

KARTINI KENDENG'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENT FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PRESERVATION IN THE #KENDENGMELAWAN MOVEMENT ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

The research focused on women who joined as Kartini Kendeng in motion #Kendengmelawan due to the development policy of cement factories in Kendeng, Rembang, Central Java. Movement of feminism from time to time had grown according to their respective fields, including women's awareness of sustainability ecology or ecofeminism. Technological progress, which gave birth to the media, had a turn of thought women environmental to make social media a means of conveying education and campaigning, which shifted to the development of the sustainability of nature. The research was a qualitative study with the approach ethnography digital, namely observing activity movement Kartini Kendeng in social media of whatever posted page for Instagram, Twitter, and Youtube. The research has found that Kartini Kendeng is active in the campaign and fights through the support from various parties to be with the emergence of resistance activities. This indicates that Kartini Kendeng makes media as a way against the development that is considered threatening environment, do ecofeminism practices that reach the numerous and widely to do support or come with in opposition and win.

Keywords: resistance movement, environmental preservation, social media

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an agricultural country with more than 50% of its income from agriculture, plantations, and marine products. Indonesian people work as farmers, especially on Java island, where part of its territory is a stretch of rice fields and plantations. This island is the largest agricultural base in Indonesia (Ayun, Kurniawan, & Saputro, 2020). Farmers become the community's livelihood, which is conducted mainly by women to support their family's economy, especially for women living in the village. Space and territory are the most important components for farmers, especially women farmers (Astuti, 2022). Construction in society has shaped the relationship between women and nature considering women can maintain and care for the continuity or balance of the ecosystem, especially in environmental

management (Rifandini & Triguswinri, 2020). Even with modernization, Javanese thoughts and concepts are still very much attached, where Javanese women are helpless, so they still must be carried out the tradition as a form of offering, such as farming and tradition related to nature. Long before this era, the creation of a book named *Serat Centini* became one of their living standards about the culture and life of Javanese society (Kristianto, 2021). More precisely, it represents human beings, especially Javanese, in social, cultural, and even gender aspects that are never-ending issues until now.

A significant and historical figure is titled after a maid by indicating a particular gender, namely women, which illustrates long before Javanese people had recognized the term gender in their own terms. Gender is no longer about sex but more than a matter of biologically predetermined sex. Gender is a social

role between women and men shaped by social and cultural constructions (Khuraerah & Kustanti, 2021). Gender itself has a goal, one of which is the equalization of rights between men and women in aspects of life, including the inheritance of natural resources and services (Azmawati & Kartikasari, 2020). Gender is formed from a culture whose position can be exchanged between women and men with the influence of their social environment (Mesraini, 2018). Even this kind of concept has been applied unconsciously by Javanese women; they have to play other roles in the house, and afterward, they have to take care of heavy work in the fields.

Knowledge about gender is interpreted differently by men, especially Javanese men. Patriarchal practices in society are still firm, as evidenced by the aspects of work, freedom, obligations, and many others. It is still a gap in equality between women and men because of differences in principles. Many encountered thoughts that have hegemonized society in Java that women cannot develop because of their narrow area (Prastiwi & Rahmadanik, 2022). It can be reviewed in farming activities that women will be the key to the continuity of activities. The women will manage it, starting from processing until harvesting. Women have a dual role in life, especially in the Java region; besides taking care of the household, they have to work to take care of agriculture. This factor makes women very close to nature. Nature as a giver, containing various needs and giving everything, is constructed as a mother so that a woman will have the same feeling as nature.

However, along with the development of all timelines in the regions, government policies have begun to be implemented, including policies that began eroding the agricultural sector for the benefit of regional development, industrial development, and so on. The aim is to maximize the economy and industrial sector development in agricultural areas, one of which is the case of the mining and cement factory development policy that will be built in the rice fields of Mount Kendeng, Rembang, Central Java. Government policies that provide opportunities and will facilitate licensing for the construction of cement factories have led to new conflicts in the region. The resistance of farmers appears as an action when they balk at developmental invitations and their persuasion about the importance of people keeping ecology (Wahono, 2020). As a Javanese community that highly upholds "*Ibu Bumi*", women farmers are the most dominating community in this movement. They fight against the injustice of patriarchal practices that threaten their profession and ecosystem imbalances that will occur due to negative impacts on survival, including the threat of loss of water sources in natural and social problems (Asrawijaya, 2020). Protests to defend nature are often held as a form of defense the nature being destroyed because nature is the inspiration for peasant culture. Women farmers, in this case, are the power that can be the most strategic way to strengthen resistance and the most influential agent to fight for demands or rights in the Kendeng area.

The considerable adverse impact on the environment is a big reason for women to reject the construction of mines and cement factories for future survival because, basically, the women farmers and nature are naturally close because of their daily activities (Arni & Nur, 2021).

