

## **THE ROLE OF KYAI IN CONTENTIOUS POLITICS CONCERNING LAND DISPUTE IN URUTSEWU KEBUMEN**

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### ***Abstract***

*Land conflict in Urutsewu cannot be separated from the role of Kyai who tried to cultivate a political power struggle among citizens. Kyai who settled in the village and interact with citizens occupies a high social position. The religious dimension in the Kyai's resistance in the conflict area in Urutsewu, Kebumen is seen in some aspects of social movements. The first aspect is framing, the second is peasant mobilization through social spaces and traditional symbols and the third aspect is the network of resistance. Each of these aspects relates with one another. These three aspects will certainly be strong when the resistance networks synergize consists of different layers that both layers of the santri, farmer associations between villages in Urutsewu, student activists, civil society organizations and institutions of legal assistance and women.*

**Keywords:** *the role of kyai, land dispute, Urutsewu Kebumen*

## **A. Introduction**

The role of religious figures or elites within social movements has got a lot of attention in the political science literature. Political resistance involving religious leaders, Kyai, priest and so forth usually appear in the forms of traditional society in which religion has an important role in society. Religious leaders have a very special position in rural communities. They do not have to have the political authority or a certain position in the structure of local politics. But the power of charisma which belonged to those religious leaders then has significance meaning for society in which religious leaders are present.

The role of those religious leaders dealing with the peasant resistance appears in Urutsewu. Urutsewu is a region consisting of numerous coastal villages in the southern part of the District of Kebumen. Urutsewu comprises three sub-districts namely: Buluspesantren, Ambal and Mirit Subdistrict. It contains several villages such as Ayamputih, Setrojenar, Brecong in Sub-district of Buluspesantren. Entak, Kenoyojayan, Kaibon, Ambalresmi, Petangkuran, Kaibon, Sumberjati are located at sub-district Ambal. Miritpetikusan, Tlogodepok, Mirit, Wiromartan, Lembupurwo are villages in sub-district Mirit. As for the name urutsewu is coastal area in Southern kebumen. The area became the center of the land conflict is from Mirit subdistrict, sub-district Ambal and Buluspesantren. This area is potential for iron mine.

The beginning of the emergence of conflict in Urutsewu can be traced from the construction of mess of Dislitbang TNI AD (Army) in 1982 in the village of Setrojenar sub-district of Buluspesantren. According to a resident, originally the TNI AD has a 100 x 100 m<sup>2</sup>. The land that will be used to build the mess is too slight. The TNI AD adds land area and becomes 200x200 m<sup>2</sup>. An additional 100 x 100 m<sup>2</sup> of land were purchased from the citizens through intimidation. The landowner was threatened by the TNI AD to sell their land (interview with Sugeng).

After the founding of TNI AD mess, the military trainings

begin in the region of Urutsewu. An assortment of heavy weapons like tanks, cannons and helicopters were used. At least as time goes by, the TNI AD military trainings stage every three months. Every military training, there will be two or three weeks before any dissemination of the TNI to citizens in the form of a letter and an announcement is open in the office of the village or sub-district. This is done because at the time of military trainings that usually takes three days, every citizen is not allowed to cross the line that already specified a thousand yards from the shore.

### **B. The Role Of Kyai In Contentious Politics**

Regarding the land dispute in Urutsewu, most of the peasants who are villagers of Petangkuran, Ambal sub-district is in the same position with the peasants in the village of Setrojenar. Sarengat, Petangkuran resident who also owns land in the area is reminiscent of the results of the meetings with District Legislative members or DPRD Kebumen, on December 14, 2008. At that time there were concerned and interested groups with the farmland in the region of Urutsewu, such as Assistant of Regent, National Land Institution (BPN), head of sub-district (Camat), a representative of Kodim 0709 Kebumen, as well as commissioning research for spatial planning namely CV. Wisanggeni from Magelang. There were also some public institutions, Law Aid Institution (LBH), NGOs, activists, students and representatives of farmers from villages in southern Kebumen.

During military training, all the way to the southern region will be marked with a red flag which meant civilians were forbidden to pass. Thus the majority of residents who are farmer end their activities because their paddy fields utilized for military training. After the training is completed, many of the residents' farmland is wrecked. Many crops are damaged. Usually there is a redress of the TNI for the citizens whose plants are damaged by training. However, military trainings leave the mortars remained active and do not explode. In 1997 mortars that were not exploded finally asks for victims. A group of young

children accidentally discovered the mortar that did not explode. They then took it to their house and tried to gouge the steel plate attached to the mortar. But then the mortars exploded and killed them all.

