually accompanied by riots, commotions, and violence. The activists always start demonstrations with prayers and food offerings. They then share the food with all demonstrators, police, security officers, and those present as a symbol of togetherness. They are not fighting for themselves, but rather for all the inhabitants of the North Kendeng Mountains and the surrounding community, because all are interdependent and interconnected.

A close relationship between human and nature from the perspective of eco-Islam has been explained in the previous chapter, especially between human and Earth that symbolically has been referred as a feminine entity, a mother, as stated in a Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani, which reads: "Please take care of the Earth for it is your mother!" (Al-Thabrani, 1983).

The concept of Ibu Bumi for Muslims is more than an ethical foundation that guides them in understanding the interdependent relationship between humans and nature for the sustainability of the Earth. The Earth is their mother, which deserves respect. The Hadith has an obligational modality with its consequence both in worldly life and in the hereafter. It confirms the statement of KK4 when she said in text 12:

All [human beings] have an obligation to preserve nature and to preserve the environment because nature is [bestowed upon humanity] as a Divine trust, a trust from the Almighty for us to care for. If we do not preserve it, Allah must be angry. We never know. Earthquakes or floods could occur as a form of anger from God Who makes life because we ignore and do not preserve nature that He left with His ummah (human beings).

IV.2.2. *Mizan*: The Ethics of Balance

The concept of balance in Islam is known as *Mizan*. *Mizan* insists that all God's creatures are interconnected and interdependent. It encourages humans to develop an awareness of respecting all creatures, including nature, signs of the Divine. Any harmful action taken against nature will have a negative impact on humans and lead to environmental imbalance. Since human activities are determined by belief and perspective, how humans perceive nature, the Earth, and the cosmos matters. From the perspective of ecofeminism, the rehabilitation of the balance of nature is one of the primary goals of any ecological and women's movement, encouraging humans to reside within the cycles of nature and to oppose exploitative behaviour (Merchant, 1989).

Mizan becomes a cornerstone of the Kartini Kendeng movement in two main domains: the interrelationship between all God's creatures and balanced role sharing between men and women.

The poem of *Ibu Bumi* and statements of the interviewees reveal their awareness of human-nature interdependence as necessary for the balance of the cosmos. The third part of the poem of *Ibu Bumi*, 'The Mother Earth will judge', for instance, describes the belief of the interviewees in the reaction of nature toward human activities and behaviours. They assume that the current natural depletion and recurring disasters are reactions of nature when they are often 'hurt' by human massive exploitation. Thus, for those involved in this movement, there is a strong connection between human behaviour and natural phenomena. If humans treat nature well, nature will also repay them with kindness; likewise, if human behaviours hurt nature, then nature will express its anger in the form of disasters.

Moreover, according to the interviewees, nature always gives signs and symbols of human-nature interdependence. KK1, for instance, stated in text 9:

Whatever humans do to take care of nature, it always reacts by giving signs. One of them was in late 2008 or early 2009 ... the spring in the Wareh cave had stopped, the water had dried up and the fish had disappeared for one hour.

Others may consider this incident an ordinary natural phenomenon, unrelated to cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains. However, KK1 believes it is a sign from nature and a symbol of human-nature interdependence, which supports the efforts of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement in defending their Mother Earth. KK1 also believes that nature is alive and reacts to human behaviour. Therefore, she asserts that it is acceptable to complain and invite nature to act in concert for the benefit of both humans and the natural world.

The belief that nature is alive and reacts to humans' activities does not only exist among the indigenous community. KK2, who is a Muslim woman, also believes that nature is alive. She said in text 11:

I believe that Allah knows everything. Allah does not sleep. If [I have] a good intention, I will be saved later on by nature ... after every prayer, I declare: "[Dear nature], all the people and I will not bother you. Rather, we want to save you. So, please understand and be nice!

Ecofeminism advocates for a comprehensive social system that is based on human-nature interdependence. It perceives humans as interdependent as well as ecologically dependent beings. Just as human beings need nature for their quality of life, nature also needs humans to care for it and appreciate its limitations and cycles (Herrero, 2013). For those who come from a *Sedulur Sikep* background, the awareness of interdependence has become a mindset due to their land-centred worldview. The *Sedulur Sikep* tradition of dripping water on the Earth before drinking is a form of living awareness of the interdependence between humans and nature. KK1 said in text 16:

Perhaps you have noticed [people of] Sedulur Sikep when they eat or drink, they first drop [the water on the Earth], 'plink'. What does that mean? To remember those who gave [lives], the elders. [Their] mothers were given first. Only then do I drink and eat.

The people of *Sedulur Sikep* realise that all the sustenance they receive cannot be separated from the Earth and their mothers, who have been feeding and nurturing them. Hence, they remember the Earth and their mothers for every sustenance they get. On this basis, they do whatever it takes to defend their Mother Earth since its existence and sustainability depend on what humans do. This is the living awareness of human-nature interdependence.

On the other hand, for the Muslims involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement, this movement opens their horizons and raises their awareness about the interdependence of humans and nature. Indeed, the concept of human-nature interdependence is not absent in Islamic teaching. It is explained in Chapter II that some Quranic verses explain that the creation of human beings relate to the Earth. Surah 20:55, for instance, reads: "Thereof (the Earth) We created you and into it, We shall return you, and from it, We shall bring you out once again". In addition, Islam perceives all God's creations as sentient beings which react to Humans actions.

However, this concept on human-nature interdependence is not widely popular among the Muslim community in the North Kendeng Mountains. The *Sedulur Sikep* community, involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement, helps Muslims recognize their own religious teachings. This awareness of interdependence shows that they position themselves as an integral part of the natural cycle.

The concept of *Ibu Bumi* illustrates how the members of Kartini Kendeng movement perceive the Earth as their mother, who always embraces them with love and feeds them through its springs and rivers. Never let them down with crops that consistently meet their needs, constantly pouring out its affection on humans, even though humans often repay it with destructive behaviour. Thus, those involved in this movement respect the Earth like they respect their mother. They are well aware that their survival depends on the Earth, which their parents have inherited in a habitable state. The story from KK1 regarding the tradition of the *Sedulur Sikep* community to drop water on the Earth before drinking describes both gratitude and awareness of the relationship with the Earth and their mothers.

As a form of gratitude, those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement recognize that humans are responsible for leaving a liveable Earth to their children and grandchildren. They put themselves in two positions at once, as children and mothers. As children, they realise that the welfare of life they have is inseparable from the kindness of both the Mother Earth and their mothers, who always give and pour out love on their children. Therefore, they will do anything to protect both the Earth and their mothers. As parents, they also make an effort to pass on their best assets in the form of a sustainable and liveable environment for their children, as their mothers have done. KK2, for instance, said in text 19:

Every time I depart [for 'tolak' action], [I pray]: O Allah, I intend to fight, to fight for this Earth to remain sustainable so that it can be passed on to my children and grandchildren.

The concept of *Ibu Bumi* in the Kartini Kendeng movement sparks an ongoing discourse on the cyclical nature of human life from birth to death. It supports humans who position themselves within the cycles of nature and oppose exploitative behaviour. On the other hand, as Fairclough said, discourse is always dialogical. The discourse on the cyclical relationship influences the Kartini Kendeng movement. By positioning themselves within the cycles of nature, human beings will be able to maintain good relationship with God (*habl ma'a Khāliqih*) or their fellow human beings (*habl ma'a ikhwānih*), without neglecting their good relationship with nature (*habl ma'a bi'atih/kawn*) (Febriani, 2017; Nurani, 2017).

The last domain to be discussed that relates to *Mizan*, the ethics of balance, is balanced role sharing between men and women in both the domestic and public arenas. The data in Chapter III explains that women's involvement in this movement cannot be separated from the support and invitation of men. This movement then brings about a gender shift within the local community in the North Kendeng Mountains. One notable gender shift is the increased balance in role sharing between men and women, both in household chores and in the public sphere.

Balanced role sharing between men and women among the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement is based on a shared goal and mutual understanding. They share a common goal, namely defending their homeland from destructive cement mining, which could jeopardize their lives. Describing this condition, MAK5, for instance, said in text 29: "Usually there is a mutual understanding [between us]. When [my wife] wants to go [somewhere] we have discussed it before".

Each household has a different way of determining the division of labour between household and movement activities. For my interviewees, gender is no longer the primary determinant of this division of labour. Some husbands negotiate to stay at home and support their wives' activities in the movement, which means they must be prepared to perform domestic tasks, such as cooking and caring for their livestock, sometimes for days, especially when their wives have to travel out of their villages for demonstrations. This kind of negotiation occurs in the KK2 household. MAK1 stated in text 27:

While KK2, for instance, her husband preferred to stay at home. When women stay at home, their duties are cooking, caring for children, taking care of rice fields, and caring for cows. Their burden at home will be heavier than taking part in the movement.

From the perspective of ecofeminism, balanced role sharing between men and women depicts the openness and recognition of female voices and experiences in decision-making. Warren (2000) posits that ecofeminism encourages a shift in attitudes from an attitude of arrogance to one of care. Although initially, it was the men who put the women in the forefront, their shared goal of defending Mother Earth from destructive cement mining has enabled both genders to collaboratively identify synergistic solutions that promote not only domestic tranquillity but also ecological sustainability. The gender shift also challenges the patriarchal structure, which has long been rooted in the local community of the North Kendeng Mountains. Women, as an integral part of this movement, have learned to play a role in the public sphere, and men have adapted to manage their household duties. From

the perspective of women, their involvement and agency in this movement represent a continuation of Kartini's struggle.

To sum up, the broader understanding of *Mizan* in the two domains: interrelationship between all God creatures and balanced role sharing between men and women, shows that the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement put *Mizan* as an ethical concept evaluating their behaviour towards all God's creatures which certainly effects environmental sustainability.

IV.3. The Kartini Kendeng Movement and Indigenous Religion

As mentioned in chapters I and II, the Kartini Kendeng movement is not without opposition from within both the *Sedulur Sikep* and the Muslim community. In other words, neither the *Sedulur Sikep* nor the Muslim community is united in addressing cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains. The majority of *Sedulur Sikep* community claimed that the reputation of the *Sedulur Sikep* is adversely impacted by this movement (Maliki, 2019). The population of the *Sedulur Sikep* community involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement is relatively limited. However, the reputation of this movement has consistently been associated with the *Sedulur Sikep* community among environmentalists, journalists, scholars, and researchers (Maliki, 2019). Similarly, within the Muslim community there exists a dichotomy of opinions characterized by two distinct groups: the 'pro' group, which affirms the government's decision to grant a permit allowing for cement plant to conduct mining activities in the region, and the 'tolak' group, which opposes such activities and is actively involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

Despite the polarization, togetherness and involvement in the Kartini Kendeng movement encourage all parties to negotiate and adapt harmoniously to one another. The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* as a form of *singiran*, and gamelan as a medium for environmental *dakwah*, along with scarf that covers for the *aurat*, are forms of negotiation that both parties, the *Sedulur Sikep* community and Muslims, have carried out. This section will address the three types of negotiation.

IV.3.1. The Prayer Poem of *Ibu Bumi* as a Kind of *Singiran*.

The tradition of reciting a Javanese or Arabic poem before performing daily prayers is popular among Javanese Muslim society. This tradition is known as *singiran*. It is explained in Chapter II that *singiran* refers to the act of reciting poems in either Arabic or Javanese that include praises to Allah, the history of the Prophet, or advice

for humanity. Typically, *singiran* is performed immediately following the *azan*, while the congregation or *jamaah* awaits the commencement of prayer by the Imam (Islam, 2018, p. 498). The Javanese Muslims, including those residing in Kendeng, are accustomed to reciting *singiran* in either Javanese or Arabic. As an oral tradition, *singiran* generally emphasises content that encompasses advice. The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*, which combines Javanese prayers and the *Shahadah*, becomes a *singiran* that is chanted in the *langgar* Yu Patmi. The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* is a form of negotiation between the two traditions, *Sedulur Sikep* and Muslims.

For those who come from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, the addition of *Shahadah* into the poem of *Ibu Bumi* is the most crucial thing they have to negotiate. This is because, according to the mental map of the community, in general, anyone who recites *Shahadah* is considered to be a Muslim because the content of *Shahadah* is an acknowledgement of the oneness of Allah, with Muhammad being the messenger of Allah. Some people of *Sedulur Sikep* who reject the movement have raised objections to MAK1; however, MAK1 perceives this addition as a form of respect toward the Muslim majority. It will not change any of his beliefs and status as part of *Sedulur Sikep* who adhere to *Agama Adam*. To prove that he was doing it only out of respect for Muslims, he challenged the objection by taking legal action. This is what he said in text 6 to answer the objection:

If you think [adding the Shahadah to the poem of Ibu Bumi] is wrong, you can take legal action to complain ... The majority of the brothers and sisters [in this movement are] Muslims and they believe this poem to be a prayer. Then why don't we do that? ... For me, regardless of whether anyone judges that [my status as part of Sedulur Sikep] can fade or not, please prove it! Whether my status fades or not, please prove it!

As mentioned in Chapter II, *Shahadah* is one of the three tiers of Tawhid. It means that anyone is considered a Muslim when they carry out the three tiers as a whole, i.e., acknowledging the oneness of Allah, articulating this belief through *Shahadah*, and implementing the teachings of Tawhid in their daily activities. Thus, in an Islamic perspective, just saying the *Shahadah* as done by the *Sedulur Sikep* community without being accompanied by a belief in the oneness of God does not necessarily make the individual a Muslim. Those who come from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition read the *Shahadah* while chanting the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* as a sign of respect to their Muslim brothers. The objection raised by some people of *Sedulur Sikep*, as recounted by MAK1, can be refuted by the above explanation. Moreover,

MAK1 also assured that his status as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* community would remain unchanged.

The objection to the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* also comes from within the Muslim community. One objection comes from the village religious functionary as described by MAK6 in text 7:

Once upon a time, KK5 recited this prayer, which was commented on by the village religious functionary. However, I did not hear his comment directly. If I heard it directly, I would definitely argue ... Gus Nuril also reads the prayer. It is good because the message is to protect the Earth. We all stand on the Earth; we also look for food from the Earth ... So, [reciting this prayer] is okay. If someone commented on it, it must be because they did not know the meaning and purpose of the prayer.

The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* contains advice for humanity to respect the Mother Earth, which in no way contradicts Islamic teachings. The objection raised by the village religious functionary may have been because the prayer poem read by KK5 was considered part of the teachings of the *Sedulur Sikep* community.

It is explained in Chapter II that *singiran* is a kind of indigenization of Islamic teaching. According to Baso (2002), indigenization refers to a creative process of negotiation and adaptation between Islamic teachings and local traditions, without transgressing religious norms. Both *Sedulur Sikep*'s tradition and Islamic prayer adapt and negotiate with each other in the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*, without violating the beliefs of either group. Therefore, the prayer of *Ibu Bumi* falls into the category of *singiran*, which should be accepted by the Javanese Muslim community in Kendeng.

IV.3.2. Gamelan as a Medium for Environmental *Dakwah*.