The repellent heroines of the Kendeng cement mine strengthen their open resistance through social media as a space supported by women with the spirit of ecofeminism. Ecofeminist is women's most popular femininity movement concerning protecting nature and the environment (Fariz & Andhita, 2020). It differs from environmental activities because women are more active in nature-related activities (Habsari, Rohmatin, & Istadiyantha, 2021). This ecofeminism movement is immediately carried out openly and quite mainly on social media, along with the development of technology from BPS Indonesia data in 2018 that 39,7% of women access the internet more often and use social media. This is also one of the factors behind Kartini Kendeng's choosing social media as a tool for rejection and resistance. On Instagram @Kendengmelawan, Twitter @Kendenglestari, and @omahkendeng, they share all photos and videos as well as expressions that voice social movements and concern for the environment, protect nature, and keep nature as something important in life. #Kendengmelawan is a movement that implicitly has the spirit of ecofeminism practiced through the media by women farmers. The uniqueness of women's concern for tradition has encouraged all layers of women to defend the Kendeng through social media. The media is a force that can be a minority space to get defense and support from all parties. Through this medium, they show the traditions that are still being cared for (Sitowin & Alfirdaus, 2019).

High concern for nature is part of ecofeminism. Women are much more aware of the natural environment, especially Kendeng women. It can be seen from the slogan they write on their social media "*Ibu Bumi wis making, Ibu Bumi dilatant, Ibu Bumi Kang gladioli*", in the sense that if "*Ibu Bumi*" is hurt, then they (women farmers and other women) will defend or in other words "women will defend other women". This research will look at the extent of the resistance of the Kendeng heroines to fight against patriarchy that threatens the sustainability of ecosystems or nature as part of the body of women farmers and the very role of social media in the modern era as a tool to fight back and the extent of the effects of resistance activities on social media. Previous research by Fariz and Andhita (2020) aims to discuss the discourse of the women's farmer ecofeminism movement, with the focus of research conducting a critical discourse analysis on the Tirta.id news page about the Kendeng women's resistance movement. This research also applies the same concept, namely ecofeminism as an environmental conservation movement with a digital tomography approach to women's activities to protect and preserve nature through social media as a minority space in resisting to reach more support and how far

is the effect.

METHODS

The research applies a qualitative approach by making observations and investigations to obtain accurate information about a particular issue and phenomenon in the area of community groups. The data collection method is obtained using the digital ethnography method. Digital ethnography is born as an implementation of the development of technology to be able to participate in the virtual environment. Likewise, virtual ethnography is a methodology used to find entities (users) using the internet (Anbarli, 2020) that also reflects the effects of communication over the internet (Mayasari, 2022). Digital ethnography interprets its users' digital experiences and lives under the umbrella of narrower anthropology and ethnography (Kristiyono, 2020). Digital ethnography allows researchers to observe cyberspace areas with specific steps and procedures influenced by cultural studies, anthropology, and sociology in the internet sphere (Anbarli, 2020). Digital ethnography is used because it aims to see Kartini Kendeng's cultural practices for the purpose of insight and rejection as a resistance movement through Kendeng Melawan's social media. Data collection techniques are carried out digitally or virtually through internet networks and in-depth observation of issues that occur through social media on the subject of *#Kendengmelawan* from various platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. The method used is exploring field sites to retrieve data in internet browsing (Sa'diyah, 2019). The data collection technique, namely online, includes (1) observation of objects through communication on the internet, (2) identifying forms of resistance through social media and platforms that raise these issues, and (3) classifying data obtained through Instagram and Twitter. The analysis technique used is descriptive analysis to reveal the meaning of the data, then classify, and analyze the final results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

In its development, life in the technology field is a part that cannot be separated from society. People tend to choose social media as an alternative to do many things, including communicating, discussing, shopping, and even the media to learn and convey individuals' and groups' messages, insights, and ideas (Hartini, Putro, & Setiawan, 2020). Through social media, information is scattered in such a way that even information develops into an opinion and becomes an issue (El Shaq & Maharani, 2018). This makes two-way communication on social media the key to how people's relationships are interconnected, such as support and rejection.

Apart from personal needs, the media is also used by certain social groups to convey specific

goals and objectives. Social media is also a means of communication, usually in the form of text, images, sound, or video. These objects convey messages through symbols from the uploader to communicate with individuals or groups. Social media such as Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube have become quite popular in society without decreasing their existence. These platforms are some of the most popular social media in Indonesia. The community shares all activities through social media, including sharing narrative and persuasive insights to do something, including Kartini Kendeng, who conducted an oration protecting nature due to the threat of mining development in the Kendeng mountain area, Rembang, Central Java. The research explores Kartini Kendeng's social media through three applications that look more active, namely Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. This research explores Kartini Kendeng's social media through three applications that look more active, namely Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube.