The TNI AD did not want to be responsible for such events. The reason, the mortar is not the residue of the military training of the TNI AD but the remnants of the Netherlands Army mortar from the times of Indonesian revolutionary struggle long ago. The residents denied that it was a leftover mortar of the Netherlands troops, due to the fact that Urutsewu was not a Netherlands Army base. But residents did not dare fight. This can be understood because until 1998, military power was very strong under the Suharto regime. During that time, relatively no resistance from residents in Urutsewu, especially Setrojenar where mess of TNI AD stands.

But after Suharto stepped down, the political weather changed a lot. At least the TNI were not as powerful as it was by taking off its dual function of ABRI which gives privileges to members of the Army to intervene in political and social problems. In 2007 the TNI claimed the land located 1000 meters away from the shore as a State land which mandates to TNI. The claim is confirmed with the creation of boundary peg which 1000 meters long by TNI. The residents did not accept at all, especially in the village of Setrojenar. The residents then picked off the boundary peg. The residents claimed that the state's land is just 200 meters from the shore. It was reinforced during an audience meeting with the National Land Agency (BPN). Moreover, the previous status of the land was lent to the TNI to make use of it which was agreed by the head of the village without the consent of citizens.

After the incident, the TNI AD and the residents' relations are covered by tension. The citizens began to be careful with the gestures of the TNI. It reached its peak in April 2011. A group of residents who tried to tear down a direction sign in the road to the coastal territory was intercepted by the TNI AD. The sign was built by the TNI AD to control the entrance-and-exit of the

residents. The residents and TNI AD then involve in pushing each other physically which led to the shooting of several residents. A number of citizens were injured and had to be rushed to the hospital. That event created uproar and widely covered by the media. Until now, the residents in the whole Urutsewu region commemorate it with *mujahadah* together led by Imam kyai Zuhdi

In 2011 there was an issue that there would be a sand iron mining in the sub-district of Mirit. In fact, at the beginning of 2012 it turned out to be a permit exploration signed by the district government of Kebumen. But not long after that, a lot of heavy equipment arrived to the village of Wiromartan sub-district of Mirit. The residents began to fret, because not long after the mess of PT MNC as a parking place of such heavy equipment, started dredging the land that was said to be used as a sample. However, the dredging was already up to a depth of eight meters wide like a football square. The residents got heated.

Following the activity of PT MNC which began to dredge the lands on the southern coast, residents finally tried to resist. The effort began with the formation of local mass organization called Persatuan Warga Wiromartan (Perwira), chaired by Widodo Sunu. Through this the consolidation of village residents' is more possible. Many activities carried out by Perwira in order to socialize the impact from the presence of iron sand mining in Mirit. They began to invite many residents in meetings that discuss about the mine. In fact they also established posts for complaints at some spots of the village.

Along with the discussion about the draft of district rule or Perda RTRW which stated that sub-district Mirit becoming an area of Defense and Security as well as mining, Widodo Sunu saw an opportunity to join the residents in the village in district of Ambal and Buluspesantren. Widodo finally began to establish contacts with Seniman, the chairman of FPPKS who is also the chairman of Korjasena. This contact also started a new network. Finally from some meetings among the village and sub-district

figures agreed upon the formation of a unified group called Urutsewu Bersatu (USB) headed by Widodo Sunu.

### **C. Kyai as an Actor of Contentious Politics**

Kyai is a figure who becomes a role model as well as the reference in various problems for the students and the surrounding community. Within Javanese culture, Kyai designation in ancient times is not only referring to people, but also objects that are considered to be honored such as Kyai Nogososro, a term for *Keris*, Kyai Plered for spear, and Kyia Slamet for sacred Buffalo. In addition, the term refers to a figure that lead a religious boarding school with a capacity of qualified and respected by society. But the same term is also sometimes used for the veneration of the elders in the Community (Dhofier, 2011: 93). According to KH. Mustofa Bisri, Rois Syuriah of Nahdatul Ulama (NU):

“Kyai adalah sebuah istilah khas budaya Jawa yang mempunyai makna orang terhormat di tengah masyarakat yang selalu melihat umat with mata kasih sayang. Sifat kasih sayang yang telah ditunjukkan para kyai zaman dahulu yang tanpa pamrih selalu membantu orang lain seperti memberikan tempat tinggal gratis bagi para santri, memberi modal bagi si miskin, dan mengobati orang sakit” (<http://www.nu.or.id>, was accessed tanggal 1 Agustus 2013 ).