The musical instrument, gamelan, has played a significant role within the cultural context of Javanese society. The musical compositions performed on the gamelan serve to enhance and accentuate the harmonious arrangement of the universe. Different Javanese groups adapt the gamelan to serve various functions. Javanese Muslim society is among those who adopt the gamelan. *Wali Songo* first adapted the gamelan in Javanese Islam during their *dakwah* activities. One of the factors contributing to the success of the *Wali Songo* in their *dakwah* was their astute understanding of how to subtly introduce Islamic concepts into the pre-existing socio-political framework of the Hindu-Javanese tradition (Spiller, 2004, pp. 57-58). This kind of adaptation enhances the coexistence of two cultures and traditions. Burhanuddin (2015) considers this kind of adaptation as acculturation. However,

from the perspective of Baso (2002), this adaptation represents a form of indigenization of Islam, through which both traditions coexist harmoniously without transgressing Islamic norms.

Based on the information provided by the interviewees, the primary goal of equipping *langgar* Yu Patmi with a gamelan is to bring together both the 'pro' and 'tolak' groups. This goal was achieved as stated by MAK3 in text 42:

Initially, the ones who played gamelan were brothers and sisters [from JMPPK, the 'tolak' group], but then the 'pro' people started to approach because their hobby or interest was playing gamelan.

As a community with a background in Javanese tradition, both the 'pro' and 'tolak' groups are attracted to gamelan. Gamelan performances enliven certain events in Javanese society, such as *Merti Desa* (village thanksgiving ceremonies), marriage receptions, the election of village heads, and other occasions. Thus, gamelan in the *langgar* was utilized as a means to attract the 'pro' group to come. In addition to breaking the ice between both groups, the arrival of the 'pro' group was also expected to open up opportunities for dialogue related to cement mining and environmental awareness. The dispute between the opposing groups arose due to differences in perspective regarding cement mining; therefore, the most effective way to reconcile these two perspectives is through open and constructive dialogue. The statement of KK6 in text 41 describes the goal of equipping the *langgar* with gamelan is "to gather the 'tolak' people.

Although the Javanese community is familiar with gamelan, the placement of gamelan in the *langgar* has caused issues. This is because the *langgar* is considered a holy place where Muslims perform their daily prayers, while gamelan is a musical instrument synonymous with entertainment. The merging of the two in one *langgar* is considered somewhat strange and unprecedented. Therefore, negative voices criticized this phenomenon. MAK3 describes these negative voices in text 42:

Indeed, building a prayer room, which has a meeting room, provokes a lot of voices. [Some people say:] "Why was the Gong placed there?" ... There have been a lot of negative thoughts.

In response to these negative voices, MAK3 alludes to the historical significance of *Sunan Kalijaga*, a well-known figure among the *Wali Songo*, who employed gamelan and *wayang* in his *dakwah* endeavours to captivate the attention of the Javanese community, the target audience of his *dakwah* during that era. Therefore, the

gamelan, as a musical instrument, possesses the capacity to fulfil a *dakwah* function, as demonstrated by *Sunan Kalijaga*. Within the context of the Kendeng community, predominantly comprising Javanese Muslims, gamelan is no longer employed as a means to induce conversion to Islam. Instead, the focus lies in transmitting *dakwah* content through gamelan music, with a specific emphasis on environmental awareness. This is the concept that MAK3 has denoted as ‘environmental *dakwah*’ as he stated in text 42:

We were aware that people talked about it randomly [because they] did not understand and only observed from afar. In fact, if we looked back [at the history of Islam in Indonesia, we found that] Sunan Kalijaga did his dakwah using wayang [and] gamelan. The purpose of the gamelan here was also for environmental dakwah. That was the only objective.

The utilization of gamelan equipment in *langgar* for environmental *dakwah* represents a form of indigenization of Islam, where both Javanese tradition and eco-Islamic principles intersect and adapt to each other without transgressing any of the religious norms.

IV.3.3. *Selendang* Covers the *Aurat*

Another kind of negotiation involves women with an Islamic background. It is explained in Chapter III that KK2 referenced the concept of *aurat* when she described her decision to wear traditional female Javanese outfits, consisting of a *Jarik*, *selendang*, and *kebaya*. Long before the Kartini Kendeng movement emerged, KK2 was used to wearing a hijab to cover her *aurat*. This can be seen from several photos displayed in her house, including one taken with President Joko Widodo during an audience after the foot cement demonstration in front of the presidential palace in Jakarta. However, recently, she no longer uses a hijab to cover her head and replaces it with a *selendang*, leaving part of her head and neck uncovered. From the perspective of *Fiqh*, there is no single voice in determining what the *aurat* should cover.

Within the context of the interviewees in the present research, including KK2, wearing a *selendang* during demonstration and daily activities in their paddy fields is a kind of covering their *aurat*. Their decision to use a *selendang* is also based on practical considerations. This is because *selendang* has many functions. Apart from being used to cover their heads, some farmers carry their belongings using a *selendang* and tie them to their backs.

However, the general tradition among rural communities in Indonesia is that the hijab is worn during specific religious occasions, such as Eid al-Fitr, when making pilgrimages to the graves of saints, and when picnicking with family or neighbours. Wearing a hijab and long dresses is often associated with a joyful atmosphere and religious celebrations. Therefore, the explanation of KK2 in text 37 provides insight into why the female Muslim peasants involved in this movement do not wear hijabs and long dresses to demonstrate their affiliation with the movement. She said:

The demonstration depicted [our] difficult situation. If we wore a hijab and long dress during our demonstration, there would be no differences between the [outfits for demonstrations and for] a stroll or picnic.

Moreover, wearing hijab and a long dress for female Muslims is inseparable from the identity politics advocated by some Muslims who promote the Arabization movement by duplicating Arabic tradition as part of Muslims' religiosity. This widespread Arabization then sparked the idea of the indigenization of Islam (Wahid, 2015). From the standpoint of the indigenization of Islam, wearing kebaya, *jarik*, and *selendang* for female Muslims does not transgress any of the tenets of Islam. This is because the primary criterion for the attire of Muslim women is that it must be loose-fitting and non-revealing, thereby obscuring the contours of their physique. Furthermore, there are no specific prescriptions pertaining to the various designs and styles. As long as the garment conceals women's body and does not expose its contours, any manner of attire may be adopted. Be it a blouse, long-sleeved t-shirt, long dress, skirt, trousers, or so forth. Their choice to wear a *jarik*, kebaya, and *selendang* is a form of pride that shows their identity as Javanese Muslim women.

Conclusion

There exist three salient observations about the nexus between the literature review and the empirical fieldwork conducted within the Kartini Kendeng movement. First, Western theoretical frameworks of ecofeminism, especially the 'care sensitive ethics' developed by Warren (2000) contributes to an epistemological understanding of the empirical ecological ethics that emerge from the Kartini Kendeng movement. Nonetheless, there are unique empirical ecological ethics that arise specifically from the Kartini Kendeng movement, thereby rendering them authentic. The notion of *Ibu Bumi* is not merely a concept. It is an ethical basis, a moral motivation for those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement to defend

their homeland. This phenomenon considerably enhances the construction of knowledge concerning ecofeminist ethics. Second, research related to eco-Islam remains predominantly situated at the theoretical level. The idealized representation of Islamic ethics concerning ecological issues, as derived from the exegesis of the Quran and Hadith, has not been extensively examined in conjunction with the empirical realities confronting Muslim societies, particularly those involving gender-related issues. Third, in terms of Indonesian Islam, a persistent polarization exists concerning the utilization of ecofeminist frameworks. Some scholars adopt an accommodating position, whereas others manifest a fervent resistance.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Discussion

Introduction

The deteriorating state of the natural world has given rise to various environmental movements. Within the context of Indonesia, the Kartini Kendeng movement stands out as one that prominently features women as key actors. Warren (2000, 46-47) introduces the notion of an 'oppressive conceptual framework' that posits a strong connection between the subjugation of women and the state of the environment, thereby establishing a feminist dimension to environmental issues. Women's involvement in environmental movements is imperative as it provides them with the opportunity to be fully engaged in the decision-making processes that have a significant impact on their lives. Furthermore, the Kartini Kendeng movement bridges two religious traditions, Islam and *Agama Adam of Sedulur Sikep*, by encouraging negotiation and the discovery of a middle ground that accommodates both beliefs for the mutual objective of preserving the Earth.

The Kartini Kendeng movement comes from multiple groups and draws on different voices. There exist three intertwined voices within the Kartini Kendeng movement: the voice of Mother Earth, women, and religion. These components engage in dialogue, negotiation, and adjustment with each other. They are united in the struggle against cement mining, and they do so with various members' resources. Nevertheless, the literature review presented in Chapter II reveals that these three components are frequently approached individually or incompletely, including ecofeminism and eco-Islam. Within the context of Islam in Indonesia, besides the refusal to recognize indigenous religion, there is a firm rejection of and resistance to feminism, which is deemed incompatible with Islamic values, thereby supporting the segregation of ecofeminism and eco-Islam from each other.

This chapter presents the key findings of the research concerning its objectives and research questions. It will also discuss the contributions thereof, review the limitations, and suggest recommendations for future studies. The main question of the present research, as stated in Chapter I, is as follows: What is the contribu-

tion of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam? By analysing the Kartini Kendeng movement as a case study, the present research demonstrates the contributive dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam. To answer that central question, I examine three sub-questions: (1) how do the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement perceive the relationship between God, human, and nature?, (2) what are the empirical ecological ethics emerging in this movement that correspond to eco-Islam and ecofeminism?, and (3) how does the Kartini Kendeng movement shape the social identity of both the Muslim and *Sedulur Sikep* community within this movement?

The first part of this chapter addresses the three sub-questions, presents the research results, and draws conclusions. The second part will answer the main question and discuss the theoretical contribution of the present research. The final part addresses the limitations of the research and provides recommendations for future studies.

V.1. Answers to the Sub-questions

In this first part, I will answer the three sub-questions based on the data gained from my interviewees using both ecofeminist and eco-Islamic perspectives.

V.1.1. God, Human, and Nature Relationship

What I observed in the Kartini Kendeng movement revealed how the concept of *Ibu Bumi*, introduced by the *Sedulur Sikep* community, influences the perspectives of the Muslim community in the North Kendeng Mountains on the relationship between God, humans, and nature. This highlights the significant role of the *Sedulur Sikep* in shaping individual perspectives and beliefs. The *Sedulur Sikep* community is a minority within minority in both numbers and perspective. However, their concept of *Ibu Bumi* has the ability to influence the majority of the Muslim community. The concept of *Ibu Bumi* becomes a shared ideology between the Muslim and *Sedulur Sikep* communities. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 87), ideology refers to the ideas that contribute to the production, reproduction, or transformation of relations or dominations embedded in discursive practices. The efficacy of ideology is potent when it becomes naturalized and is regarded as ‘common sense’. The use of the concept of *Ibu Bumi* as an Ideology continues to struggle and reproduce new discourse among the Muslim community. This is what Fairclough considered the hegemonic struggle. He stated:

Further, discursive practice, the production, distribution, and consumption (including interpretation) of texts, is a facet of hegemonic struggle which contributes in varying degrees to the reproduction or transformation not only of the existing order of discourse (for example, through the ways prior texts and conventions are articulated in text production), but also through that of existing social and power relation (1992, p. 93).

The land-centred worldview of *Sedulur Sikep* embodied in the concept of *Ibu Bumi* inspires their way of life, which is of particular interest to people outside the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition. The testimonies from Muslim interviewees demonstrate that the *Sedulur Sikep* community serves as a source of inspiration for them in terms of their attitude towards nature and how humans should position themselves in the relationship between God, humans, and the natural world.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Muslim community in Kendeng is divided into two groups: the ‘pro’ group, which supports the construction of the cement plant, and the ‘tolak’ group, which opposes it. The members of the ‘pro’ group consider themselves to be modern and ‘more Islamic’ than the members of the ‘tolak’ group who accommodate local culture and tradition, thereby sharing some similar Javanese traditions with the *Sedulur Sikep* community. For example, pilgrimage to the graves of ancestors and pious figures is popular among the *Sedulur Sikep* community and the traditional Muslim community in the area.¹²⁵

For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, pilgrimage to the grave of their ancestors or other historical figures is a kind of direct communication. They believe that the souls of their ancestors are alive and have the ability to aid human beings. Similarly, for traditional Muslims, pilgrimage to the shrines and graves of saints and pious figures for intermediary prayers is permissible, taking into account the nature and legitimacy of this tradition and its local characteristics. They believe that those pious figures are still alive, as it is recorded in the Quran 3:169 that reads: “Think not of those who are slain in God’s way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord”. Quran Surah 2:154 also has a similar message.

125 Categorizing traditional and modern Muslim within the context of Indonesia is debatable as it is constantly changing and evolving. However, I use this kind of categorization as the simplest way to distinguish between the two groups of Muslims in the North Kendeng Mountains. I cannot claim their association with the two biggest Muslim organizations in Indonesia, NU and Muhammadiyah, although there are some similarities and resemblances between them. “Traditional Muslim” in the present research means those who accommodate local cultures and traditions as long as they do not contradict Islamic teachings while “modern Muslim” are those who seek to purify Islam from what is considered to be innovation, superstition and/or deviation. See Fuad (2018) regarding modernity and purification within Muhammadiyah.

It reads: “And say not of those who are slain in the way of God: “They are dead”. Nay, they are living, though ye perceive (them) not”. Explaining the meaning of these two verses, Kathir (2000, p. 227) referred to two Hadiths. The first one is narrated by Muslim.¹²⁶ It reads: “Verily the souls of the martyrs are in the cache of the green bird. Lanterns are hanging on the ‘*Arsh* for them. They are free to enjoy Paradise as they wish...”. The second Hadith was narrated by Ahmad. It reads: “The souls of believers are like birds flying in heaven until Allah returns them to their bodies on the Day of Resurrection.” According to Kathir, these two Hadiths describe the condition of the spirits of all the believers. However, the condition of the martyrs receives special mention.

The grave of Nyi Ageng Ngerang is one of the most popular pilgrimage sites in the North Kendeng Mountains. Traditional Muslim communities on the north coast of Java, including Kudus, Pati, and Rembang, consider Nyi Ageng Ngerang a female saint. For them, the soul of Nyi Ageng Ngerang is alive. Therefore, they do the pilgrimage to her grave to make her an intermediary in their prayers to Allah. For traditional Muslims, the practice of intermediation in prayers is permissible and does not contravene any Islamic norms. Intermediation does not mean that they see the intermediary as the partner of Allah. Instead, this intermediation is carried out as a gesture of reference towards the saints. From the perspective of Islamic mysticism, figures that Allah adores reside in the celestial abode. Although their physical bodies have perished and been interred in the Earth, their spiritual essence continues to thrive and exist.

It is observed in the present research that both the *Sedulur Sikep* and traditional Muslim community visit the grave of Nyi Ageng Ngerang prior to their demonstrations together. During this pilgrimage, both leaders of *Sedulur Sikep* and the traditional Muslim community led the prayers, respectively. The *Sedulur Sikep* community accepts the prayers of the traditional Muslim community and vice versa.

The selection of the grave of Nyi Ageng Ngerang by both traditional Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community is not arbitrary. Although there are numerous sacred tombs in the North Kendeng area, the tomb of Nyi Ageng Ngerang was chosen due to its close association with the feminine spirit prevalent in the Kartini Kendeng movement. The caretaker of the tomb recounted that Nyi Ageng Ngerang was once recognized as a protector of the vulnerable. This sense of protector closely relates to

126 His complete name is Abu al-Husayn ‘Asakir al-Din Muslim Ibn al-Hajjaj Ibn Muslim Ibn Ward al-Qushayri an-Naysaburi (815-875 CE). Muslim is recognized as a *muhaddith*, a knowledgeable scholar of Hadith, credited with compiling a collection of Hadith known as *Sahih Muslim*. This particular compilation is widely regarded as one of the two most reliable collections of Hadith, alongside *Sahih Bukhari*.

the Kartini Kendeng movement, which symbolizes the struggle of vulnerable people who must confront corporations and capital to defend their Mother Earth.