Kartini Kendeng is a group of women farmers who practice ecofeminism to preserve nature around Kendeng, Rembang, Central Java. Initially, they carry out physical and actual actions by carrying out extreme demonstrations in front of the presidential palace, one of which is the act of casting feet with cement which leads to the loss of life of one of the female farmers due to exhaustion. Since then, there has been a change in the actions taken by women farmers. This can be seen from the formation of several accounts on social media with the same name, namely Kendeng Melawan, in 2017 around March. Social has become so popular since many social media applications, one of which is Twitter, as one of the media that can be used to communicate both ways. Twitter has become widespread because it forms communication patterns such as hybrid communication patterns. Kartini Kendeng carries out activities on her Twitter under the name *@Kendengmelawan_* (joined in 2017) with a record of 149 tweets. The hashtag created by the Kendeng Melawan community will raise the hashtags *#Kendengmelawan*, *#Kendengtaksendiri*, *#Kendenglestari*, *#Tolakpabriksemen* on each of their posts or tweets. This can be found every time they write a tweet at the beginning of the emergence of the *#Kendengmelawan* movement on Twitter. Figure 1 is the official Kendeng Melawan account.

Based on Figure 1, it can be seen that in the Twitter profile of Kendeng Melawan, which contains "*Ibu Bumi wis maringi, Ibu Bumi dilarani, Ibu Bumi kang ngadili. Kendeng Lestari!*". Basically, this tweet invites the public to jointly preserve the Kendeng mountains. The topic focuses on movements to reject the interest in building a cement factory that could threaten environmental sustainability. In addition, *@Kendengmelawan* shares insights about the environment and the potential that can damage the proper sustainability of nature. With around three hundred followers, the account is able to connect with other users. Kendeng Melawan's second Twitter account is *@omahekendeng*, with around four

thousand followers.

As shown in Figure 2, the actions taken by Kendeng activists against the construction of the cement plant are based on and supported by scientific reasons. Several figures who understand environmental issues conduct research on the condition of the Kendeng area. This is the strength of #Kendengmelawan activities to gain attention from the wider community that there are studies and insights into why Kendeng should not have developed in the area, such as keeping springs alive. They do this by sharing posts about experts' explanations of the natural conditions around Watu Putih Kendeng. This insight indirectly helps measure how important it is to protect the environment and keep it from dying. Nature affects human life in the future because the two balance each other. Twitter

@Kendengmelawan_ calls for decision monitoring activities with the hashtag #AwasiKHLs to defend the fact that the Kendeng area, according to the EIA, should not be subject to any development. Activists of Kendeng Melawan, including women as the majority of resistance activities, also share pictures of their seriousness in rejecting cement development through a theatrical action of casting their feet with cement. Another platform named @omahkendeng_ also tweets about the solidarity actions of other communities and people who support the Kendeng resistance from social media.

Based on Figure 3, it can be seen that Kartini Kendeng has very high solidarity. This can be seen from similar actions carried out by community groups in East Kalimantan and Indonesian migrant workers in