(Kyai is a typical term of Javanese culture that has meaning that is honorable men amidst society who always see people with eyes of compassion. The nature of compassion which Kyai has demonstrated long is for example selflessly helping others as always giving free place to live for students, wealth for the poor, and treating ill people.)

In this research, I refer the meaning of Kyai as scholars for the Islamic religion. Kyai on his position as religious figures is divided into two categories. First is Kyai's activities which are

based on education and boarding students. This is I call Kyai Kiai pesantren. The second type is Kyai kyai kampung, the kyai that do not have a boarding school but maintain the mosque and small mosques in villages. Kyai provides services for villagers consists of leading religious rituals and education services in community

Discussing the Kyai in the map social movements involving contention has been very rare in the academic landscape. There may also be no factual conflict involving vertically between kyai versus the state or corporation during the contemporary Indonesia which result in the rarity of literature that discusses the role Kyai in contentious politics. In many ways, Kyai is always highlighted in relation to the social position of Kyai as an Islamic leaders both in boarding school as a traditional Islamic education institutions or in the village mosques (*langgar*) (eg: Dhofier, 2011; Dirdjosanjoto 2011).

On the other hand kyai is also highlighted in relation to political battles in both the national and local levels such as contestations with other religious or with influential figures such as the head of village or local strongman. Kyai is always highlighted in the contestation space horizontally (Dirdjosanjoto 2011). Kyai's role is seen as an influential figure in a society that encourages the community to participate in development. Kyai in this case becomes the driving actors of development (Horikoshi, 1987)

However, the literature that discusses the role of religious communities in mobilizing people in contentious politics with the State vertically as the object of resistance as well as corporations is very limited. A little of it, the seminal work of Kartodirjo Kartono, *Peasants' Revolt in Banten 1888* (1984) which discusses in-depth and detail about the Banten peasants' revolt led by the clergy and the religious leaders against the colonial power should be taken into account. The study highlighted the peasant movement and Ulama or religious leaders as a point of departure of the model of collective movements. The book written by Sartono Kartodirjo may be the earliest in seeing how the Ulama of Tariqat in Banten

mobilize peasants' resistance against the colonial power. Sartono emphasizes the millennialism nuance of the movement of the peasants who herded by the Ulama of Tariqat. Interestingly, the Kyais use existing social spaces for establishing network and consolidating movement including the religious sermons. Even wedding parties become the place they can gather secretly in discussing the movement strategy.

This study was followed by Sartono in his *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (1973) which based on previous study about the movement, but with an emphasis on comparisons with several models of the same movement in some areas in Java. Sartono highlights the Kyai leadership as the traditional elites which became a symbol of traditional leadership in rural communities. Moreover, the ability of Kyai in supernatural or magical things in nature, adds to the charisma of Kyai as local leaders.

Seeing from some literatures, this research utilizes the concept of Kyai as it has been alluded above. However, one thing that will be the difference is boarding school as a place of Kyai. In this study will see the village Kyais staying in village mosques where the religious and civic activities take place. This term will be closer to term used by Pradjarta (Dirdjosanjoto, 2011).

On the other hand, there has been no research that put Kyai as local leaders in a vertical contention, except Sartono Kartodirjo. However, in contrast to Sartono who base his study on the underlying strength of Kyai and peasants social movements with the kind of messianic nuance to come to uphold justice for the oppressed peasants, this research will draw many of the concepts in the literature of contemporary social movements. In addition, there are no messianic nuances of social movements in Urutsewu as in Banten or above all in Java in the time of colonial era, which makes this study different from Sartono Kartodirjo's studies.

One of the major markers often becomes a reference in explaining social movements is the nature of opposition



(contention). Similarly in line with Sidney Tarrow in his *Power in Movement: Social Movement and Contentious Politics* (2011) stating that “Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people—often in alliance with more influential citizens and with changes in the public mood—join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents“. The political opposition occurred when a group of ordinary citizens often join together with a group of citizens who are more influential in shaping resistance to elite as well as anything that was considered to be opponents.