The other example of a similar tradition between the *Sedulur Sikep* community and traditional Muslims in the area is the tradition of *singiran*. This tradition is similar to the *nembang* tradition among the *Sedulur Sikep* community. As revealed in Chapter II, *singiran* is chanting a Javanese poem that contains religious advice, norms, teachings, and the history of the Prophet's life, or reciting *salawat* after *azan*¹²⁷ while waiting for the Imam to start the five daily prayers. *Nembang* is a Javanese word that means to sing or recite poetry, especially in traditional forms such as *macapat*. *Macapat* is a Javanese traditional song that describes the human lifecycle, commencing from the moment of people's inception within their maternal uterine environment and extending until their death. Each moment has a specific kind of *macapat*.¹²⁸

These shared traditions, pilgrimage and *singiran* or *macapat*, make the concept of *Ibu Bumi* introduced by the *Sedulur Sikep* community readily accepted by the traditional Muslim community in the North Kendeng Mountains. The acceptance of the concept of *Ibu Bumi* by traditional Muslims is what Fairclough calls a 'discursive change', which closely relates to social and cultural changes. According to him, discursive changes depend on 'problematization of conventions', which eventually requires people to adapt and contribute to discursive change (1992, 96). In this case, the concept of *Ibu Bumi* is a 'problem'- an unknown concept within the Muslim community. On the other hand, the *Shahadah* is also a 'problem' for the *Sedulur Sikep* community. These problems encourage the two groups, men and women, to negotiate and adjust with each other in order to achieve the same goal of defending their Mother Earth from destructive cement mining. There are various voices within the Kartini Kendeng movement: the voice of the Mother Earth, women, and religion.

127 Azan is a call for prayer recited in a mosque before the start of each prayer.

128 According to Javanese tradition, human beings will experience eleven cycles in their lives. All of these cycles are depicted in different *macapat*, namely: (1) *Maskumambang*, symbolizes the stage of a developing embryo in the womb where its gender is yet to be determined. This stage is usually celebrated with joyous news of pregnancy; (2) *Mijil*, refers to the moment when the baby is delivered into the world and its gender is revealed; (3) *Kinanthi*, denotes the stage of life when the baby is led to learn and develop the necessary skills to navigate the world; (4) *Sinom*, represents the teenage years; (5) *Asmaradana*, depicts the idea that individuals possess affection for others; (6) *Gambuh*, originates from the word '*nyambung*' which means to connect. It signifies the next step of human life, the matchmaking process between two individuals in marital relationship; (7) *Dandanggula*, characterizes an individual's successful life after marriage; (8) *Durma*, refers to human maturity in religious and humanitarian values; (9) *Pangkur* refers to the act of abandoning all forms of negative emotions; (10) *Megatruh* denotes the departure of the soul from the physical body when the soul confronts the divine; (11) *Pucung*, depicts that human body will be wrapped in white cloth when buried (Budiman, 2012).

The impact of the notion of *Ibu Bumi* on Muslims and the notion of *Shahadah* on the *Sedulur Sikep* community is expressed through various perspectives, discourse changes, and identity negotiations contingent upon the individual's comprehension, acceptance, and application of this concept alongside other internal factors inherent to each individual.

First Perspective

Based on our data, three perspectives have developed among my interviewees. The first one entails the belief in the interdependency of God, humans, and nature. The three are interrelated as a unity that should work together for the sustainability of the cosmos. This perspective is popular among the *Sedulur Sikep* community. Referring to the discursive change above, the social environment among the *Sedulur Sikep* community has a significant impact on the cultivation and development process of this perspective. Children in the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition are brought close to the Earth from a young age. This is because they do not send their children to formal schools for education and prefer homeschooling instead.¹²⁹ They learn to grow crops and cultivate the land at an early age. The real learning process for the *Sedulur Sikep* community takes place in their paddy fields. Their paddy fields serve as their schools and teachers, with hoes as their pens (Supratikno & Adi, 2021). This choice relates to their background as peasant families with a future orientation to be peasants. Therefore, what they teach and pass on to their children are farming skills.

The Sedulur Sikep community is an example of how agricultural communities continue to struggle against exploitative industrial activities. This lengthy process of struggle and life practice has resulted in a close relationship between the *Sedulur Sikep* community and the Earth, both physically and spiritually. The concept of *Ibu Bumi* emerged from this proximity. Since farming is their only source of livelihood, they truly depend on and trust the Earth as much as they depend on and trust their biological mother. They position themselves as children who depend on their

129 Their preference to not send their children to school is inseparable from the history of Samin Surosentiko, the first and main figure of Saminism. It is mentioned in Chapter I that *Sedulur Sikep* community refers to a group of Javanese people who admit to following the teachings of Samin Surosentiko who was considered as defender of peasant groups. He dared to oppose the policies of Dutch colonial rule, which eventually caused him to be suspended and exiled for the rest of his life. He refused to pay taxes and send children to formal schools. This rejection of formal education continues to this day. KK1, the leading female figure in the *Sedulur Sikep* community, spares her time to teach the children of the *Sedulur Sikep* community to read and write amidst her busy schedule between working on the rice fields and the Kartini Kendeng movement. She gathers those children in her house regularly and teaches them reading, writing, counting, Javanese tradition and arts (Supratikno & Adi, 2021).

Mother Earth for their lives. For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, the Earth is alive, and each of its parts symbolizes its motherhood. The North Kendeng Mountains are equivalent to their mothers' breasts, and their springs are a source of life from which all living things feed. The rivers are lifeblood, and the bowels of the Earth are the womb, the origin and return place of all life.

The people of *Sedulur Sikep* always connect their daily activities with the Earth, their mother, from the moment they wake up until they return to rest at night. Their prayers consistently contain themes of closeness to and intimacy with the Earth. Whether it be before consuming food or drink or prior to embarking for the rice fields, they always begin their activities with supplications to *Ibu Bumi*. "Remembering the Earth while sleeping, awake, or stepping on the Earth becomes an utterance", this is what MAK1 said. The people of *Sedulur Sikep* also mark every phase of their lives with the ritual of *Brokohan*¹³⁰, which involves preparing the land for farming, planting seeds, harvesting, and giving the soil rest, among other activities. Likewise, when they carry out demonstrations against cement mining, they also always start with a *Brokohan*. One of the prayers recited during *Brokohan* is a prayer to ask for blessings from the spirits of their ancestors who reside in the North Kendeng Mountains. According to Sudarmi (2018) religious teachings of Samin Surosentiko embody the syncretism between Hinduism and Buddhism, which are closely linked to animism and dynamism. This influence is reflected in the belief of *Sedulur Sikep* community that the spirits of their ancestors are alive and have the power to support them. This is what KK1 said when she visited the site of Dewi Kunti. She said:

As a human being, I would do something [to defend] as best as I could. Those who dwell in Kendeng whatever their names and appearances should also do [something to defend] as best as they could. Thus, the relationship between the three is inseparable. Then, human beings also have to take care of nature. Thus, nature, human beings, and the Almighty must unite.

When KK1 said that "[God, humans, and nature] are a unity" or the three "must unite", sometimes she refers to humans, nature, and the Almighty, and sometimes she refers to humans, nature, and 'spiritual beings' who dwell in the North Kendeng Mountains. The linguistic analysis reveals the ambiguity of the statement by KK1, which can be interpreted as either an affirmative statement, stating that the three

¹³⁰ Another name of *Selamatan*. *Brokohan* is more popular than *Selamatan* in Kendeng. Please refer to Chapter II for further explanation on *Selamatan*.

are “a unity”, or a normative statement, asserting that the three “must unite”. Nevertheless, for KK1, unity is the key concept in the relation between God, humans, and nature.

Referring to the statements of my interviewees who identify themselves as part of the Javanese community, it is essential to examine the traditions of the Javanese community. As posited by Geertz (1960), the rituals of *Selamatan* or *Brokohan*, alongside the conviction in spirits or dynamism, constitute significant components of the Javanese belief system. Geertz (1960) also described the Javanese belief system as recognizing human communication with spirits, such as *dukun* or shamans, whose job is to cure illness caused by spirits. They can communicate with spirits and ask them not to disturb humans. This is similar to the explanation of KK1 when she communicates with the spirits who dwell in the North Kendeng Mountains and asks them to collaborate with human beings to protect the North Kendeng Mountains from hazardous cement mining.

Second Perspective

The second perspective is that of humans as stewards of God, who have a responsibility to maintain the sustainability of the cosmos. This perspective is widely held among traditional Muslim interviewees. Although they accept the concept of *Ibu Bumi* and consider the Earth as their mother who breastfeeds them and gives life to them, similar to the beliefs held by the *Sedulur Sikep* community, this does not alter their mindset that God commands humans as His stewards on Earth. Human stewardship is a concept familiar to Abrahamic religions, including Islam. This concept gives rise to anthropocentrism, which prioritizes human beings over other creatures and emphasizes a dualism between humans and nature. This is what White (1967) criticized. According to White, the root of our ecological crisis lies in the dualism introduced by the Christian tradition. He said:

Christianity, in absolute contrast to ancient paganism and Asia's religions (except, perhaps, Zoroastrianism), not only established dualism of man and nature but also insisted that it is God's will that man exploit nature for his proper ends.

Islam also recognizes the concept of stewardship. The Quran explicitly recounts the dialogue between God and the angels before the creation of Adam, as described in Chapter II. Men and women as children of Adam inherit this stewardship and have a duty to maintain the sustainability of the cosmos in accordance with the will and law of The Creator. However, many of them violate this trust through the massive exploitation of natural resources, causing harm to the environment. The Quran

Surah 30:41 reads: “Mischief has appeared on land and sea because of (the meed) that the hands of men have earned...”. One of the primary causes of this mischief may be a misunderstanding of the concept of stewardship.

The environmental crisis is not a problem of one particular religion, race, ethnicity, or skin colour. It is a global problem that must be addressed collectively through a comprehensive global solution. The voices of Muslim scholars were far from being heard due to economic and political factors, yet that does not mean they were absent. Nasr, the father of Islamic ecology, inspired many Muslim scholars and activists to voice their ideas on Islamic-based ecological ideas, whether in the form of books, articles, or movements. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, a significant turning point emerged in the study of Islam and the environment. This is evidenced by the written works of scholars and observers of Islamic ecology. *The Touch of Midas: Science, Values, and Environment in Islam and the West*, a book edited by Sardar in 1984, and *Islam and the Environment*, edited by Haleem in 1998, are among scholarly works of Western origin to mention. In 2001, books were published by Muslim scholars from Arab countries such as *Ru’ayatu al-Din al-Islamy fi al-hifadz ‘ala al-Biah* by Shahatah (2001), *Ri’ayatu al-Biah fi Shari’ati al-Islam* by Qaradawi (2001), and *al-Biah wa al-Hifadz ‘alaiha min Mandzur Islamy* by Gomaah (2009). Additionally, the Islamic world witnessed the launch of a book compiling the ideas and thoughts of those who have concerns about Islam and ecology, entitled *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust* (2003), edited by Foltz et al.

The aforementioned literary works offer an ecological framework for reinterpreting Islamic canonical texts, specifically the Quran and Hadith. Those works offer a new perspective of stewardship that emphasizes the equality between humans and nature. Stewardship means responsibility and trust, not superiority and mastery over nature. This new interpretation of stewardship derives its foundation from the fundamental Islamic doctrine, particularly Tawhid, the belief in the oneness of Allah, which regards all beings as equal and dismisses any form of dualism. Thus, positioning humans over other beings should be reviewed and criticized since it contradicts the meaning of Tawhid.¹³¹

This kind of understanding, which put humans and other creatures equally, is visible in the statement of KK3 in text 12: “In my opinion, [animals and plants] do not differ from us. All are similar. The difference is that they are animals and

131 Stewardship was understood as superior position of humans over other beings. Furthermore, the concept of Tawhid is commonly perceived as the partial manifestation of attributing divinity solely to Allah. This traditional perspective overlooks the comprehensive essence of Tawhid, encompassing not only the interaction between humans and Allah but also the interactions among humans and other creations of Allah.

plants while we are humans. That's all". For her, being a steward of God does not alter the equality of all God's creatures, because positioning humans above nature contradicts the concept of Tawhid. All God's creations engage in praise of him as a form of acknowledgement of his oneness or Tawhid. They are alive like human beings. Therefore, any human action that results in harm is equivalent to disrupting this chain of Tawhid in addition to the systemic effects that will inevitably affect humans.

From the perspective of eco-Islam, being stewards of God means that human beings have a responsibility to reflect the Divine in their deeds. This is because human beings are created to become *al-Insan al-Kamil*, the Universal Man, who possesses a comprehensive understanding of God and the ability to fulfil their roles as signs of God in the cosmos. God has endowed human beings with intelligence as the primary tool to achieve the status of *al-Insan al-Kamil*. This enables them to carry out the responsibility as His stewards, administering to all creatures in accordance with God's will and guidance. Hence, the concept of being stewards of God entails the obligation of preserving the sustainability of the cosmos, as it is the will of God. Carrying out this obligation also means perpetuating Tawhid, as both the cosmos and human beings manifest the signs of God. This can be found in some interviewee statements. MAK7, for instance, stated in text 4: "... Earth is a manifestation of God's love, manifestation of God's compassion which we must really take care of".

Third Perspective

The third perspective puts nature in a higher position than human beings. This perspective is dominant among Muslims who convert to *Agama Adam* or are very much influenced by *Sedulur Sikep* traditions.¹³² Analysing this perspective, we can refer to the theory of discursive change and its various forms. Fairclough (1992, p. 96) stated: "Change involves forms of transgression, crossing boundaries, such as putting together existing conventions in new combinations, or drawing upon conventions in situations which usually preclude them".

For MAK4, who converted from Islam to *Agama Adam*, positioning human beings as stewards and above nature is problematic. He was a *santri*¹³³ who had considerable knowledge about Islam. He knows, like other *santri*, that the destruc-

132 Although they are small in number, they have a different perspective.

133 Although Geertz thesis on Javanese people trilogy, *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyayi* is debatable, I use the term *santri* to refer to Muslim who experience religious education in *pesantren*. MAK4 was an alumnus of a *pesantren* in Rembang where the cement plant stands and evokes people rejections.

tive behaviour of human beings is explained in Quran Surah 30:41. Hence, positioning God, humans, and nature as interdependent, as the belief of the *Sedulur Sikep* community is also problematic, because his background as a Muslim rejects this perspective. He said:

In my opinion, nature does not need humans, but humans need nature. So, no matter what [the situation] is, we must make an effort to preserve nature so it will not be damaged quickly.

This statement shows the hegemonic struggle MAK4 went through to come up with a new perspective on the relationship between humans and nature. Coming from an Islamic background, his perspective on the existence of God is inevitable. However, when he converted to *Agama Adam* of *Sedulur Sikep*, he realized the difference between Islam and *Agama Adam*. Therefore, he did not mention God when asked about the relationship between God, humans, and nature. In addition, his background as a Muslim influences his perspective on the 'old' concept of anthropocentric stewardship that put humans as a centre of the cosmos, while *Sedulur Sikep* believes in the unity of God, human, and nature. To deal with this hegemonic struggle of discourse, MAK4 switch the position of human beings and put nature above human beings. For MAK4, it is imperative for human beings, both men and women, to conserve nature because of humans' dependence and reliance on nature for their sustenance.