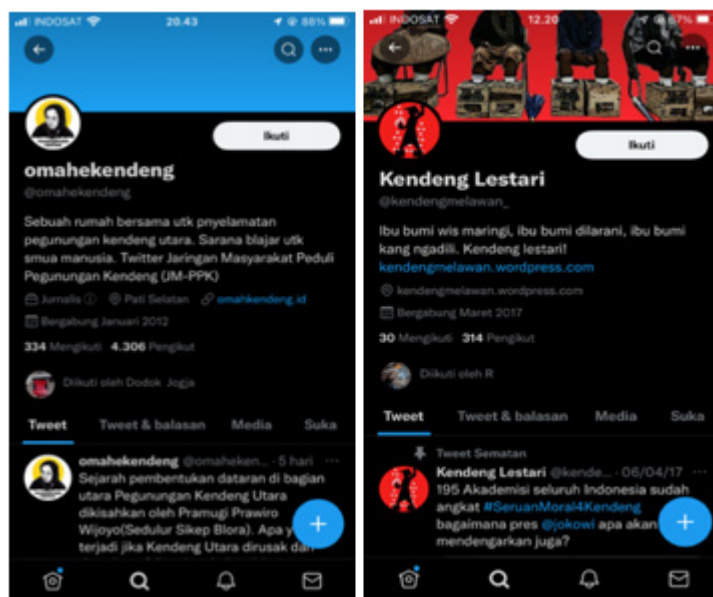


Figure 1 Kartini Kendeng's Twitter account

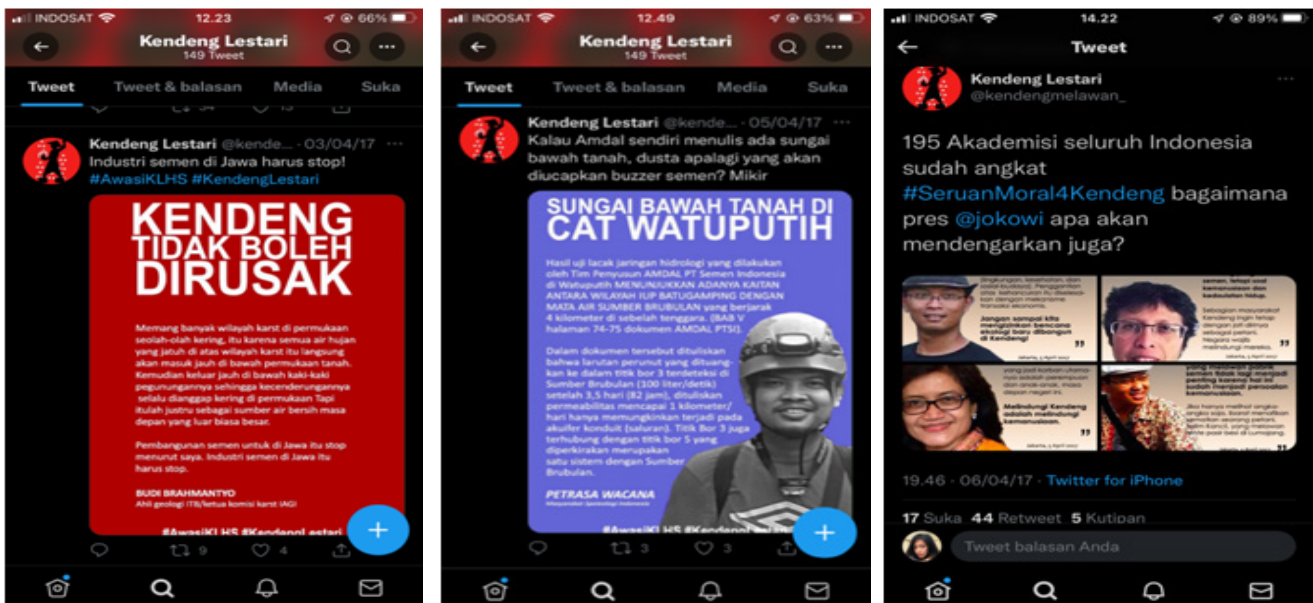


Figure 2 Providing Information on the State of Kendeng from Environmental Leaders and Researchers

Hong Kong, but not only that, the #kendengmelawan Twitter account also shares photos of them putting their feet in stock with cement and solidarity from several regions such as Bandung and Palembang with more than 30 retweets. The resistance of Kartini Kendeng is getting stronger after one of them, Mrs. Patmi, died due to her body condition after carrying out a foot cast action as a form of demonstration against the cement factory in front of the State Palace.

#Kendengmelawan (media and non-media) is a form of resistance of the Kendeng mountain community to the dominance of government power, investors, and capitalism on the issue of industrial development in Rembang, Central Java, which threatens the agricultural sector. The reflection of resistance through demonstrations and other social activities is organized, systematic, and principled, even though the form of resistance is not always carried out in anarchy like the narratives on social media. However, there are some extreme demonstrations (casting feet with cement). Through the #Kendengmelawan movement, it is clear that the target of this demonstration is the authorities in Central Java, and even state officials conduct campaigns also through his social media accounts.

The emergence of #Kendengmelawan by Kartini Kendeng symbolizes the rebellion against the system and the policy itself because each individual has power over his/her body, so they reject the power that has regulated it. In this case, it turns out to open vast opportunities for the mass media as a tool for rebellion to get another solidarity by Kartini Kendeng. #Kendengmelawan is a product born from social media. Other communities accept the movement by carrying out the same action and by women. The action is uploaded by several supporting communities that are responded to by the @Kendenglestari_ account so that this action is widely known. Habermas (in Haezer, 2018) has believed that the public sphere,

such as the media, is conceptualized as the reality of social life, where there is a process of exchanging opinions on various issues discussed in public places to form public opinion and even actions. Media forms an important community, including Kartini Kendeng, to demand rights in action to protect the environment. Relationships form in social media form resistance forces that come from other communities.

