In Scott’s (1998) perspective, the state has a tendency to regulate people's lives. The important thing to know the population is to make people become legible. Something that can be known beforehand before it can be regulated through the state scheme and planning. Regarding something illegal such as illegal mining, it must be legalized so that the state can benefit from that mode of production, such as taxes.

CONCLUSION

The gold mine in Sarolangun is a form of livelihood that is closely related to people's lives. Historically the people in Jambi cannot be separated from extractive production modes looking for gold. Even though gold livelihoods are said to have high risks and a degree of uncertainty, the profits obtained are quite tempting. Mining gold is one alternative to people's lives when agricultural and plantation products fluctuate, such as uncertainty in rubber prices.

From the perspective of the local government, the mining carried out by the community in the Batang Asai river is illegal. A raid was carried out in the area to curb the many illegal mines. Then there is a change in perspective from the regional government that the solution to illegal mining is by proposing the management of the People's Mining Area (WPR). By governing the mining through policy, government hopes this problem will be solved.

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GUARDIAN OF MOTHER EARTH: SHIFTING IDEAS OF PROGRESS AMONG SMALL FARMERS IN NORTH KENDENG

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The post-developmentalist movement emerged as a criticism of the concept of development. However, the concept of development continues to persist as a picture of ideas and the road to progress. In post-New Order Indonesia, the concept of developmentalism was adopted by the
regional government with an extractive project, as happened in North Kendeng. The peasant movement that collaborates with academics conducting many activities to produce alternative ideas about development as a response.

*Keyword: development, social movement, production of knowledge, shifting, progress.*

**BACKGROUND**

The expansion of global capitalism gave birth to social movements that voiced "another world is possible." The adoption of neoliberal ideologies that encourage market logic in all aspects of life has marginalized the role of the state. Under such conditions, the notion of immanent fields introduced by Deleuze and Guatarri took concrete forms when countries and global institutions joined forces to define a broad range of globally bound regulatory domains that established the superiori of capitalist axioms that apply axiomatic of local customs, traditions, and rules. Policymaking by the state and various multinational institutions and corporations often exclude citizens who inhabit an area called deterritorialization efforts (Chester and Welsh: 2006).

The idea of progress in development concept was promoted by World War II winner states that cooperated in IMF and World Bank after Bretton Woods agreement in the 1960s. Even the statistical, technocratic, and top-down ideologies that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s were widely criticized, the neoliberal thinking that was dominant in development organizations over the past three decades remained attached to the overall goal of linear economic and social 'progress' (Yarrow and Venkatesan 2006). The development approach that separates humans from their ecological context raises collective political expression in the form of social movements with reterritorialization efforts as the main agenda. Since the early 1900s, more social movements have been approached through sociology and political science approaches to refer to two approaches that see social movements as collective political expressions. These two approaches produce macro readings on the existence of social movements. While psychology studies represent micro studies of social movements, the development of anthropological studies of social movements has experienced ups and downs.

In the 1970s Richard Clemmer reminded the importance of anthropology to return to discussing social movements because of the importance of this study position in the scientific development of anthropology because social movements became a space for anthropology to be able to synthesize theory and practice (Burdick 1995). Contemporary social movement theory has analyzed the broad contour of contemporary activism concerning dimensions such as resources, problem framing, and political opportunities (see, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). However, this grand theory is not enough to see the daily practice of social movements that occur. Anthropology began to shed light on the importance of studying social movements as expressions of culture. At least the study of social movements will strengthen anthropological studies in two ways; First, theoretically social movements will provide new input for anthropological studies. Second, the study of social movements from anthropology will provide valuable input for social movements to achieve their mission (Burdick 1995). Arturo Escobar argues that anthropologists are well positioned to explore how specific "cultural practices/texts" relate to the redistribution of social forces, and, by implication, the extent to which they can function as a kind of resource or stepping stone for community organizing and collective action (Casas-Cortes 2013).

A social movement is an event that has ontological and epistemological complexity because it must be able to create knowledge that continuously influences reality and is organizationally ensured to work in various networks and social spaces (Casas-Cortes 2013). At this stage, social
movements seen as meeting spaces between various identity and social groups. This meeting often brings together various kinds of interests in an agreed agenda. Interaction between different groups is a prerequisite for the formation of new knowledge. Furthermore, social movements are perceived as networks, webs, or polycentric fields, which consist of individuals, collectives, discourses, and so on, rather than as separate entities separately. (see S. Alvarez 1999: Escobar 2008). In the North Kendeng context, a meeting between Kendeng farmers and cave researchers in generating knowledge about karst shows a change in position between academics and knowledge outside of them. We build upon the implications of growing literature on social movements as knowledge producers and practitioners (see Casas-Cortés 2009; Escobar 2008).