KK2 also experiences the same dilemma. She is a female Muslim who has been profoundly influenced by the thought and way of living of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, leading to a transformation in her attire. She has opted to abandon the hijab, which conceals her head and hair, and has instead adopted the practice of the female *Sedulur Sikep*, wearing a shawl or *selendang* draped over her shoulder. She shares with MAK4 a hegemonic struggle of discourses, which leads to a transformation of her perspective regarding the relationship between God, humans, and nature. She puts the three in a hierarchical relationship: God, nature, and humans. She said:

In my opinion, [first comes] Allah [then] nature and then humans because nature has been created by the Almighty Creator, Allah. Moreover, we work [to meet the needs of life] and bow [to worship God during salah/prayer] through nature. So, [God, nature, and humans] cannot be separated because logically [Muslims during their prayers] surely kiss the Earth consciously or not ... [the Earth is] the medium to [worship] God.

The difference between KK2 and MAK4 is that KK2 holds on to her faith in Allah, as Muslims do. She positions humans lower than nature because nature is a means to worship Allah. Human dependence on nature not only relates to the sustenance of their lives but also determines the quality of their worship, especially *salah*, the five daily prayers for Muslims, which, in Islam, are considered a medium to build intimacy between humans and Allah. The quality of *salah*/prayer depends on the quality of nature since Muslims should perform a purification process called wudu or ablution before *salah*. Likewise, the quality of wudu is dependent on the presence of pure water.

What is meant by pure water in Islamic jurisprudence is water that is clean and not contaminated by any colour, taste, or smell (Saptaningtyas, 2021). This kind of quality water is evidently reliant on healthy environmental conditions. The depletion of water resources arising from deforestation and mining activities will undoubtedly impact the quality of worship for Muslims. In some instances, it may even render Muslims incapable of performing prayers due to their inability to fulfil the necessary prerequisites of wudu. There is another way of purification when Muslims cannot find clean water called *tayammum*; however, *tayammum* also depends on the availability of fine dust, whose existence depends on a healthy environment. Indirectly, the relationship between prayer and the Earth results in an obligation for Muslims to protect the Earth in order to save their relationship with God. Since prayer (*salah*) is obligatory, preserving the Earth, a medium to perform prayer (*salah*), is also mandatory.

In conclusion, the perspective of individuals engaged in the Kartini Kendeng movement concerning God, human, and nature relations is multifaceted and contested. Their socio-religious background plays a pivotal role in shaping their views on the relationship between the three. Those who come from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition tend to emphasize the harmonious unity of God, humanity, and nature. In contrast, Muslims tend to refer to the notion of stewardship, which designates humans as the responsible agents for the sustainability of the natural world. Another viewpoint is presented by Muslims who have converted to *Agama Adam* or have been significantly influenced by the *Sedulur Sikep* traditions. From their perspective, nature is deemed superior to humanity. Nature is self-sufficient and does not rely on humans, while humans are wholly dependent on nature for their existence.

V.1.2. Empirical Ecological Ethics Within the Kartini Kendeng Movement.

According to Warren (2000), almost all current ecological philosophy is centred around the field of ecological ethics, which is concerned with issues pertaining to the proper treatment of the natural world by humans. Ethics is also important in Ecofeminism and eco-Islam. Both discuss how and why humans are responsible for caring for nature and play a role in its sustainability. It has been mentioned previously that the dialogue between Islam and non-Islamic teachings is beneficial for improving Islamic empirical ethics. This, of course, also extends to Islamic empirical ecological ethics. Capturing ecological ethics in the Kartini Kendeng movement from the perspective of ecofeminism and eco-Islam helps to see how the two immerse in a dialogue with each other. Referring to Critical Discourse Analysis, empirical ethics is expressed in the obligational modality that appears in the text.

Based on the data presented, three empirical ecological ethics are evident within the Kartini Kendeng movement, aligning with both ecofeminism and eco-Islam and demonstrating a dialogue between the two. All three ethics prioritize caring as the obligatory modality, each with its background. Statements such as “have to care for nature”, “obligation to preserve nature”, “make an effort to preserve nature”, and so on are among the ethical expressions of the three empirical ecological ethics evolved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. The first empirical ecological ethics is nature-centred caring, the second is God-centred caring, and the last is human-centred caring. These three empirical ecological ethics are the result of the evolving viewpoints on the relationships between God, humans, and nature presented in the previous subheading. These three empirical ecological ethics differ from the finding of the research by Halimatussa’diyah et al. (2024), which classifies three ecological ethics, anthropocentrism, ecocentrism, and Theo-centrism. According to Halimatussa’diyah et al. (2024, pp. 218-219), Theo-centrism is the only ethics that involves spirituality and religious perspectives, while anthropocentrism and ecocentrism are free from religious values. All the three empirical ecological ethics emerge in the Kartini Kendeng movement embody spirituality and religiosity with different notions.

First Empirical Ecological Ethics

The first empirical ecological ethics holds that caring for nature should be done by human beings because of the intrinsic value of nature itself. The voice of unity of God, human, and nature is dominant in this ethics. In contrast to anthropocentrism, which centres on the human perspective when observing the natural world, ecocentrism emphasizes the ecosystem as a whole. According to Thompson and

Barton (1994), eco-centric individuals are likely to advocate for environmental preservation even in situations where such efforts entail discomfort, inconvenience, and financial costs that could impact their standard of living. Consequently, this is expected to lead to a greater adoption of conservation-oriented behaviours and more substantial support for environmental causes among those who adhere to eco-centric beliefs. Conversely, anthropocentric individuals who focus on human interests and are primarily utilitarian may be less inclined to engage in actions aimed at environmental protection if other human-centric values, such as the standard of living or the pursuit of wealth, come into conflict.

This nature-centred caring is popular among the *Sedulur Sikep* community. For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, the nature-centred caring is based on the concept of the unity of God, humans, and nature.¹³⁴ For the *Sedulur Sikep* community, God, humans, and nature are equal participants who must cooperate and strengthen each other in order to maintain the sustainability of the cosmos. KK1, for instance, states that the current environmental issues “could not be solved without the unity of the three [God, human, and nature]”. As participant in nature, humans can convey their hopes to God or spiritual beings to work together to preserve the natural world as stated by KK1: “Those who dwell in Kendeng, whatever their names and appearances should also do [something to defend] as best as they can”, “Thus, nature, human beings, and the Almighty must unite”. Based on the concept of the unity of God, humans, and nature, humans’ actions to care for nature stem from the intrinsic value of nature for the sustainability of the natural world and the existence of these three entities.

This nature-centred caring, which positions human beings as participants in nature, has several consequences. Firstly, it endangers mutual respect for all of God’s creations. For my interviewees, the Earth and all its contents are alive, have feelings, and react to humans’ attitudes. Consequently, every single action that humans do to the universe will be responded to. This understanding is clearly illustrated in the poem of *Ibu Bumi*,

The Mother Earth has given

The Mother Earth is hurt

The Mother Earth will judge

There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.

134 The unity of God, human and nature is similar to the concept of *wahdat al wujud* in Islam which will be discussed in the following sub-heading.

Based on this understanding, differences in status as human and non-human creatures do not affect their treatment and behaviour because this perspective encourages the concept of unity in diversity. This moral and ethical guidance supports the concept of equality of God's creatures.

Secondly, this initial empirical ecological ethics raises awareness that caring for the Earth is not the sole responsibility of women. It implies the embodiment of 'caring masculinity' in men. Elliott (2016, p. 256) defined caring masculinity as "a refiguring of masculine identities away from values of domination and aggression and toward values of interdependence and care".

Previous research highlights the limitations of the discussion on caring masculinity in terms of men's involvement in fathering and domestic responsibilities. Coltrane (1996, p. 83) suggested that fathering and shared parenting help men develop caring masculinity and nurturing characters. Doucet (2006, p. 237) also indicated that men's involvement in parenting responsibilities supported them to reconfigure masculinity to include traditional feminine attributes. Elliott's research (2016) strengthened previous findings on the development of caring masculinities in men who became involved in childcare and shared domestic work.

The data observed in the Kartini Kendeng movement suggest that caring masculinity is not limited to fathering and shared parenting in a nuclear family but rather encompasses any other kind of caring activity that depends on awareness of interdependence rather than domination and oppression. The current ecological crises stem from hegemonic human agency and the human-nature dualism, which in turn deny cosmic interdependency and overlook the importance of reciprocal flourishing (Plumwood, 2003). Caring masculinity may become an alternative strategy and concept to replace the oppressive and hegemonic masculinity for a better situation. The men involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement have embodied caring masculinity. They invited women to get involved in defending Mother Earth based on awareness of human-nature interdependence.

In addition, caring masculinity is a form of critical engagement of men in gender equality. This is because men's involvement in caring activities challenges them to adopt and accept the natures and values of care that contradict the traditional construction of hegemonic masculinity (Elliott, 2016). Hearn (2001, p. 10) argues that men's position as powerful agents in relation to women, both individually and collectively, results in their resistance to gender equality. However, men should be involved in developing gender equality. This is what Hearn calls "a language of opposition to privilege" that generates resistance to resistance. Moreover, Hearn (2001, pp. 14-15) claims that men are responsible for the current gender inequality in two ways: they cause it, and they are challenged to get involved in solving gender

inequality. Therefore, mainstreaming gender equality will not work without men's involvement. The men involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement have proven their awareness in mainstreaming gender equality. The gender shift in the Kartini Kendeng movement indicates that men are increasingly involved in domestic responsibilities, such as childcare and shared parenting, as well as in actions aimed at preserving nature and promoting environmental sustainability.

Second Empirical Ecological Ethics

The second empirical ecological ethics is God-centred caring, which holds that caring for and preserving the natural world is essential due to God's command. This ethics is popular among the traditional Muslim community involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Statements such as "As human beings, we should function as saviours [for the natural world]", "Nature is a Divine trust, a trust from the Almighty for us to care", "All [human beings] have an obligation to preserve nature" are among obligational modalities pointed out by traditional Muslims. The voice of stewardship is a dominant basis of this ethics. Being stewards of God means human beings have the responsibility to realize the Divine qualities reflected through His names and attributes. God has both masculine (*Jalal*) and feminine (*Jamal*) names and attributes. His *Jalal* names should induce, in human beings, feelings of fear, awe, and obedience. In contrast, the *Jamal* names should inspire human beings to cultivate kindness, gentleness, generosity, forgiveness, and so forth. Through His name *al-Rahman*, the Most Merciful, for instance, God is continuously pouring out His love and mercy upon all creatures. Being stewards of God, within the framework of embodying the Divine quality of *al-Rahman*, entails that God calls upon individuals to spread love, respect, and compassion to their fellow creatures.

Based on the framework of both *Jalal* and *Jamal* attributes of God, this God-centred caring has two distinct ethical outcomes. The first, influenced by the *Jalal* names of God, concerns the interpersonal connection between individuals and God through acts of submission. This is the internal ethical outcome. The second, the external ethical outcome, is inspired by the *Jamal* names of God. It pertains to a duty incumbent upon individuals as stewards of God towards all of God's creations. Together, these dual outcomes foster a more nuanced and empirical ecological ethics.

An instance of internal ethical outcome is visible in the statement of MAK7. According to him, the addition of the *Shahadah* in the poem of *Ibu Bumi* is to remind all those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement of their position as human beings who should submit before God. MAK7 explicitly mentioned two *Jalal* attributes of God, namely "the One Who owns [the Earth and the universe]", *al-Malik*,

and “the One Who has control over everything”, *al-Muhyamin*. Understanding the significance of *al-Malik* and *al-Muhyamin* in the context of stewardship serves to heighten awareness that all entities on this planet are owned by the Divine and subject to His governance. Moreover, reflecting the meanings of both *al-Malik* and *al-Muhyamin*, individuals are encouraged to control themselves physically and spiritually, avoiding negative desires and viewpoints, and to regulate their actions towards constructive endeavours. (Al-Ghazali, 2003, p. 70-73). In the realm of ecological preservation, human self-regulation plays a fundamental role in curbing excessive and exploitative practices.

On the other hand, several interviewees’ statements reflect the external ethical outcome of the God-centred caring. The statement of MAK2 in text 14, “As human beings, we should function as saviours [for the natural world]”, for instance, implies one of God’s *Jamal* names, the Preserver (*al-Hafidz*). According to Al-Ghazali (2003, p. 113), from this name of God, *al-Hafidz*, humans should be able to take care of themselves physically and spiritually. Mirroring the value of *al-Hafidz* in the Kartini Kendeng movement depicts God-centred caring as the ethical basis of the movement. It highlights the importance of maintaining both physical and spiritual health, which necessitates a sustainable environment. A highly polluted environment resulting from mining, extensive deforestation, and excessive pesticide use, for instance, is detrimental to both physical and spiritual health.

God-centred caring also heightens the meaning of stewardship. Being stewards of God means that humans are responsible and trustworthy for the sustainable and balanced use of the cosmos, so that they can still recognize the signs of the Majesty and beauty of God, who has created a thoroughly balanced cosmos. Any destructive actions that harm and destroy nature are conditions that God detests. Through this movement, the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement in the North Kendeng Mountains fulfil their responsibility as stewards of God.

God-centred caring encourages human beings to look after the natural world not only for the sake of the moment but also for the future of subsequent generations. Another example of the external outcome of God-centred caring is evident in the prayer of KK2 in text 19, “O Allah, I intend to fight, to fight for this Earth to remain sustainable so that it can be passed on to my children and grandchildren”. Her intention to maintain the sustainability of the cosmos for future generations reflects one of God’s *Jamal* names, *al Wadud*, which means the Most Loving. Explaining the meaning of this name, Al-Ghazali (2003, p. 122) said that God is the One Who loves well-being, happiness, and good fortune for all His creatures. Therefore, He always pours out His mercy, love, kindness, and compassion to all His creatures. Those who wish good luck for others as they wish it for themselves are people

who know God and emulate His traits, *al-Wadud*. The Kartini Kendeng movement, as a non-self/group-centred movement, represents an external ethical outcome of God-centred caring. It is a movement with a future goal of keeping the planet liveable for future generations.

The last instance of the external outcome of God-centred caring is visible in the statement of MAK2 in text 14. He said: "Islam is *rahmatan lil 'aalamiin*, a mercy to all creations." Both *al-Rahman* and *al-Rahim* are the most frequently mentioned names of God. They are contained in the first verse of *al-Fatihah*, the Surah that should be read during the five daily prayers.¹³⁵ Both *al-Rahman* and *al-Rahim* are derived from the root r-h-m, which means to love and to care for. However, both *al-Rahman* and *al-Rahim* have different meanings. Referring to al-Farisi's statement, Kathir (2000, p. 65) explained that *al-Rahman* means that God's mercy encompasses all His creatures, whereas *al-Rahim* refers to His mercy specifically for believers.

The word *rahmat* comes from the same root as *al-Rahman* and *al-Rahim*. Since MAK2 mentioned Islam as *rahmatan lil 'aalamiin*, mercy for all creation, it pertains to *al-Rahman*. How do Muslims mirror this attribute to fulfil their duty as stewards of God? According to Al-Ghazali (2003: 64), to amplify the meaning of *al-Rahman*, Muslims should become a source of love, affection, and kindness to all God's creatures, including those who are negligent and make mistakes. This name should also evoke a sense of responsibility in humans for all negligence and damages to the natural world. The Kartini Kendeng movement, which aims to raise people's awareness of the hazardous effects of cement mining in the North Kendeng Mountains, is a concrete form of humans' endeavour as stewards of God in amplifying the meaning of *al-Rahman*.