If referring to Tarrow, the group of citizens does not have to be part of the political opposition. But in a discussion he said in his book that, structurally, the emergence of influential citizens could not be avoided. That is the act of resistance eventually involving an extensive cycle network as well as resources used to make a political resistance is not merely an expression of the disappointment. Influential citizens anyway that finally have resources, both socially and economically, so as to allow a cycle of opposition goes on to form a social movement. Similar thing can be seen in following explanation from Tarrow:

Contentious politics is triggered when changing political opportunities and constraints create incentives to take action for actors who lack resources on their own. People contend through known repertoires of contention and expand them by creating innovations at their margins. When backed by well-structured social networks and galvanized by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents- to social movements (Tarrow, 2011: 6).

From the explanation above in fact Tarrow explains about what elements of a political opposition that must exist so lead to what is called a social movement. First is the repertoire of resistance. Repertoire of resistance is the choice of the various forms of resistance, from the filing of the petition, mass action,

to violence. The second is social network. Social network is connectedness between one citizen and another in garnering contention. In many cases (see e.g. Banten 1888 peasants' revolt) groups of influential citizens who opened a network of resistance, so that many citizens get involved. Third is the cultural resonance as well as the presence of a familiar symbols used in mobilizing resistance. A resistance is usually driven by cultural elements and symbols which are not far away from the everyday life of the citizens.

But according to Tarrow, the above elements could be owned by interest groups which affect certain policies. Thus Tarrow describes what he terms as The Basic Properties of the Movement, namely the four basic properties that became the hallmark of a social movement (2011, 8-12). First is the existence of a collective challenge. Collective challenge is usually indicated by symbols or identity, such as the cloths they use, the form of mass action to the forms of certain symbols that can be directly identified with a certain resistance group. However, the reality that is not favorable for the citizens will not arrive at a collective challenge if no efforts which deliver up to a shared concept of collective challenge. Therefore the framing of issues and efforts to build a consensus also became an endeavor that delivers specific conditions into a mutual agreement about certain collective challenge. The role of the more influential citizens is usually more prominent in these efforts.

Second is the existence of a common goal. Interpreting certain unfair social condition in order to become a joint effort to change requires specific approaches. For example, person in person may feel that certain government regulations may be detrimental to them. Efforts to change that could not become a common goal if no efforts to change it as well as being shared goals. In this case, the interaction between the citizens who form a network, supported by the existing resources, the ability to influence each other, so that what is referred to as the common goal is to be a joint understanding, becomes important. Again it

will be seen how some of the more influential citizens are more prominent than most ordinary citizens

The third is the growth of social solidarity. The common good of all citizens will lead to growing social solidarity. Certainly, the efforts to make social solidarity awake are always encouraged. These efforts are for example by continuing to recognize common challenges that must be earned. The ability of the citizens to encourage a sense of togetherness resulted from a sense of loosing because of unfair circumstance is depends on the efforts of more influential citizens in processing emotion of the ordinary citizens. Social spaces that exist often become a place for mobilizing the resistance of the citizens. Therefore the more influential citizens such local leader, head of village, and Kyai are those who make up the collective identities as well as creating a sense of injustice becamng material for resistance.

The fourth is keeping contention. The accumulation of a collective challenge, common purpose and mutual solidarity will lead to political contention. When the collective challenge and shared purpose is not kept then it will become a mere expression of hatred. The feud also will give birth, which at once became an élan vital of social movements. It will appear that how the agents involve in political attempt to constantly turn the resistance or even otherwise to turn off. This is in addition to the factors that structurally addressed by Tarrow, it will also be given the ability to grasp issues and the frame it according to the cultural realm that are familiar to the mass. It will be seen also how the network is constantly being strengthened in order to ensure that the resistance is still turned on. On the latter, the role of agent, in this case Kyai, is important to be highlighted.

#### **D. Role of Kyai in Political Opposition in Urutsewu**

Collective action is based on political opposition from community groups which are less access to political institutions in demanding their rights. It starts from a feeling of injustice that afflicts groups of people as a result of a system that does not favor

them either by the State or a private company as the opposed group. Theoretically, Tarrow has described about politics of contention, as part of a social movement. Further, political resistance that becomes the characteristics of collective movements when groups of people gathering together with ordinary members of the public who are more influential (Tarrow, 2011: 6).

As explained in previous section that the social position of Kyai in the community in itself has a great social capital. It makes Kyai also has a greater chance in terms of raising peasants' feud. However, Kyai does not work alone. The ability to build network with social actor such as the head of the village, the chairman of village organizations and other fellow kyai also determines the fate of movement. To get to a collective movement and consistent contention, raising support is very important. Thus processing the issue becomes important. Kyai as public figures have social capital that is capable of mobilizing the masses. Traditional social spaces such as sermons, *mujahadah* and *istigosah* become resources to gain the mass support.