Online media supporting the Kendeng Melawan movement proves that interaction will bring them into a community so that from within the community will give birth to the same mission to fight back. Kendeng Melawan's social media is also created by a female activist who initially justifies Kartini Kendeng's action, which is less exposed by the media, so it is not widely known that environmental exploitation exists in the Rembang region. Although previously there was a documentary film but has not reached a wide range of people in Indonesia. The emergence of this movement on social media opens up other solidarities such as music events, traditional ceremonies, and other documentaries. This can be seen from the Kendeng Melawan Instagram account, which shares pamphlets of solidarity events with art. The purpose of creating social media for the Kendeng Against movement is to provide the possibility of more complex types of interaction, such as commenting, discussion, and even debate, so that there is a contribution from other parties in resistance. The media of the Kendeng movement is a social product through communication, called participatory culture, to develop more widely and has its container in the virtual world by making a special contribution to this community. This can be known through the action of Kendeng Melawan in social media can gather the crowd and attract the attention of the entire community movement to protect the environment through massive interactions carried out on an online platform not only for those who

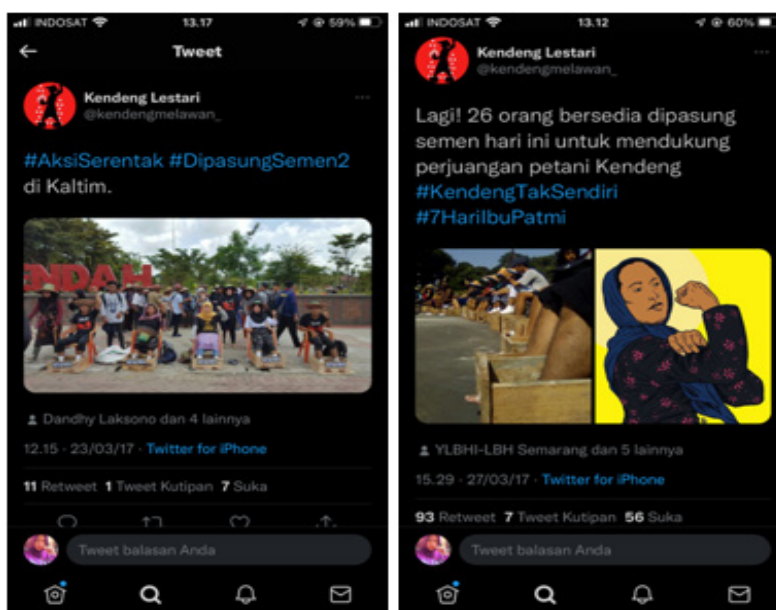


Figure 3 Community Solidarity Movement to Support Kendeng Uprising

live in the starch area but from various regions and professions such as artists and people who understand about nature. According to Jenkins, this phenomenon can be interpreted by four aspects of participation: affiliations, expression, collaborative problem-solving, and circulations (Epranata & Bangun, 2022). The first is affiliations, which are formal or informal memberships centralized online. This online community center is located in the Kendeng Rembang Mountains as a forum for the formation of media and the epicenter of the movement. From that point, a social media movement has emerged based on the social issue of environmental destruction in the Kendeng region so that all elements of society know and become a solid system only online. Based on shared ownership, they make one of the social media Instagrams, #KendengMelawan, the main tool to apply open resistance in various ways. In relation to this, the second aspect that can be reviewed from this system is expression. Expression is a new form of creativity created from social media or new things that happen in the Kendeng Melawan online community. The third is collaborative problem solving; they work together to make social media come alive to achieve goals, vision, and mission in social media. Furthermore, the last is circulation, the formation of a flow that contains invitations, chats, and the placement of issues in the media. #KendengMelawan is a product born from social media. Media is one of the spaces for how individuals make themselves who they are. Habermas has found that the earliest public sphere mentioned was the development of literary societies, discussions, voluntary associations, and the press in the 18th century. Habermas believes that the “public sphere” is conceptualized as the reality of social life, where there is a process of exchanging opinions on various issues that are being discussed in public places to form public opinion; the public sphere becomes a democratic force made by society to connect with the government (Haezer, 2018). In this scope, resistance occurs on social media by involving individuals and groups to reject the construction of cement factories. The movement is a product of social issues from Kartini Kendeng’s form of resistance in defending environmental sustainability, which then becomes the most effective way to build power from various parties.

When viewed from the mover, this is a women’s movement that wants to protect the territory in the form of nature. What if this is viewed from the side of women and ecology? Ecofeminism is ecological feminism. In language, eco is taken from the Greek oikos, which means the place where living things live, components of life such as water, air, and soil (Yogiswari, 2020). Ecofeminism may be something that is rarely heard; it is a concept of the feminist movement that many women do to defend injustice against nature because women are always associated with nature consciously. Women are considered as human beings who think rationally and have equal power to defend things such as the environment and nature that are exploited by

humans. It starts from myths that associate women with the most negative impact on nature because of the waste produced by women (cosmetics, clothing, and other chemicals). Ecofeminism begins to emerge on the condition that women and nature are often exploited and treated unfairly by other humans because of their powerlessness. Meanwhile, feminism refers to the awareness that is unfair in various sectors of life so that action emerges to achieve a change. Ecofeminism arises because nature and humans are related in interdisciplinary science. The existence of values that position women under men discriminate against women and their values; it is not surprising that society is formed because of the value of life in patriarchal thinking. Ecofeminism is related to women and nature, both of which relate concepts, symbols, and language of feminism to ecological issues (Maulana & Supriatna, 2019). Hajriyah (2020) has said that over time, ecofeminism develops into a concept among feminists about the importance of protecting and preserving the environment by women. Because of the stereotype that nature and they have something in common, their thinking becomes open. Nature is something that must be protected just as they protect other women from exploitation. In essence, ecofeminism is two interrelated disciplines: ecology about natural science and feminism about gender issues. Nature, like women, has a life and must be maintained in harmony to balance life because both are not inanimate objects that deserve to be exploited. This is the same as the case of Kendeng.