In conclusion, from the vantage point of the names of God known as *Jalal* and *Jamal*, human beings as stewards of God should balance their feminine and masculine potentials within themselves in proportion. This will help humans to cultivate a harmonious connection not only with the Divine but also with all His creatures. The experience of God-centred caring within the Muslim community engrossed in the Kartini Kendeng movement instigates an empirical ecological ethics through which beneficial or destructive behaviours to environmental sustainability are measured.

135 Allah is the paramount and all-inclusive name of God to which all other names and traits refer back. Allah is the One, the Most Loving, the Preserver, and so forth (Al-Ghazali, 2003, p. 61; Murata, 1992, p. 206). However, God also juxtaposes 'Allah' and 'the All Merciful' in one of His sayings, namely Quran surah 17:110 which reads: "Say (O Muhammad): 'Invoke Allah or invoke the Most Merciful, by whatever name you invoke Him (it is the same), for to Him belong the Best Names'". This verse suggests that His name al-Rahman, the Most Merciful, shares the quality of His supreme name, Allah (Murata, 1992, p. 206).

Third Empirical Ecological Ethics

The third empirical ecological ethics is human-centred caring. This ethics is observable among Muslims who convert to the *Agama Adam* and are strongly influenced by *Sedulur Sikep's* way of life. The voice of stewardship is visible in this ethics, albeit with distinct contextual backgrounds and objectives. This ethics perceives that humans should look after the natural world not solely due to the intrinsic value of nature, but rather as a consequence of humans' reliance on natural resources driven by human necessities. Drawing upon Freud (1960), the concept of the ego within this ethical framework aligns with reason and rational thought. The impetus for engaging in caring behaviours and activities for this particular group is fundamentally anchored in rational deliberation. Humanity is compelled to nurture the natural world, as the conditions of nature—be they advantageous or detrimental—will have a direct correlation to the overall well-being and fate of human existence.

This kind of human-centred caring is observable in the statement of MAK4. He asserts that, regardless of circumstances, it is imperative for human beings to take action to preserve the planet due to their dependence on it. He said:

In my opinion, nature does not need humans, but humans need nature. So, no matter what [the situation] is, we must make an effort to preserve nature so it will not be damaged quickly.

At first glance, MAK4's expression captures human attention with its emphasis on the preservation of nature. However, the relational value that appears in his statement reveals how MAK4 positions himself in his relationship with nature, specifically in the context of dependence. The sustainability and quality of human existence are inherently contingent upon the health of the natural environment. It is from this dependence that the ego propels individuals to engage in the preservation of nature, thereby ensuring the continuity of human life.

Human dependence on nature is not limited to the material domain but also to the spiritual. This empirical ecological ethics puts the fulfilment of human needs, both material and spiritual, as the basis of human attitude towards the natural world. The following statement of KK2 implies her dependence on the Earth to foster a harmonious bond with the Divine. She said:

Moreover, we work [to meet the needs of life] and bow [to worship God during salah/prayer] through nature. So, [God, nature, and humans] cannot be separated because logically [Muslims during their prayers] surely kiss the Earth consciously or not ... [the Earth is] the medium to [worship] God.

It is explained in the previous part that Muslims need to do a purification ritual before each daily prayer called wudu or ablution. The validity of ablution is contingent upon the purity of the water, and similarly, the quality of the water is influenced by surrounding environmental factors. In cases where the environment is contaminated and the water accessible does not meet the requirements for ablution, it will undoubtedly affect the legitimacy of the prayer (Saptaningtyas, 2021). Women, in addition to the sociocultural frameworks that dictate their roles in satisfying the domestic requirements of their family units, exhibit a physiological necessity for a higher intake of water than their male counterparts. The cyclical experience of menstruation, coupled with the physiological demands of childbirth and lactation, necessitates more water for women. This requirement extends to the rituals of purification that involve the use of water. Specifically, at the end of the menstrual period, female Muslims are mandated to take a shower prior to engaging in prayer. The ritual of wudhu alone is insufficient. From this perspective, KK2's apprehensions and her profound connection to the natural environment are understandable. Adverse ecological conditions may have detrimental effects not only on the physical well-being of women but also on their spiritual well-being.

To conclude, these three empirical ecological ethics are the logical consequences of the three perspectives developed among my interviewees. Warren (2000) posits that ecofeminist ethics promotes a shift in attitudes from an attitude of arrogance to one of care. An arrogant perspective tends to establish a hierarchical ethical framework centred on the concept of 'sameness'. This implies that individuals with similarities are categorized as part of the group 'us' and consequently receive similar treatment and ethical consideration, while those who differ are excluded as 'others'. In contrast, a perspective of care upholds and acknowledges the diverse characteristics and distinctions among all living beings. These three empirical ecological ethics are consistent with ecofeminist ethics, despite their distinct origins. The voice of unity of God, human, and nature is strongly visible in the nature-centred caring, while the voice of stewardship is visible in the last two ethics with different notions, God-centred stewardship and human-centred stewardship.

V.1.3. The Social Identity of both Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* Community

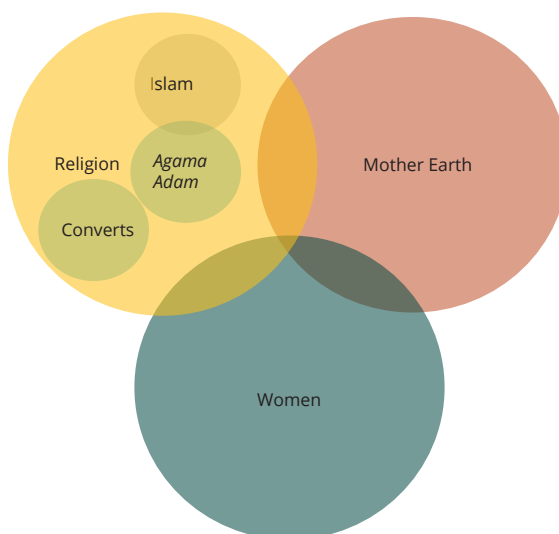
According to Fairclough (1992, pp. 45 and 64), personal identity, such as gender, attitudes, age, class, beliefs, and social provenance, is expressed in linguistic form and the meaning it constitutes. This is because language has an identity function, which relates to the construction of social identity in discourse. Therefore, it is feasible to observe how the Kartini Kendeng movement has shaped the social iden-

tity of those involved in this movement through the statements they have expressed. It is mentioned previously that the Kartini Kendeng movement bridges diverse voices: the voice of Mother Earth, women, and religion. Based on our data, those voices engage in harmonious negotiation and adjustment to mitigate the occurrence of conflict. This is accomplished due to the shared goal of Kartini Kendeng movement to defend their homeland, the North Kendeng Mountains, from disastrous cement mining, which not only affects the social fabric but also results in ecological harm. The addition of *Shahadah* to the poem of *Ibu Bumi*, the equipping of *langgar* Yu Patmi with gamelan, as well as the outfits of female Muslims, represent a form of negotiation undertaken by those voices involved in this movement, as explained in the previous chapter.

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, the problematization will be followed by a dilemma, and people will try to negotiate and adapt creatively through various changes. Fairclough said:

When problematizations arise, people are faced with what Billig et al. (1988) refer to as 'dilemmas'. They often try to resolve these dilemmas by being innovative and creative, by adapting existing conventions in new ways, and so contributing to discursive change ... Change involves forms of transgression, crossing boundaries, such as putting together existing conventions in new combinations, or drawing upon conventions in situations which usually preclude them (1992, p. 96).

The image below helps to illustrate the unique approach to negotiations that occurs between the voices of Mother Earth, women, and religion.



The interaction model visualized in the figure does not merely depict harmonious overlap between women, religion, and Mother Earth; rather, it represents a contested discursive space in which women serve as mediators of ideological translation. The dark overlapping zones between Islam and Agama Adam signify what Fairclough would describe as a *site of discursive struggle*, where different normative orders coexist without fully dissolving their boundaries. Muslims and the people of the *Sedulur Sikep* involved in this movement are polyphonic individuals in the sense that they embrace separate belief systems. However, there is a dynamic space where the people of the *Sedulur Sikep* and Muslims negotiate to express their other voices as traditional Javanese and environmental activists. Those who come from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition position themselves in two interrelated boundaries. They are people of the *Sedulur Sikep* who adhere to the teachings of *Agama Adam* while also being open to the teachings of Islam, as a sign of respect and mutual understanding. The voice of *Agama Adam* is dominant in their belief system. According to the *Sedulur Sikep* interviewees, this openness in no way violates their religious beliefs or traditions. This is what MAK1 stated to ensure that his status as part of the *Sedulur Sikep* had not changed. What he did by adding *Shahadah* in the poem of *Ibu Bumi* is a kind of respect to the Muslim community involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement.

Likewise, those who come from an Islamic background position themselves within double horizons as traditional Javanese Muslims who are receptive to the teachings and traditions of the *Sedulur Sikep*. They maintain their dominant voice as Muslims while simultaneously being open to adopting new ideas from the *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, as long as they do not infringe upon the fundamental teachings of Islam. This is a kind of indigenization of Islamic teachings. Hamdani (2018) stated that the indigenization of Islamic teaching serves as a resolution to the conflict between religious normativity and cultural relativity that persists in the overlap.

Combining *Shahadah* with the poem of *Ibu Bumi* and utilizing gamelan in environmental *dakwah* are among the positive outcomes of this indigenization. Likewise, KK2's decision to exchange her headscarf for a *selendang* is a debatable topic within Islam.¹³⁶ Therefore, her actions did not immediately signify a renunciation of her religious beliefs. KK2 embraces the voices of Islam, traditional Javanese, as well as environmental activists who have to negotiate in different situations. During protests and demonstrations, KK2 and other female Muslims involved in the Kartini

136 Islamic teachings emphasize the importance of concealing the intimate parts of the body, *aurat*. However, the way and model to conceal the *aurat* is left to the preferences of each individual Muslims, and cultural influences may play a role in determining this choice. For a more detailed explanation on this topic, please consult Chapter III.

Kendeng movement often prefer to wear Javanese outfits, as this is the safest identity space for them. They identify themselves as Javanese and Indonesians. They prioritize their national identity over religious identity.

Both Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community involved in this movement experience various kinds of negotiations. At the same time, the converts do not encounter significant problems regarding their relations with Muslims or the *Sedulur Sikep* community.

The voices of the Mother Earth, women, and religion also undergo a process of negotiation. Ecological issues within the framework of the Kartini Kendeng movement were initially predominantly addressed by men, as women were not actively engaged in the initial discussions following the announcement of the construction of a cement plant to the local community. However, over time, particularly due to the significant contributions of the *Sedulur Sikep* community, this ecological concern evolved into a shared discourse within the community, involving both men and women. The increasing participation of women in this movement has become notably significant, leading to a shift in gender roles as a means of negotiation. In the context of Javanese society and traditional Muslim communities, which are typically patriarchal in nature, there is a need for negotiation of the evolving circumstances within this movement. Women's presence on the frontline is a tactical manoeuvre employed by men to ensure that the demonstration proceeds without disruption and remains orderly. This represents a mechanism that either utilizes women or exacerbates the burdens they bear. However, from the standpoint of women, they perceive these actions as an embodiment of their responsibility and a continuation of the legacy established by Kartini, the esteemed heroine. The active involvement of women in public activism necessitates a process of negotiation and adjustment through the exchange of traditional gender roles. The men are required to assume responsibilities typically associated with women, such as cooking, laundry, and feeding livestock. In contrast, women must fulfil their roles in the public domain, including attending demonstrations or court hearings, which can last two to three days.

The prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi* is a form of negotiation that brings together the voices of Mother Earth, women, and religion. The Earth as a mother which then became an ethical concept and prayers that united two different traditions, Islam and *Sedulur Sikep*. In addition, *brokohan* also that brings together the voices of the three, Mother Earth, women, and religion, allowing them to intersect and adapt to one another. *Brokohan* is a well-known tradition among traditional Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community; however, the *Brokohan* held in the Kartini Kendeng movement is different in several ways. First of all, women play a significant role in

this event, not only in terms of preparing the food but also in organizing the participants. Secondly, women have the right to decide the kind of dishes served during a *Brokohan*. Options range from *nasi Urap*, a rice dish with vegetables, to *Bubur Sumsum*, a white rice porridge served with a brown sugar sauce. The choice of dishes is intricately linked to the *Brokohan* moment, which may serve as an expression of gratitude or a communal prayer before engaging in demonstrations.¹³⁷ Furthermore, if the *Brokohan* is held during protests, women may offer food to security personnel as a symbolic gesture highlighting their fight, which centres around protecting the Mother Earth, their mother who has been feeding them from the abundant produce of their agricultural land. Lastly, both Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community make explicit references to *Ibu Bumi* in their prayers recited during such events.

V.2. The Contribution of Ecofeminism to the Construction of Indonesian Eco-Islam

As stated previously, the primary objective of the present research is to examine the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam, using the Kartini Kendeng movement as a case study. To address this question, I will refer to the findings of the three sub-questions that have been previously expounded upon. At the same time, I will also conceptualize the theoretical contribution of the present research to ecofeminism and eco-Islam.

In line with Ali's (2015) theory on the importance of dialogue between Islamic and other non-Islamic ethics, the dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam in the Kartini Kendeng movement helps bridge the gap between the two and achieve a more comprehensive understanding based on empirical evidence. The perspective of ecofeminism helps to gain a deeper understanding of eco-Islam. Some perspectives and concepts are not new in Islam, but they have not been understood from an ecological perspective. Likewise, this dialogue has demonstrated that ecofeminism is not incompatible with Islamic teachings.

137 *Bubur sumsum* in Javanese tradition has a philosophical meaning. The white rice porridge symbolizes purity of heart and sincerity of intention while brown sugar symbolizes happiness and gratitude. The types of vegetables served with *nasi urap* symbolize philosophical meanings. Long beans, for instance, are served uncut or in one piece which symbolizes that humans must think longer and carefully.

Al-Ard al-Umm, the Earth as our Cosmic Mother.

Al-Ard al-Umm means “Mother Earth” in the Arabic language. There are two reasons for opting to utilize the Arabic version over the English and Bahasa Indonesia versions of the term. The first reason is based on the fact that both the Quran and the Hadith are originally written in Arabic. From a theological perspective, the employment of Arabic terminology is deemed more acceptable within the Muslim community, given that the Arabic language constitutes the linguistic foundation of their faith, Islam. Furthermore, the term *Ibu Bumi* is relatively obscure among Indonesian Muslims. The second reason highlights that the concept of *Ibu Bumi* is deeply rooted in Islamic teachings and is referenced both implicitly and explicitly in the Quran and Hadith, respectively. The explicit notion of *al-Ard al-Umm* in a Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani underlines this reason. Referring to Fairclough’s discourse analysis, introducing the term *al-Ard al-Umm* is a form of hegemonic discourse struggle. This introduction aims to demonstrate the pre-existence of the concept of *al-Ard al-Umm*, akin to the notion of *Ibu Bumi*, within Islamic doctrine.