OBJECTIVE

One important thing is the occurrence of "activism turn." Anthropologists see the existence of social movements as an essential space for the birth of new knowledge called Donna Haraway as situated knowledge. In the political context, the production of new knowledge as a result of this collaboration is a territorialization effort by an epistemic group that works within the framework of co-production of knowledge (Lozano 2013). Furthermore, this paper seeks to show "ecology of knowledge", namely a critical dialogue between knowledge that is different from producer knowledge, in this case, academics and members of the movement (Lozano 2013) to disseminate the idea of differentiation of development.

FINDINGS

The concept of development in the decentralization era is inseparable from the development model practiced during the New Order era which was marked by the construction of various large infrastructure projects, one of which was the water supply infrastructure. With the idea of self-sufficiency as a strategic political campaign, the issue of water is essential. Armed with a loan from the World Bank, Indonesia built many large dam projects. One of these large dams is the Kedung Ombo Dam, which began construction in 1985 with the support of the World Bank. In addition to the reservoir building, the project also built hundreds of kilometers of irrigation canals which are part of the water management project from the Jagung, Tuntang, Serayu, Lusi and Juwana Rivers, also known as Jratunseluna. The project is an essential part of efforts to balance economic growth between Pati North and South Pati, which is known as a dry and economically disadvantaged area.

This South starch condition is very different from North Pati. Although there is the Juwana River, which is the largest river in Pati Regency, it does not provide enough benefits for the agricultural economy in South Pati. To accelerate the construction of irrigation projects and reduce the resistance of landowners who will be affected by the project, Regent Muhammad Joesoef (1996-2001) popularized the term "Basahi Pati Selatan." The defining agenda for South Pati by the regional government in Pati North was a vital part of the idea of development in South Pati. This stage is essential because development is not only concerned with physical development but also the system of knowledge (Escobar 2008). This slogan has used for various interests of the government and other actors outside it.

After the momentum of self-sufficiency in the 1980s, the New Order began to push the agenda of industrialization and modernization with the concept of "take-off era." Agriculture is a model of development that is marginalized and replaced by large industries with a focus on the exploitation of natural resources, especially mining. Many local governments replicate this concept as a model of development in the era of decentralization. In this era of regional autonomy, many local
governments issued mining land concession permits, one of which was Pati district which issued a mining permit for PT Semen Indonesia in 2006.

In addition to using bureaucratic instruments, the Pati district government in the Tasiman regency year served again using the slogan "Basahi Pati Selatan/ Wetting South Pati." However, the context of "wetness" this time was different from "wet" during the Regent Muhammad Joesoef. This concept encourages the need for local governments to wet South Pati with industrial development projects which are believed to have the effect of trickle-down effects. Remembrance of the dried South Pati is being rebuilt so that residents accept the project as well as an "obligation" of the local government to push the agenda of "soaking" South Pati. Since 2006, PT Semen Gresik has been disseminating plans for the construction of its factory. The land development scheme will be used in four sub-districts, namely Sukolilo District, Kayen District, Gabus District, and Margorejo District with a total land area of 1,560 hectares. Cement manufacture requires at least three raw materials, namely limestone, clay, and iron sand. Unfortunately, limestone (karst) is an essential agent because of its essential function as water storage. Besides the reduced water catchment area, the research conducted by the Speleology community stated that the presence of underground rivers in the karst area, which has complex tissues. Mining activities in one area can cause the depletion of water sources in another area. Because doing proper air storage, however, the appearance of a dry surface often occurs due to policy errors (Paripurno 2010).

In the context of the idea of "Wetting South Pati," Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Pengunungan Kendeng (JM-PPK), the Mount Kendeng Concerned Community Network, argued that South Pati was not a dry area as stated by the cement factory and Pati regency government. The concept of "wetness" is now seen in the context of expanding development by placing an industrial point in the North Kendeng Mountains region. According to JM-PPK, this argument is misleading to regard to the conditions of the North Kendeng environment. They proved on many occasions that their land is already wet and fertile. Contestation of ideas about progress gives birth to action in various spaces. At the level of knowledge regarding the Pati South region, the local government described this region as a dry area that would not be able to progress if it did not make an industrialization effort while JM-PPK sees that the industrialization agenda, especially mining, will eliminate the agricultural potential in South Pati.