Kendeng mountain is one of the areas in the Rembang region of Central Java with high agricultural yields because the most extensive sector in the Kendeng area is agriculture. Located in the mountains, this area has natural resources such as springs and preserving hills that have never been rocky. More than 50% of Kendeng people may work as farmers, especially Kendeng women, who are still very dependent on agriculture. The closeness of Kendeng women to nature has moved them to carry out resistance movements since 2017 due to the Central Java government’s policy on industrial development in the Kendeng case, namely the PT Semen Indonesia Cement Factory. Nature as “Mother Earth” makes Kartini Kendeng a subject that brings women closer to nature through local work, such as doing daily activities that depend on water (cooking, bathing, farming, and so on). The water is sourced from the Kendeng mountains in karts. Kartini Kendeng’s activities in living make each other grow as consumers because it is the productive activities that realize the balance of nature is maintained. This makes Kartini Kendeng the foremost and loudest in rejecting the construction of cement factories that threaten further life. Discourse that succeeds in generating thoughts and becoming knowledge for the object of power (women) determines how it acts as a process of power over a person as an object of power.

Modernization inevitably must be followed by the flow of society that impacts the community’s system of thought and practice (Hajriyah, 2020). The

emphasis on development to fulfill the system has displaced some cultural aspects, and some powers have dominated the advancement of development in an area, especially in Kendeng, Rembang. In fact, capitalism has entered the traditional culture of the community or the cultural practices of the Watu Putih community, Kendeng, Rembang, with a fairly massive goal of advancing the region as an industrial area. Kendeng is one of the victims of natural violence caused by masculine practices. Kartini Kendeng is a form of feminism that emerged as a movement against all discrimination and inequalities in women answering how feminism and ecology have the same goal of changing the way of view and practice of patriarchy/ domination of women or the oppression of nature (Fiter & Andriyani, 2021).

Kartini Kendeng and nature have a relationship; women farmers take care of nature for the sustainability of life because, after all, they get the source of life from nature. It does not mean that women and nature are seen as having the same preservative character (social construction) but rather awareness. Kendeng Kartini rejects the construction of the cement factory because of the impact they have seen from Indonesia's exploited nature. Obviously, Kartini Kendeng's movement represents the concept of ecofeminism that wants to change the human perspective to end power within and between inhabitants (Oikos) to create a peaceful life. Humans must strongly reject the mistreatment of nature, but rural women are more visible in their defense of the destruction of the environment; they know very well what will happen if this large cement factory is still constructed. From the beginning, Kartini Kendeng's refusal to protest and prevent heavy equipment from entering the natural area has opened the minds of male farmers and the broader community throughout Indonesia to support the rejection of factory construction. Many other women, such as students, women activists,

and teenage girls, refuse by creating a space through Instagram called @Kendengmelawan_ to fight openly (Maulana & Supriatna, 2019).

Based on Figure 4, it is known that there is an inscription showing the seriousness of Kartini Kendeng to maintain the continuity of life for the future of their children and grandchildren. In farming activities, women will be the key to the continuity of activities, from processing to harvest. It is women who will organize it, proving that Javanese women are the pillars of family food sustainability. Women synergize the mind as a cultured society, especially in Java, which considers very close to the universe because women's domestic activities are close to nature. Basically, Kartini Kendeng carries out open resistance, which is organized and systematic (Habibi & Jacky, 2020). This resistance movement through the media is a milestone and the birth of changes to adverse decisions or other actions. The emergence of another threat to the economic sector of residents around the Kendeng area, in the Rembang Regional Spatial Regulation No. 14 of 2011 article 19 and Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2010 describes the Watu Putih water basin point as a protected area (Oktora, 2019). The points are explained in the Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia 26 Th 2011. The government guarantees an increase in income if this development runs smoothly, when in fact, agriculture is one of the highest contributors to regional income, which is almost 50% of the entire sector. The agricultural sector is at stake for less profit. It makes perfect sense that the Kartini Kendeng are resisting the collapse of agriculture as their lives. All movements are documented and shared through Instagram @Kendengmelawan_, from the video footage, after the death of one of the Kartinin Kendeng, who is exhausted after the symbolic action of casting feet with cement in front of the Presidential Palace.