Regardless of the ability of the actors in Urutsewu in building network, it cannot be denied that the accumulation of all issues, from military trainings, road widening and the iron sand mining, culminate in a single issue of land ownership. PERDA RTRW setting about land use in Kebumen finally establishes a form of resistance along the community of Urutsewu. In PERDA RTRW clearly states that the land use of the coastal area in the South is for defense and security that its use is left entirely on TNI AD. The region includes all of the villages in three districts in the South coast which starts from Wiromartan village, Mirit sub-district to Ayamputih village of Buluspesantren sub-district.

Culminating the common goals on the prosecution of peasants' land rights cannot be disconnected from how issues are framed by the actors who are more influential, in this case is Kyai. It is similar with Snow and his friends about the process of framing as strategic efforts undertaken consciously by a group of people to show the same understanding about the world and

themselves, legitimizing and motivating the collective action (Snow et al, 1986: 465). Kyai in Urutsewu elegantly shapes the potential threat of the presence of TNI military training and land claim upon the citizens' as well as iron sand mining by the PT MNC. The process of framing the issue by Kyai in Urutsewu is not dominated by the passages of the verses of the Koran. Accordingly, the patterns that would predict the coming of the kind of *Ratukidul* or millennialism and the Salvationist as it appears in *Peasant Revolt in Banten*, is quite absent in Kyai's rhetoric even in public discourse on Urutsewu. The rhetoric of resistance is more about nationalism that justify the mistakes committed by TNI as well as local governments in the iron sand mining permit as does not reflect the values of Pancasila and the Constitution

It can be seen on several occasions of *mujahadah* conducted by citizens as well as presenting Kyai Imam as a leader of *mujahadah*. Many times Kyai Imam stresses that they love Indonesian Unitary State (NKRI), and TNI AD as part of a defense system of the country. Thus Kyai wants to assure himself as well as all citizens of Urutsewu are good citizens. In terms of land disputes, as good citizens they demand their rights over the land that is claimed arbitrarily by the TNI through local governments. Kyai's statement are evident for example when the event of *mujahadah* in Setrojenar commemorating a year of brutal shooting by the TNI AD on April 16, 2011. Kyai even invited Dandim Kebumen, to swear allegiance for Indonesian Unitary State (NKRI) on Quran by way of holding a red and white flag between her and Dandim.

The formation of common interest provides a way for collective action. As has been discussed above that the ability of some people who are more influential, one of them is Kyai, in framing the issue and mobilizing the masses of peasants, has been strengthening their spirit. Therefore a kind of solidarity of groups of people arises. In Urutsewu it can be seen in those times in which several different issues, namely road widening, mining of sand iron and land disputes with the TNI and then make all the residents in the three districts come together.

The Kyai's ability as an influential figure in shaping the issues with citizens in Urutsewu may have played a role in shaping a joint solidarity. The fact that a Kyai settles in each village in the three sub-districts involving in conflict in which citizens submit their private and social affairs, make the way toward solidarity became more visible. Kyai along with the citizens and all village figures in defending their rights occupies a central role in the network of influential groups in the community of Urutsewu. Thus the existence of Kyai in collective actions of citizens in opposition to the existence of the mining company and the annexation of land by the TNI AD clearly has a big psychological effect for a massive movement.

Tarrow (2011) clearly mention about more influential citizens in raising mass action. People who are influential in this community are the one that drives the consensus regarding specific social reality. Just look for example how Kyai Kardi and Kyai Zuhdi in constructing mine issues. Both have similar discourse about the dangers of iron sand mining. Indeed such a discourse is an overview of the feeling that developed amidst the community of Urutsewu. It gives strength to the ability of Kyai to make networks with the head and the heads of villages and mass organizations.

The same thing can also be found in other villages. In Wiromartan village Mirit sub-district, a young Kyai was routinely invited by the citizens to give religious sermons. He is Kyai Hasan. In each session, he often mentions the issues of iron sand mining in *mujahadah*. However, unlike Kyai Imam who is more influential Kyai to other villages, kyai Hasan is not so bold in confronting the mine issue. It is as expressed by kyai Hasan, he is still too young and still new in Urutsewu. However, he strongly supports the determination of the citizens to oppose iron sand mining. Commonly Kyai Hasan is invited in the village meetings along with the head of the village residents in discussing the issue of iron sand mining (interview with Kyai Hasan).