As a form of ethical guidance, *al-Ard al-Umm* is similar to the concept of *Ibu Bumi*, which holds ideological significance among those involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. The image of the Earth as feminine in the Arabic tradition can be traced through linguistic approaches. Some natural phenomena are described in the Arabic language using feminine nouns, such as storm (*al-Asifa*), sun (*al-Shams*), fire (*al-Nar*), east wind (*al-Saba*), and west wind (*al-Dabur*), which convey the terrifying powers that lie within them. According to Miskawayh (d. 421 AH), Arab ancestors considered the sun to be a feminine entity because they believed the sun was a daughter of God; therefore, they worshipped the sun and assigned a specific name to it (Miskawayh, 1951, pp. 266-268). The Earth (*al-Ard*) and names of cities are also considered feminine in the Arabic language due to their characteristics of care, nurturing, and warmth (Talafheh & Aqtash, 2014, p. 73). According to Fairclough (1992, p. 8), there is a close relationship between language and people’s knowledge, beliefs, social relations, and social identities. Considering the Earth as feminine shapes the perspective of Arab people regarding the Earth. The Earth is female, and the Earth is a mother.

The image of the Earth as a feminine entity is not merely a perspective; it is a profound representation of the planet’s nature. It should encourage just behaviour towards the Earth and female entities. The normalization of the Earth’s function, as well as the role of women in giving life, should be shifted to one of respect and appreciation. In the context of Islamic teachings, women are honoured three times

more than men because of their role in the process of human life from pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding.¹³⁸

The Arab linguistic heritage, which perceived the Earth as a feminine entity, was later adopted by Islam and recorded in its two canonical sources, the Quran and Hadith. The Earth has been symbolically referred to as a feminine entity, a mother who gives birth, feeds, and welcomes humans when they complete their journey on Earth (Gomaah, 2009, p. 41). It means that Islam has a concept that is similar to the concept of *Ibu Bumi*. Islam also encourages human beings to respect the Earth, their cosmic mother, as they respect their biological mother. A Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani reads: “*Tahaffadzuu ‘ala al-Ard fa innahaa Ummukum*”. It means: “Please take care of the Earth for it is your mother!” (Al-Thabrani, 1983). This Hadith explicitly states that the Earth is the mother of all human beings who gives birth, feeds, and welcomes them when they complete their journey on Earth. Therefore, the relationship between human beings and the Earth is akin to that between a mother and her children. The two words in this Hadith, *al-ard* and *umm*, refer to the empirical ecological ethic, *al-Ard al-Umm*.

Through the Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani, the Prophet commands human beings to look after and take care of the Earth because of its status as their cosmic mother. Debates among Muslim scholars (ulama) regarding the legal consequences of imperative sentences in Islamic jurisprudence can help clarify the meaning of the Hadith of Al-Thabrani. Imperative sentences in Islamic jurisprudence have various legal consequences, including obligation, recommendation, permission, or ethical guidelines and information (Kharabisyah, 2007). According to Malik and

138 Islam validates motherhood and acknowledges the struggles of being mothers. Therefore, it positions every mother in a noble and honorable place as a form of respect and appreciation of their roles both biologically and socially in caring for their children. A Hadith reported by Abu Hurayrah explains this respect. The Hadith reads: “a person came to the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) and asked: Who amongst the people is most deserving of the best treatment from my hand? The Holy Prophet answered: your mother. The man again asked: then who (is the next one)? The Prophet answered: again, it is your mother (who deserves the best treatment from you). The man continued asking: then who (is the next one)? The Prophet answered: again, it is your mother. He (again) asked: Then who? Thereupon the Prophet said: then it is your father” (Sahih Muslim, Book 32 Number 6180). It is visible in the Hadith that mothers get three times more honour than fathers. Interpreting this Hadith, Al-Qurthubi (2000, Vol 10: 156) emphasized three biological roles of women in human life: being pregnant, giving birth, and breastfeeding. Therefore, mothers are entitled to three quarters of honour. Moreover, since caring for and educating children is a shared responsibility between mother and father, fathers are entitled to one-fourth of respect. Indeed, this Hadith impressively romanticized motherhood. It seems to ignore the equality of both parents in carrying out their roles. However, Malik (d. 795 CE), the founder of Maliki School, believes that both parents deserve same respect for many verses of the holy Quran and Hadiths of the Prophet which oblige every child to respect and honour both parents.

Deyb (1978, p. 216), the majority of Muslim jurists affirm that absolute imperative sentences¹³⁹ refer to obligation and necessity. What is meant by obligatory behaviour in Islam is that if a person performs this obligation, he will get a reward, and if he leaves it, he will incur a sin. Both rewards and sins will be given in the afterlife.

Based on these explanations, it is arguable to go with the statements of the majority of Muslim jurists in understanding the meaning of imperative sentence in the Hadith of “Take care of the Earth for it is your mother!”. It is an obligation for human beings to take care of and respect the Earth as they honour their biological mother. Thus, this Hadith provides more than an ethical foundation that guides human beings to an appropriate understanding of the interdependent relationship between humans and nature, essential for the sustainability of the Earth. The Earth is their cosmic mother, *al-Ard al-Umm*, that should be respected like they respect their biological mother. The Hadith has an obligational modality with its consequence both in worldly life and in the hereafter.¹⁴⁰

According to Fairclough (1989, p. 16; 1992, pp. 4-9), texts embody realities. Texts also depict social interaction as well as the beliefs and knowledge of individuals. Their belief and knowledge are the result of a hegemonic struggle over the consumption and production of the text, alongside existing power relations. The Hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani, which relates to ecological ethics, is not widely known and recognised by Muslims, especially Muslims in Indonesia. One factor could be that the Islamic community in Indonesia is more *Fiqh*-oriented (Harisudin, 2021). Dichotomy between Hadith and *Fiqh* is a kind of hegemonic struggle that happens in the Indonesian Muslim community, prompting a deep exploration of *Fiqh*.

Fiqh focuses on the laws of *halal and haram*, alongside obligatory practices, within the framework of the relationship between humans and the Divine, as well as interpersonal relations. *Fiqh* overlooks the importance of ethical considerations in interactions between humans and their non-human counterparts. Consequently, Indonesian Muslims possess a heightened awareness that missing daily prayers or fasting during Ramadan constitutes sinful behaviour. However, they are not

139 The “absolute” here means that the sentences do not contain specific indicators except for obligatory meaning.

140 Parents hold a revered status in Islamic teachings, with the very satisfaction of Allah towards an individual being closely tied to the satisfaction of their parents. Essentially, if the conduct of an individual is endorsed by their parents, it is also deemed acceptable by Allah. Conversely, if the actions of an individual cause distress to their parents, it is perceived as causing distress to Allah as well. Moreover, Islam also imparts the notion that showing respect and dutifulness towards one’s parents is among the actions that are highly esteemed by Allah. The recompense for individuals who exhibit filial piety towards their parents encompasses not just material provisions and a fulfilling earthly existence, but also the ultimate bliss of the afterlife.

necessarily aware that harming the Earth with destructive behaviour is also sinful because it is against the Prophet's commandment to take care of the Earth, their cosmic mother, *al-Ard al-Umm*.

As a religion, Islam has a threefold dimension of teaching, namely belief, practice, and ethics. The first two dimensions receive considerable attention from Muslims, while the third dimension, known as *Ihsan*, is often overlooked. For those who practice Islamic Sufism, this third dimension is their focus. *Ihsan* determines the quality of a person. This is in accordance with the Hadith of the Prophet narrated by al-Zarqany, which reads: "Verily I was sent by Allah to perfect noble character". *Ihsan* not only relates to improving the quality of relationships between human and God or their fellow humans, but also with all of God's creatures. One of the popular Hadiths regarding *Ihsan* is narrated by Shadad bin Aus. It reads: "God has instructed the performance of beautiful acts in every aspect of life. In the instance of killing, execute the act pleasingly, and similarly, when slaughtering, please do it beautifully. Do sharpen your blade to ensure that the victim is relieved". Commenting on this Hadith, Murata and Chittick (1994) said: "The first sentence is of special importance because it sets down a universal rule. Just as God has created the cosmos beautiful, so human activity, which must follow the Divine model, must be performed beautifully". Introducing *al-Ard al-Umm* as an ecological ethics is a possible entry point to remind Muslims about the dimension of *Ihsan*, ethics towards God and all His creations. In addition, introducing *al-Ard al-Umm* also recalls the feminine dimension of Islam.

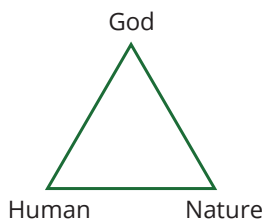
As an ethical guidance, the notion of *al-Ard al-Umm* will inspire individuals to develop a deep compassion for their fellow creations of God, akin to the love that a mother has for her offspring. It is relevant to the 'care sensitive ethics' developed by Warren, which encourages men and women to look after and care for the whole cosmos. Islam recognizes the concept that supports compassion for all God's creatures known as '*rahmatan lil 'aalamiin*', which refers to one of the Quranic verses, namely Surah 21:107, that reads: "We sent thee not, but as a mercy for all creatures". This verse explains the purpose and mission of the appointment of the Prophet, namely, to spread mercy and compassion for the '*alamin*'. The meaning of '*alamin*' in Arabic encompasses the entire universe and all God's creatures in it. However, this verse has been interpreted to mean that the Prophet's mission is limited to spreading God's mercy and compassion to human beings. Commenting on this verse, Ali (1937, p. 846) noted that the aforementioned concept has universal applicability, encompassing all individuals and beings on Earth who bear a spiritual responsibility. It is stated in several Quranic verses that all creatures praise and glorify God in their own way, which means they have a spiritual responsibility.

Thus, all creatures are included in the meaning of ‘*alamin*’ and deserve compassion and love from the appointment of the Prophet. From the perspective of *al-Ard al-Umm*, it is arguable to broaden the meaning of this verse. Its meaning is not limited to the appointment of the Prophet to bring mercy to human beings. Instead, it also connotes the imperative for his teachings to disseminate mercy and compassion throughout the entire cosmos, similar to the love and compassion that Mother Earth extends to all things that dwell upon her.

Tawhidic Caring

Caring is an overarching concept that underlies the findings on the perspective of the relationship between God, humans, and nature, as well as the empirical ecological ethics findings. In this sub-section, I will conceptualize *Tawhidic* caring as the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam.

Inspired by ecofeminist perspectives and grounded in the empirical experience of the Kartini Kendeng movement, I propose Tawhid as a concept that unites all caring activities undertaken by human beings. Wadud (2008) introduced the *Tawhidic* paradigm, which emphasizes the oneness of God and the equality of all His creatures. It also underlines that God is the ‘preeminent focal point’ that perpetually presents. Applying the *Tawhidic* paradigm in terms of the relationships between God, humans, and nature, *Tawhidic* caring situates human interactions with non-human entities within a framework of horizontal reciprocity. *Tawhidic* caring, which emerges from the empirical experience of the Kartini Kendeng movement, raises an awareness that any human conduct that inflicts harm upon nature is tantamount to violating Tawhid, as it denotes an assumption of human superiority over nature. The image below, inspired by Wadud, will help to understand the relationship between God, humans, and nature within the framework of *Tawhidic* caring.



The image above illustrates the horizontal reciprocity between humans and nature, while God, the Greatest, is always present in any human-nature relationship with a different notion. Thus, the three are interrelated. This is what I refer to as *tarabuth*. It literally means interconnection. The word *tarabuth* is derived from the verb *rabatha*, meaning to link, tie, or bind. From this root come its derivations such as *irtibath*,

which means relationship, correlation, and arrangement, and *tarabuth*, which means interconnection. Those derivative forms are often used in Quranic commentaries to explain the interconnectedness of natural phenomena. Al-Uthaymin (2004, p.116), for instance, uses the term *irtibath* when commenting on Quran Surah 51:3, which describes the close relationship between wind, cloud formation, and rainfall. Inspired by him, I use the term *tarabuth* to describe the interconnection of God, humans, and nature within the framework of *Tawhidic* caring.

This *Tawhidic* caring accommodates the three perspectives and three empirical ecological ethics developed in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Those three perspectives and ethics comprehend the three levels of the ways of Tawhid, which lead to God in Islamic mysticism, *shari'a*, *thariqa*, and *haqiqa*. The Prophet explains this tripartite way to Tawhid in a Hadith which reads: "The *shari'a* are my words, the *thariqa* are my actions, and the *haqiqa* are my interior states" (Al-Ajlouni, n.d., Vol. 2, p. 7). *Shari'a* means rules and regulations. *Shari'a* is based on critical reasoning and common sense. Thus, *shari'a* encourages individuals to enhance their faculties of rationality and perception, thereby facilitating their optimal operation. *Shari'a* in Islamic mysticism posits that the first mystical process that humans should undergo is to understand and obey the rules. It compels individuals to engage their rationality in order to attain a profound understanding of their existence and responsibility. The third group that experiences and practices human-centred caring is at this level of Tawhid. They depend on their rationality in defending their life space. Based on their dependence on nature, they position nature above human beings. It does not demean human beings. Instead, it helps to avoid human domination over nature. In this sense, this perspective is relevant to *Tawhidic* caring because the main emphasis of *Tawhidic* caring is to limit human domination over nature.

Those who practice God-centred caring have reached the second level of Tawhid, *thariqa*. *Thariqa* means the path. It is the path where Muslims not only obey God's rules but also implement them in practice. Those who reach the level of *thariqa* understand their status as stewards of God, with the responsibility to follow and implement the Divine model in their daily lives. This second level of Tawhid, *thariqa*, is aligned with the second group who position themselves as steward of God. In terms of ecological ethics, being stewards is not merely positioning humans as the most important figure in the cosmos, nor is it anthropocentrism. Instead, stewardship means humans' responsibility to keep the state of the cosmos in balance and beauty as intended by God. God has created the cosmos in a balanced and beautiful state. Human beings, as stewards of God, should maintain the cosmos in its balance and beauty.

For those who perceive the unity of God, humans, and nature and practice nature-centred caring, have reached the third level of Tawhid, *haqiqa*. *Haqiqa* is the highest level of Tawhid, where human beings reveal the knowledge of God. It manifests an ideal relationship between God, humans, and nature. Human beings are reflections and manifestations of God in their deeds and behaviour. They reached the level of *wahdat al-wujud*, the unity of beings. The concept of *wahdat al-wujud*, which is popular among Sufis, posits that the existence of all entities is contingent upon their connection to the Divine reality, thereby being linked to the Divine unity. This concept was opposed by Muslim scholars such as Al-Dzahabi, Taymiyah, Iyas, Al-Taftazani, Al-Qari, and Nuruddin (Al-Qarani, n.d., p. 163). Nevertheless, scholars in Sufism argue that although *wahdat al-wujud* could imply the perception of the Divine presence in all things, it does not imply the reduction of God to a mere aspect of all things. God is supremely transcendent, even though all that exists is reminiscent of Him. Some orientalist, considered *wahdat al-wujud* to be a kind of existential monism. To counter this perception, Schimmel stated:

That would imply that terms like pantheism, panentheism, and even Louis Massignon's term "existential monism" would have to be revised, since the concept of wahdat al-wujud does not involve a substantial continuity between God and creation. In Ibn Arabi's thought, a transcendence across categories, including substance, is maintained. God is above all qualities -they are neither He nor other than He- and He manifests Himself only by means of the names, not by His essence. On the plane of essence, He is inconceivable (transcending concept) and nonexperiential (transcending even nonrational cognition). That means that in their actual existence, the creatures are not identical with God, but only reflections of His attributes (2011, p. 267).

According to Schimmel, the unity of God, humans, and nature does not mean substantial cohesion between God and His creatures. Instead, it manifests an ideal relationship when human beings, as God's stewards, discern their position as a reflection of God's name and attributes. Those who reach this level understand that any caring activities directed toward the natural world ought to be performed to enhance the Divine names and characteristics manifested within nature, as well as acknowledging that nature possesses inherent worth.