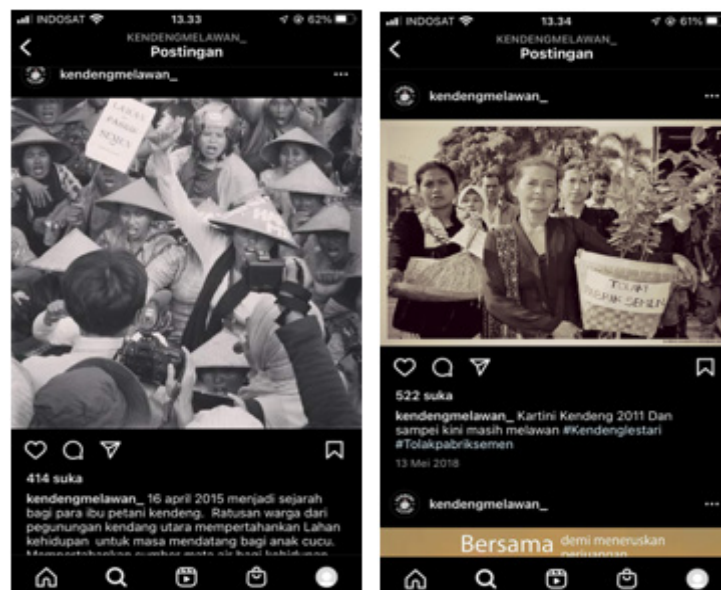


Figure 4 The Birth of the Resistance Movement from 2011 to 2015

“Yu Patmi has passed away, but her struggle lives on among us. We will continue to fight for nature and for Yu Patmi.” (Source by Instagram @Kendengmelawan_; March 20, 2017)

From the narrative of one of the Kartini Kendeng members, it can also be concluded that it is not about seeking profit from this case but rather women who will defend other women and protect nature from all pressures of power, development, and patriarchal practices. The awareness of protecting nature is not merely for profit; more than that, Kartini farmers far see the future if the nature they have been protecting will be damaged because, basically, their closeness to nature builds thinking about the natural laws that will occur. The thing that is key to improving and protecting nature is the traditional community that understands natural law. As a Javanese woman who cannot be separated from culture, Kartini Kendeng also symbolically resists the construction of traditional ceremonies because, basically, Javanese people will not be separated from ceremonies related to the circle of human life from birth to death and ceremonies related to domestic activities such as farming (Warsito, 2017). They carry out traditions such as *Sedekah Bumi*, *Gejluk Lesung*, *Lamporan*, *Kupatan*, and others. These activities include representing traditional forms that are still valid in the Kendeng mountain area and must be preserved. Kartini Kendeng’s activities on Instagram are classified as an active movement, so they get a lot of concern and support from various parties, including sharing photos with artists or influencers who strongly support Kartini’s activities with a large number of likes. The media owned by @Kendengmelawan_ functions as a force for environmental preservation as a reflection of the publication of activities in the

context of the community environment, basically the media is used to attract the attention and support of parties who even have the power to preserve the environment (Hawskins & Silver, 2017).

As shown in Figure 5, the Kendeng Lestari movement has received much support from the community. Kartini Kendeng’s awareness of the social construction of the resulting crisis makes them act solely to reject and fight against the domination that harms nature based on its hierarchical value. The emergence of Kartini Kendeng’s resistance is due to the relationship between nature and women, patriarchal practices that dominate women apply equally to the activities of dominating and exploiting nature. In this feminist movement on ecology, the role of women is crucial in the ecological revolution (Yasin, Darvina, & Su’adah, 2021). At another level, Kartini Kendeng not only reverses nature but is an active movement against the issue of oppression that occurs in nature around Kendeng. They see how if nature is damaged, all creatures, including men, will be destroyed. For this reason, they carry out environmental care activities to reject the construction of a cement factory in the Watu Putih Kendeng mountain environment through the media. All Instagram content and media share demonstration activities and symbolic culture so that they get a lot of support from various directions, groups, and Indonesian people. Since its appearance on social media in 2017, the support has continued to grow. Kartini Kendeng has opened a gap to tear down patriarchy by inviting all of humanity to participate in preserving nature through social media accounts, including many male activists who have joined Kartini Kendeng’s struggle until now. This has become very effective.