Driven by farmers from various backgrounds of faith groups, they built networks between villages that use multiple methods were used to fight the expansion plan. One of the critical resistance methods was producing alternatives knowledge regarding North Kendeng landscape. JM-PPK that supported by Acuntyasunyata Speleological Club (ASC) was accomplished some research upon several caves found in the Kendeng Mountains. This research strengthens the daily struggle of the JM-PPK members stating that there are many springs in each village along the Kendeng Mountains. Not only they are aware of the cave protection, but the residents also map springs along the area. The findings of this independent research then became an argument for why Kendeng Mountain needs to protect from destructive activities, one of which was the construction of a cement factory.

The peasant movement in post-New Order Indonesia was a combination of the agrarian and environmental movements (Peluso 2008). Agrarian issues are a sensitive issue in the New Order political landscape, so they do not have the opportunity to become a common issue. Then this issue was wrapped up in environmental issues that were more acceptable to the New Order regime. Later environmental issues remain one of the crucial strategies to push the agrarian problems into public discourse. As also happened in the North Kendeng movement, which
narrated the process of marginalizing their existence as farmers in the discussion of karst damage as a store of water by mining cement raw materials.

This concept inspired Simbar Wareh, JM-PPK’s women group, to determine the form of household economic strengthening activities to run. The backyards have finally become one of the potentials they manage more intensively. Maintained garden in a more integrative manner, it would meet the nutritional needs of many households. Simbar Wareh encourages its members to plant chilies, vegetables, papayas, and medicinal plants. Although not yet sufficiently reliable, managing backyards to meet families’ nutritional needs began to be a choice activity of Simbar Wareh. During limited rice fields accessible by farmers, owning a backyard garden can have a supporting value for fulfilling the nutrient needs of families and minimize kitchen expenses. Since initiated at the end of 2009, Simbar Wareh currently has two hundred members and continues to grow as the network extends to Kayen and Tambakromo districts.

The activities held by JM-PPK and its member impacts various actions on the ground. One of the main events is to visit villages to convey information about the dangers of a cement plant mine. For this purpose, several people become speakers ready to attend various citizens’ meetings. Before these visits, they prepare materials that will be to deliver to villagers such as information about the nature damage that will occur, the Environmental Analysis process, and others. Campaigning fairly complex material by using relaxed and communicative local languages has made far more women understand the issues they are facing. The result is that more and more farmers are interested in joining the movement. For example, Rasmi, an elderly woman who is always actively participating in the various activities of this Simbar Wareh, "I have to fight for my grandchildren," Rasmi said eagerly. The idea of progress has gradually shifted from economic wffares to generational prosperity among the small landholders in North Kendeng hills. They notice the development concept from another way than government bureaucracy (Yarrow and Venkatesan 2006).

CONCLUSION

The concept of development planned by the local government does not get a response from the target community. The community offers an alternative idea of "progress" that is different from the idea of "progress" by the local government. This alternative concept gained a legitimate basis when it succeeded in laying a vision of development based on the knowledge generated through the understanding of the local needs.

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### INTO THE LAND: BAJO PEOPLE AT THE CULTURAL INTERSECTION

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Back in 2014 at Kendari, Southeastern Sulawesi, a day after the Indonesian Anthropology Kinship Network Congress, I took a vacation to Wakatobi with some of my friends from Padjadjaran University. When I was there, a local resident offering us to visit the Bajo village with his boat. My curiosity arises within my blood to see the Bajo people straight from their land, so I accepted the offer.

Once I arrived at the Bajo village, my imaginations about the Bajo fell off one by one. I was told that the Bajo people were a sea forager with their own unique traditional way of living. But, what I see there was very different. I saw a motorized engine ships owned and used by them, a cellular phone credit shop, mom and pop store with so many industrial and non-marine resources items, a public elementary school, a set of billiard table which played by the Bajo people, and also modern money used by the Bajo people. Although I was fascinated by Sampela village which located in the middle of the sea, those things make my curiosity bigger. How did they change?