Those who reach the level of *haqiqa* have attained the Divine light within themselves or *kashf*. *Kashf* in Islamic mysticism is "privileged inner knowledge that is acquired through personal experience and direct vision of God" (Britannica, 2016). The *Sedulur Sikep* community which believes in the unity of God, humans,

and nature are not Muslims; however, according to Gomaah (2008), *kashf* can be obtained by anyone. Even those outside of Islam can feel the Divine light if they are willing to seek it.

Islamic Ecofeminism

The Kartini Kendeng movement shows that ecology, feminism, and Islam are inter-related in this case study. The finding of the present research answers the question of resistance that emerges among Indonesian Muslim conservative and fundamentalist groups, which is a dynamic and hegemonic struggle of discourse. This finding is then reliable as an epistemological basis of Islamic ecofeminism. According to Jenkins et al. (2016), there are three methodological approaches to bridge the dialogue between religion and ecology, namely retrieval, re-evaluation, and reconstruction. Retrieval involves a rigorous examination of scriptural and commentarial sources to elucidate religious interpretations related to the human-nature relationship. Re-evaluation means scrutinizing the applicability of traditional teachings to contemporary circumstances. Reconstruction challenges religious traditions to adapt to contemporary realities in innovative ways.

Ecofeminist perspectives, mediated by *Sedur Sikep*'s worldviews found in the Kartini Kendeng movement, challenge Muslims to clarify their canonical sources regarding human relations with non-human nature. These perspectives also examine the relevance of Islamic canonical sources to contemporary circumstances and their ability to adapt. As a pertinent example, the application of ecofeminist theoretical frameworks to the analysis of the Hadith attributed to Al-Thabrani, which elucidates the notion of *al-Ard al-Umm*, clarifies the relevance of Islamic teachings to the current circumstance in terms of the human-nature relationship. This serves as a manifestation of the three methodological approaches articulated by Jenkins et al. (2016).

Warren (2000) stated that ecofeminism serves as an umbrella term that encompasses diverse forms of activism, voices, positions, scholarly works, arts, and other expressions that resist any mechanistic worldview, which harms nature and other vulnerable groups. It is arguable to include Islamic ecofeminism, as found in the Kartini Kendeng movement, as part of ecofeminism itself for several reasons. First of all, Islamic ecofeminism promotes the transformation of attitude from arrogant perception to caring and empathy. This is relevant to the ethical foundation of ecofeminism proposed by Warren (2000). Both the concept of *al-Ard al-Umm* and *Tawhidic* caring possess sufficient explanatory power to account for this caring ethics. Secondly, the empirical evidence in the present research shows that the dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam in no way degrades either one or the

other. Instead, this dialogue enriches both ecofeminism and eco-Islam with diverse perspectives and contributes to the continuous process of the construction of the two. Thirdly, Islamic ecofeminism further enhances the existing idea regarding the close correlation between eco-theology and ecofeminism. In Chapter II, I reviewed Troster (2013), who asserts that eco-theology draws inspiration from ecofeminism. This is supported by the fact that a considerable number of esteemed eco-theologians identify themselves as ecofeminists. Another declaration is made by Kim (2011), a Korean Christian Theologian, who asserts that ecofeminism is one of the four models of Christian eco-theology, namely social ecology, creation theology, ecofeminism, and eco-spirituality. Lastly, in terms of the critique of essentialism, Islamic ecofeminism does not support the inherent attachment between women and nature. Based on the concept of *al-Ard al-Umm* and *Tawhidic* caring, all human beings are equal and have the same responsibility to fulfil their function as stewards of God on Earth. Men and women have the same obligation to respect and care for the Earth, their cosmic mother.

In addition, the Kartini Kendeng movement is not merely an environmental movement. Instead, it stands as a connection between spiritual and religious movement. The obligation to care for the cosmos holds spiritual significance in addition to doctrines. Consequently, any individuals fulfil this obligation, they are effectively executing religious directives. Conversely, failing to do so would be regarded as sinful due to the neglect of religious commands.

According to Fairclough, the problematization prompts a dilemma that encourages individuals to engage in creative adaptation and negotiation through diverse alterations. For those conservative groups who reject any Western 'ism', the introduction of Islamic ecofeminism is dilemmatic. It prompts them to negotiate in innovative and creative ways. The empirical finding on Islamic ecofeminism within the Kartini Kendeng movement will stand as a hegemonic struggle and play a role in the process of discursive change that inevitably influences their knowledge, beliefs, and socio-cognitive aspects.

V.3. Limitation and Recommendation

As discussed in Chapter I, there are differences in opinion and voices among the *Sedulur Sikep* and the Muslim community in the North Kendeng Mountains regarding the construction of a cement plant in their homeland. The people of the 'pro' group support the government's decision. They consider cement mining to be a form of development agenda that will benefit the local people. At the same

time, there are others, the people of the '*tolak*' group, who resist the construction of the cement plant due to the documented disastrous ecological impact of mining activities. However, for practical reason it was not feasible to reach the 'pro' group. Therefore, the present research focuses on the second group, who are involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement. Nevertheless, the present research aims to gain a deeper understanding of the contributory dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam in terms of perspective, ethics, and identity formation. It is recommended for future research to include the perspective of the 'pro' group to gain a more comprehensive dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam. The recent debate on mining, which involves both Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, the biggest faith-based movement in Indonesia, could also be included in the research.

As a research method and theoretical framework, Critical Discourse Analysis possesses a noteworthy attribute in its reliance on linguistic data, which necessitates meticulous analysis at three distinct stages: descriptive, discursive, and social effects. Nevertheless, due to the inherent interconnectedness of these levels and their shared dependence on linguistic data, it becomes inevitable to encounter repetition in the display of data at each level, particularly when the three levels are handled independently. This predicament presents a considerable challenge in the writing process, despite being an irrefutable aspect of Critical Discourse Analysis. However, one potential approach to mitigate this issue is to assign a numerical value to each linguistic datum, thus facilitating a reduction in redundancy throughout the various stages of analysis. To minimize the aforementioned problem, it is conceivable that researchers employing Critical Discourse Analysis may opt for a combination of the three levels as a means to mitigate redundancies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of informants

It is mentioned in Chapter I that I conducted interviews with fifteen women and ten men. However, the data used in the present research came from ten women and nine men.

No	Abbreviation	Sex	Interview location and date	Religious affiliation	Additional information
1	KK1	F	Pati, 18 August 2019; 28 December 2020	<i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	Brother of MAK1. She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
2	KK2	F	Rembang, 20 August 2019; 27 December 2020	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
3	KK3	F	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
4	KK4	F	Pati, 25 July 2019; 28 December 2020	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
5	KK5	F	Pati, 28 December 2020	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
6	KK6	F	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017. She was awarded as one of Indonesian Female Food Heroes by Oxfam in 2016.

No	Abbreviation	Sex	Interview location and date	Religious affiliation	Additional information
7	KK7	F	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017. She was the only woman who filed a lawsuit against a cement factory that was going to demolish her house.
8	KK8	F	Pati, 26 July 2019	<i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017. Wife of MAK1.
9	KK9	F	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
10	KK10	F	Pati, 28 December 2020	Islam	She was the only informant in this study who was not directly involved in the 2017 protest in front of the Presidential palace because of work that she could not leave. However, she had a significant role in gathering residents in every protest action. Her activeness in one of the Islamic women's organizations enabled her in convincing her residents to join the movement to reject the construction of cement factory.
11	KK11	F	Pati, 25 July 2019; 28 December 2020	Islam	She is the daughter of Yu Patmi.
12	KK12	F	Pati, 17 August 2019	Christian	She was a general practitioner who voluntarily accompanied the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement during their demonstration actions.

No	Abbreviation	Sex	Interview location and date	Religious affiliation	Additional information
13	KK13	F	Rembang, 20 August 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
14	KK14	F	Rembang, 20 August 2019	Islam	She was one of the nine women who protested in front of the Presidential palace in Jakarta in 2017.
15	KK15	F	Pati, 26 July 2019	Sedulur Sikep	She is the daughter of the leader of JMPPK
1	MAK1	M	Pati, 24 and 26 July 2019; 17 August 2019; 27-28 December 2020.	Sedulur Sikep	The leader of JMPPK.
2	MAK2	M	Pati, 25 July 2019; 17 August 2019	Islam	He claimed himself as 'Islam KTP' (being a Muslim for administrative reason).
3	MAK3	M	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	Has a background of Islamic education at <i>pesantren</i>
4	MAK4	M	Rembang, 1 August 2019	Islam	He had a background of Islamic education at <i>pesantren</i> . However, he converted to Agama Adam of <i>Sedulur Sikep</i> after his marriage with the nephew of the leader of JMPPK.
5	MAK5	M	Pati, 25 July 2019	Islam	Husband of KK6
6	MAK6	M	Pati, 24 July 2019; 28 December 2020	Islam	Husband of Yu Patmi
7	MAK7	M	Rembang, 27 December 2020	Islam	He is a preacher who uses music as a medium for preaching. He composed many religious songs with environmental themes.

No	Abbreviation	Sex	Interview location and date	Religious affiliation	Additional information
8	MAK8	M	Pati, 17 August 2019	Islam	One of the important figures in the Indonesian Speleological Society (ISS) who facilitated the process of tracing underground water sources in the North Kendeng Mountains during Strategic Environmental Assessment in 2017
9	MAK9	M	Bogor, 31 August 2029	Islam	He is a lecturer at IPB University Bogor. He was involved in advocacy for JMPPK.
10	MAK10	M	Rembang, 2 August 2019	<i>Sedulur Sikep</i>	He was a Muslim. He converted to <i>Agama Adam</i> after his marriage with the nephew of the leader of JMPPK

Total: 25 persons

Muslim: 20 persons

Sedulur Sikep: 5 persons

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Introduction

1. The interviewer introduced her name and status as a Ph D student at Radboud University who was doing research on the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam using the Kartini Kendeng movement as a case study.
2. Before starting the interview, the interviewer thanked the interviewees for their willingness to be the informants of the research. As a kind of consent, the interviewer also asked for the agreement from the interviewees to record the interview process, informing them that their identities would stay anonymous. For various reasons, the interviewees preferred to convey their consents verbally.

Interviewee Background

1. Can you tell me your age and your religious background?
2. Do you know JMPPK?
3. Do you know the Kartini Kendeng movement?
4. Since when did you get involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement to resist cement mining?
5. What was your reason for getting involved in the Kartini Kendeng movement?
6. Does anyone invite you to get involved in the movement?
7. Are you still active in this movement until now?

God, Human, and Nature Relations

1. What do you think about God, humans, and nature relations?
2. How do you perceive the North Kendeng Mountains?
3. Do you know the poem of *Ibu Bumi*?
4. Do you have a special prayer/ritual for *Ibu Bumi* or the North Kendeng Mountains?

Women on the Front Line

1. What do you think about women's involvement in this movement?
2. Why are women on the front-line during demonstrations?
3. How do you deal with domestic/household responsibilities?
4. Is your husband/wife also involved in the movement?
5. How long does a demonstration usually last?
6. Do you have to prepare the household's needs before going to a demonstration?
7. Who will take care of your rice field and livestock if you go for a demonstration?

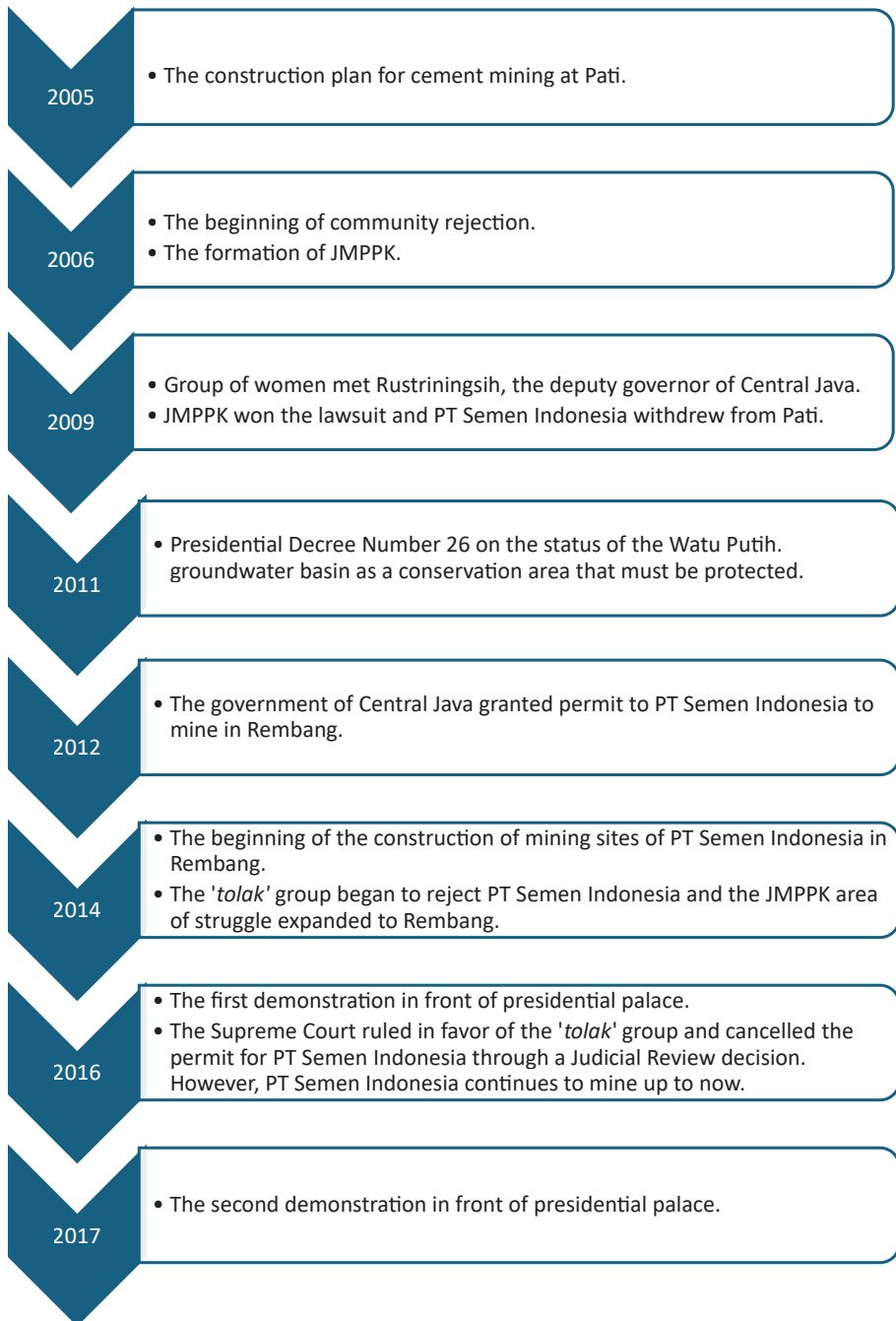
Muslims-*Sedulur Sikep* Relations

1. Can you tell me about *Sedulur Sikep*?
2. To what extent does *Sedulur Sikep* play a role in this movement?
3. Is there any inspiration you get from *Sedulur Sikep* regarding this movement?
4. How do you, as a Muslim, deal with *Sedulur Sikep* who have different beliefs?
5. How do you, as part of *Sedulur Sikep* community, deal with Muslims who have different beliefs?
6. What do you think about the prayer poem of *Ibu Bumi*?
7. What do you think about equipping *langgar* Yu Patmi with a gamelan?
8. Why do you wear *kebaya*, *jarik*, and *selendang* during demonstrations?