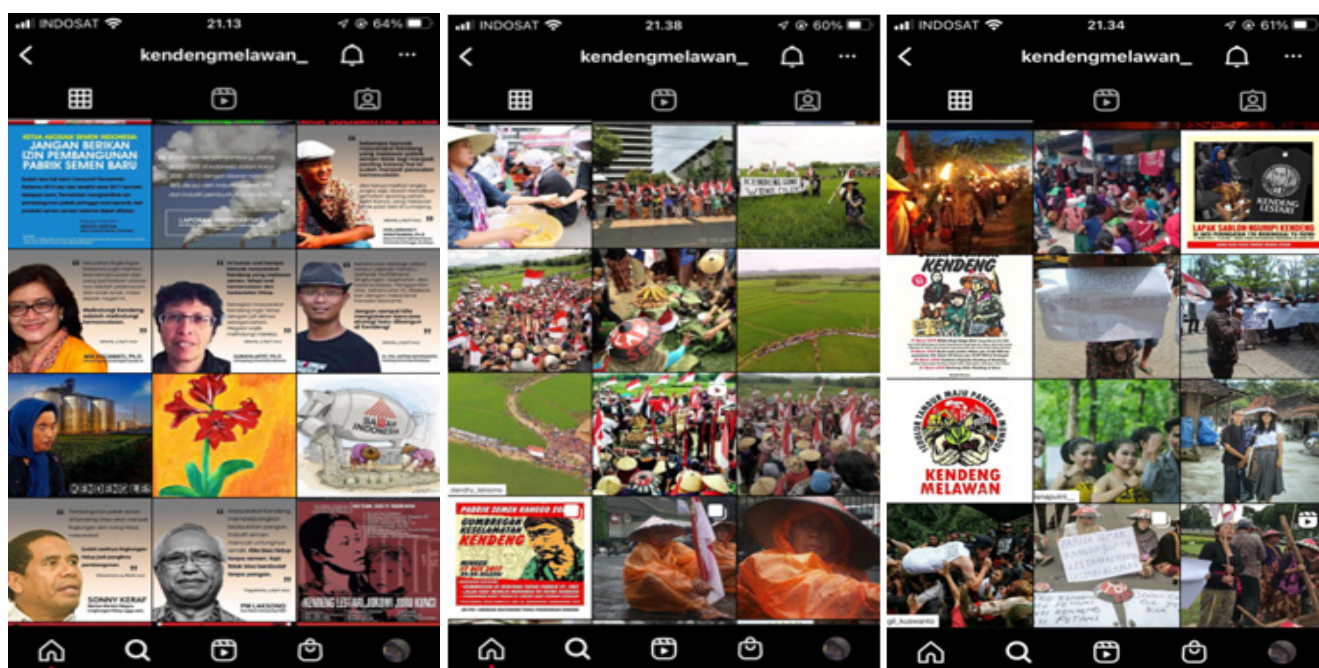


Figure 5 Activities and Support for the Kendeng Lestari movement

CONCLUSIONS

The policy of building a cement factory in the Kendeng region is a form of social body-power relations that arise due to the culture of modern society over development, in this case, the development of the industrial sector, which can potentially damage the agricultural sector (agrarian). Power is fully controlled by the government and capitalists, so inequality arises between them and the lending community, especially women farmers. From this problem, a resistance movement has emerged that is started and dominated by Kendeng women farmers in the form of social activities and demonstrations to extreme demonstrations. The resistance of women farmers (Kartini Kendeng) is based on their closeness to nature (*Ibu Bumi*) which naturally creates a sense and treatment of nature as it treats women (women who must defend women). The foundation of Kartini Kendeng's closeness is still preserving nature because domestic work greatly utilizes nature. The exploitation of nature is a form of patriarchal practice because nature is always feminized, so Kartini Kendeng realizes the sustainability of nature for the future.

Kartini Kendeng's ecofeminism movement is represented through the resistance movement that occurs is not merely defending her profession as a farmer who will lose her livelihood but protecting nature for the balance of life or Kendeng Lestari for future generations because women believe in natural law as "*Ibu Bumi*" which must be treated to break the crimes of the modern economy that threaten the existence of women in the Kendeng area. Kartini Kendeng's resistance opens the minds of various parties, including male farmers, students, women activists, and the wider community, about caring for nature and becomes a large resistance movement dominated by women. They spread resistance through social media, Instagram @Kendengmelawan_ as a space or public space, and Twitter @Kendengmelawan and @omahkendeng. On Kartini Kendeng's social media accounts, there are many social activities to preserve the environment in the Kendeng region. The issues that spread are responded to by all levels of society through comments or chat links as a form of invitation against capitalism; scientific insights are shared factually to strengthen. They use media as a culture of interaction, describing their existence and spreading truth and knowledge about the importance of keeping the environment sustainable. Kartini Kendeng incorporates digitalization technology into everyday life. Photos about activities to protect nature and demonstrations serve as a tool for politicizing Kartini Kendeng to invite all elements of society to achieve their goals. Everything shared on Kartini Kendeng's social media has received even greater attention and sympathy for preserving nature. This kind of movement is what makes the digitization of ecofeminism the most effective way.

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