Closing

The interviewer thanks the informants for their willingness to answer the questions.

Appendix 3: The Chronology of the Kartini Kendeng Movement



Summary

The Kartini Kendeng movement is a group of women and men defending the North Kendeng Mountains from cement mining. Many studies have been carried out to capture the Kartini Kendeng movement from various perspectives; however, the dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam is rarely explored in capturing this movement. Both ecofeminism and eco-Islam are evolving frameworks that concern human-nature relationship. The constructive dialogue between Islamic and non-Islamic traditions is significant in bridging the gap between the two and broadening understanding of Islamic ethics. This study examines the dialogue between ecofeminism and eco-Islam using the Kartini Kendeng movement as a case study. The main question to be answered in this research is: What is the contribution of ecofeminism to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam?

The main data in this study was obtained through interviews. I conducted interviews with a total of fifteen women and ten men who are actively involved in this movement, with five of them having a background in *Sedulur Sikep* tradition while the majority are Muslims. *Sedulur Sikep* in this research is an indigenous community who live in Pati and Rembang. The land-centred worldview of *Sedulur Sikep* inspires the emergence of the concept of *Ibu Bumi* (Mother Earth). The people of *Sedulur Sikep* believe that the Earth and its contents are alive and react to human behaviour. For them, the Earth is their mother who always sustains their life. This movement opens up a space for dialogue and negotiation between Muslims and the *Sedulur Sikep* community. The people of *Sedulur Sikep* introduced the concept of *Ibu Bumi* to the Muslim community, which eventually has given rise to the prayer of *Ibu Bumi*, a prayer that combines the spiritual tradition of both *Sedulur Sikep* and Muslim community.

To analyse the data obtained, I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Three levels are applied in analysing data using CDA: description, interpretation, and explanation. Description focuses on analysing formal features of texts. Interpretation engages in analysing production, distribution and consumption of texts. Explanation helps to analyse conditions and effects of texts. The sub-questions of this study are: (1) how do the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement perceive the relationship between God, humans, and nature?, (2) what are the empirical ecological ethics emerging in this movement that correspond to eco-Islam and ecofeminism?, and (3) how does the Kartini Kendeng movement shape the social identity of both the Muslim and *Sedulur Sikep* within this movement?

This study found that the backgrounds of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement greatly influenced their perspectives on the relationship between God, humans, and nature. For those who come from *Sedulur Sikep* tradition, God, humans, and nature are a unity. For Muslims, humans are stewards of God who have a responsibility to care for the sustainability of nature. For those who converted to *Agama Adam* of *Sedulur Sikep*, nature is above humans.

In terms of ethics, there are three empirical ecological ethics that have developed, nature-centred caring, God-centred caring, and human-centred caring. All of them arise from three perspectives on the relationship between God, humans, and nature. Nature-centred caring is based on the principle that humans respect and care for nature because of the intrinsic value in nature itself. God-centred caring perceives that preserving nature is humans' responsibility for their status as stewards of God. Finally, human-centred caring views that humans are responsible for the sustainability of the natural world because of humans' dependence on it.

Regarding the social identity of the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement, there are three voices in dialogue with each other: the voice of religion (Islam, *Agama Adam*, and Converts from Islam to *Agama Adam*), the voice of women, and the voice of the Mother Earth. In terms of religion, the members of the Kartini Kendeng movement are polyphonic individuals in the sense that they embrace separate belief system. However, there is a room for dialogue and negotiation within themselves. For the people of *Sedulur Sikep*, the voice of *Agama Adam* is dominant besides their openness to Islamic teachings as a form of respect. Conversely, those who are Muslims position themselves as traditional Javanese Muslims who are open to the traditions of *Sedulur Sikep* as long as they do not transgress Islamic teachings. The converts do not experience problems related to their relationship with *Sedulur Sikep* and Muslims.

The intersection between the voices of the Mother Earth, women, and religion has given rise to the exchange of traditional gender roles. Patriarchal social constructs begin to shift, marked by a shift in gender roles. Another form of negotiation between the voices of Mother Earth, women, and religion is visible in the prayer of *Ibu Bumi*.

From the above findings, the research concludes that ecofeminism contributes to the construction of Indonesian eco-Islam in three ways. First, ecofeminist framework helps Muslims involved in this movement rediscover the feminine dimension of Islamic teachings. Second, the concept of Tawhid in Islam is the basis for environmental caring activities. Third, this study shows that ecofeminism and eco-Islam are interrelated. The ecofeminist framework challenges Muslims involved in this movement to clarify how Islam views the relationship between God, humans, and nature.

Samenvatting

De Kartini Kendeng-beweging bestaat uit een groep vrouwen en mannen die de Noord-Kendeng-bergen verdedigen tegen cementwinning. Er zijn veel studies uitgevoerd om de Kartini Kendeng-beweging vanuit verschillende perspectieven in kaart te brengen, maar de dialoog tussen ecofeminisme en eco-Islam wordt hierin zelden onderzocht. Zowel ecofeminisme als eco-Islam zijn zich ontwikkelende kaders die betrekking hebben op de relatie tussen mens en natuur. De constructieve dialoog tussen Islamitische en niet-Islamitische tradities is belangrijk om de kloof tussen beide te overbruggen en het begrip van Islamitische ethiek te verbreden. Deze studie onderzoekt de dialoog tussen ecofeminisme en eco-Islam aan de hand van de Kartini Kendeng-beweging als casestudy. De belangrijkste vraag die in dit onderzoek beantwoord wordt is: wat is de bijdrage van ecofeminisme aan de constructie van de Indonesische eco-Islam?

De belangrijkste gegevens in dit onderzoek zijn verkregen door middel van interviews. Ik heb interviews gehouden met in totaal vijftien vrouwen en tien mannen die allen actief betrokken zijn bij deze beweging. Vijf van hen hebben een achtergrond in de *Sedulur Sikep*-traditie, terwijl de meerderheid Moslim is. *Sedulur Sikep* is een inheemse gemeenschap die in Pati en Rembang woont. Het landgerichte wereldbeeld van *Sedulur Sikep* inspireert het ontstaan van het concept *Ibu Bumi* (Moeder Aarde). De mensen van de *Sedulur Sikep* gemeenschap geloven dat de aarde en alles wat bestaat levend is en reageren op menselijk gedrag. Voor hen is de aarde hun moeder die altijd in hun levensonderhoud voorziet. Dit wereldbeeld opent een ruimte voor dialoog en onderhandeling tussen Moslims en de *Sedulur Sikep*-gemeenschap. De mensen van *Sedulur Sikep* hebben het concept van *Ibu Bumi* geïntroduceerd bij de Moslimgemeenschap, wat uiteindelijk heeft geleid tot het gebed van *Ibu Bumi*, een gebed dat de spirituele traditie van zowel *Sedulur Sikep* als de Moslimgemeenschap combineert.

Om de verkregen gegevens te analyseren, heb ik gebruik gemaakt van kritische discoursanalyse (CDA). Bij het analyseren van gegevens met behulp van CDA worden drie niveaus toegepast: beschrijving, interpretatie en verklaring. Beschrijving richt zich op het analyseren van formele kenmerken van teksten. Interpretatie houdt zich bezig met het analyseren van de productie, distributie en consumptie van teksten. Verklaring helpt bij het analyseren van de omstandigheden en effecten van teksten. De deelvragen van dit onderzoek zijn: (1) hoe zien de leden van de Kartini Kendeng-beweging de relatie tussen God, de mens en de natuur?, (2) welke

empirische ecologische ethiek ontplooit zich in deze beweging die overeenkomt met eco-Islam en ecofeminisme?, en (3) hoe vormt de Kartini Kendeng-beweging de sociale identiteit van zowel de Moslims als de *Sedulur Sikep* binnen deze beweging?

Uit dit onderzoek blijkt dat de achtergrond van de leden van de Kartini Kendeng-beweging een grote invloed heeft op hun visie op de relatie tussen God, de mens en de natuur. Voor degenen die afkomstig zijn uit de *Sedulur Sikep*-traditie vormen God, de mens en de natuur een eenheid. Voor Moslims zijn mensen rentmeesters van God die de verantwoordelijkheid hebben om te zorgen voor de duurzaamheid van de natuur. Voor degenen die zich hebben bekeerd tot *Agama Adam* vanuit de *Sedulur Sikep* traditie staat de natuur boven de mens.

Op het gebied van ethiek zijn er drie empirische ecologische visies ontwikkeld: natuurgerichte zorgzaamheid, God-gerichte zorgzaamheid en mensgerichte zorgzaamheid. Deze zijn allemaal voortgekomen uit drie perspectieven op de relatie tussen God, de mens en de natuur. Natuurgerichte zorgzaamheid is gebaseerd op het principe dat mensen de natuur respecteren en ervoor zorgen vanwege de intrinsieke waarde van de natuur zelf. Godgerichte zorg gaat ervan uit dat het behoud van de natuur de verantwoordelijkheid is van de mens als rentmeester van God. Ten slotte gaat mensgerichte zorg ervan uit dat de mens verantwoordelijk is voor de duurzaamheid van de natuurlijke wereld vanwege de afhankelijkheid van de mens daarvan.

Wat betreft de sociale identiteit van de leden van de Kartini Kendeng-beweging zijn er drie stemmen die met elkaar in dialoog zijn: de stem van de religie (Islam, *Agama Adam* en bekeerlingen van Islam tot *Agama Adam*), de stem van de vrouwen en de stem van Moeder Aarde. Op religieus vlak zijn de leden van de Kartini Kendeng-beweging polyfone individuen in die zin dat ze elk een eigen geloofssysteem aanhangen. Er is echter ruimte voor dialoog en onderhandeling binnen hun eigen gelederen. Voor de mensen van *Sedulur Sikep* is de stem van *Agama Adam* dominant, naast hun openheid voor Islamitische leerstellingen als een vorm van respect. Omgekeerd positioneren de Moslims zich als traditionele Javaanse Moslims die openstaan voor de tradities van *Sedulur Sikep*, zolang deze niet in strijd zijn met de Islamitische leerstellingen. De bekeerlingen ondervinden geen problemen in hun relatie met *Sedulur Sikep* en Moslims.

Het snijpunt tussen de stemmen van Moeder Aarde, vrouwen en religie heeft geleid tot een verschuiving in de traditionele genderrollen. Patriarchale sociale constructies beginnen te veranderen, wat tot uiting komt in een verschuiving in genderrollen. Een andere vorm van onderhandeling tussen de stemmen van Moeder Aarde, vrouwen en religie is zichtbaar in het gebed van *Ibu Bumi*.

Op basis van bovenstaande bevindingen concludeert het onderzoek dat ecofeminisme op drie manieren bijdraagt aan de constructie van Indonesische eco-Islam. Ten eerste helpt het ecofeministische kader om de vrouwelijke dimensie van de Islamitische leer te herontdekken. Ten tweede vormt het concept van *Tawhid* in de Islam de basis voor activiteiten op het gebied van milieuzorg. Ten derde toont deze studie aan dat ecofeminisme en eco-Islam met elkaar verband houden. Het ecofeministische kader daagt Moslims die bij deze beweging betrokken zijn uit om te verduidelijken hoe de Islam de relatie tussen God, de mens en de natuur ziet.

Acknowledgement

This PhD dissertation would not have been completed without the incredible support of many individuals and institutions. I extend my deepest gratitude to everyone who has accompanied, assisted, and encouraged me throughout this long and transformative journey.

My doctoral journey officially began in 2018 when I received a scholarship from the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA). After completing the MoRA-funded Academic English Preparation, I contacted several professors to seek PhD supervision. Many of these applications were rejected for various reasons, which was discouraging. However, hope emerged when I received a warm and encouraging email from Prof. Frans Wijsen, who was in Yogyakarta at the time. He kindly suggested an in-person meeting, and from that meeting, he opened the door for me to explore research on religion and ecological issues—an area that was completely new to me at the time.

Entering this field as a newcomer presented considerable challenges. Nevertheless, the patience, generosity, and intellectual guidance of Prof. Frans Wijsen and my second supervisor, Dr. Phil. Dewi Candraningrum, from Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, made this academic journey not only possible but profoundly enriching. I wish to express my deepest gratitude to both of them for their unwavering support and scholarly mentorship. I am equally grateful to their families—Jeanne Rens, Paul Wijsen, and Mirte Wijsen, as well as Ahmad Badawi and Ivan Ufuq Isfahan—whose warmth and kindness made my time feel welcomed and supported. I would also like to extend my sincere appreciation to Dr. Phil. Dewi Candraningrum for graciously granting permission to feature her painting, ‘9 Paintings of Kartini Kendeng’, on the cover of this dissertation. Her artistic contribution lends both symbolic depth and aesthetic resonance to this work.

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I owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to my late father, my mother, and my siblings. Their unwavering support carried me through the most challenging moments, especially when I had to leave my children in Indonesia during the early stages of this journey. To my late father, in particular, although you never had the opportunity to pursue higher education, you instilled in your daughters the belief that education is an incomparable legacy—more valuable than any material inheritance. That conviction continues to guide and strengthen me whenever doubt or pessimism arises. To all women, keep dreaming of achieving the highest possible education! One day, that dream will come true.

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Most importantly, I want to express my deepest gratitude to my husband, Ahmad Afnan Anshori. Without his unwavering support, this journey would not have been possible. He has been my partner in discussion, reflection, and perseverance. This dissertation is also dedicated to my beloved children—Qya, Kavin, and Ezzat—who have supported me with patience and made many sacrifices along the way. I hope that your experience living in the Netherlands while your parents pursued their doctoral studies will inspire you to develop a lifelong love of learning and to believe that education has no age limit.

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For all of this, I am deeply grateful.

Curriculum Vitae

Zaimatus Sa'diyah was born in Lumajang on July 12, 1978. She earned her bachelor's degree in Islamic jurisprudence from Al-Azhar University in Cairo in 2001. She then pursued graduate studies at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, where she completed a master's degree with a thesis titled "*Interferensi Gramatikal Bahasa Indonesia ke dalam Bahasa Arab Tulis Mahasiswa Tingkat IV Ma'had 'Ali Bin Abi Thalib UMY.*"

Since 2011, she has served as a lecturer at the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kudus in Central Java, Indonesia, where she teaches and conducts research in Islamic studies and language. In 2019, she began doctoral research as an external PhD student in the Faculty of Philosophy, Theology, and Religious Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen in the Netherlands. The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs funds her PhD project through the *Lima Ribu Doktor* Scholarship Program. Since January 2026, she has been working at the Faculty of Syariah and Law at the State Islamic University (UIN) Walisongo in Semarang, Central Java.

"The Earth is Like My Mother" offers a powerful and intimate portrait of the Kartini Kendeng Movement, where women farmers in Central Java stand at the forefront of Indonesia's environmental resistance. Through a rich dialogue between ecofeminism, eco-Islam, and indigenous spirituality, this book reveals how women's lived experiences, ethical practices, and spiritual worldviews shape a profound defense of their homeland against destructive cement mining. Drawing on in-depth fieldwork, Zaimatus Sa'diyah uncovers the moral imagination, gendered agency, and ecological ethics that emerge when faith, tradition, and activism converge. Both scholarly and compelling, this work redefines our understanding of Islam, ecology, and women's leadership, while offering a visionary contribution to the growing field of Indonesian eco-Islam. An essential read for anyone seeking insight into environmental justice movements, religious ethics, and the transformative power of women defending the Earth.

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