A mature social movement can be seen from its ability to

keep the feud on. In terms of maintaining political contention, cannot be separated from the previous three components, namely creating a collective challenge, common purpose and solidarity and collective identity. In this case Kyai, again is a very decisive actor in maintaining political contention.

A consistent political feud should be maintained in order to arrive at a social movement. Kyai as an influential social group clearly has a key role in keeping the political enmity remains active as long as the demands of the masses have not been fulfilled. It is closely associated with keeping collective action alive. If not, then only the anger and hatred of individuals that will appear. In Urutsewu, efforts to maintain political feud seem clear on how Kyai not just sitting behind the screen. Every mass demonstration for example, Kyai often get a role as moral support for the masses. In addition, every mass demonstration has the event of common prayer. Here is obviously a Kyai serves as a prayer leader. However, they also often shout amidst mass demonstrations like the heads of village and chairman of mass organization do. Indeed, when Kyai holding loudspeakers and orates, he often ask for help from God. This is of course back in the repertoires of action elected by Kyai as a religious leader. The masses will feel familiar with the shout of Kiai. The goal is to evoke a sense of community and collective identity. That kind of flavor is framed with teachings that they know coming from statements which is decorated by God's power. However, here there are no shades of thick messianic nuance as it occurs in peasants' revolt in Banten led by the Ulama of *tariqat* in 1888. In Urutsewu the issues are framed by straightforward and factual language.

When emotion accumulates within peasants and meets with communal identity couples with the framing of the issue straightforward, then formed the solidarity movement. It can be seen from how mass mobilization gets to the streets for demonstrations. Thousands of people drive a dozen pickup trucks crowds in front of the office of Regent of Kebumen and in front of the parliament district building. They also appear to bring sacks

inscribed with words of opposition with black or red writing. In any mass demonstrations and *muajadah* there are always banners from used sacks that drawn with words of contention. This clearly becomes a marker of identity of peasants in Urutsewu

Maintaining the political contention is also built upon a solid networking. As it has been expressed previously, Kyais always coordinate with the head of village and the chairmen of village organizations such as FPPKS headed by Seniman, and Widodo Sunu as a chairman of USB. Even in terms of local election for the head of village, which only two options, namely that supporting peasant or supporting the miners or TNI, always relates to Kyai and chairman of village organization. The head of the candidate often visit Kyai not just asking for advice, but also to ask for magical or supra natural power for self-defense. It is for example happens when Widodo Sunu runs as a head of Wiromartan village Mirit subdistrict, along with his election team, come to the Kyai Imam's house in Setrojenar village Buluspesantren sub-district.

It is hard to get the literature that discussed the role of kyai in vertical conflict in which the state or corporation as an opponent in political resistance. Many literatures sometimes put kyai in contestation with other religious figures or local political elites or even a local strongman. Conflict that appears usually is horizontal in character. So that to speak it is better to see some other cases where Kyai actively involved in a political resistance. Moreover it is very rare literature that puts Kyai as the patron in mass resistance and seen through the lens of social movement theory. Certainly the seminal work of Sartono Kartodirjo becomes an exception. In this point, anthropological approach which involves the direct observation and interviews is none.

Land conflict in Urutsewu cannot be separated from the role of *Kyai* who tried to cultivate a political power struggle among citizens. *Kyai* who settled in the village and interact with citizens occupies a high social position. In addition, *Kyai* are also farmers who have land in the southern coast of Urutsewu. This position obviously has certain egalitarian values for the citizens who can



also give birth to a sense of common destiny. With the profession as farmers who have land and engage directly with the resistance toward the TNI and PT MNC, Kyai are certain to get involved in the dynamics of the conflict. But it cannot explain the course of mobilization of resistance at Urutsewu.

## **E. Conclusion**

The religious dimension in the Kyai's resistance in the conflict area in Urutsewu, Kebumen is seen in some aspects of social movements. The first aspect is framing, the second is peasant mobilization through social spaces and traditional symbols and the third aspect is the network of resistance. Each of these aspects relates with one another. Framing is related to the establishment of social solidarity and collective identity formation and the nurturing of political resistance. Framing of issues is a very useful aspect in order to encourage the peasant and transforms the issue into common understanding. This aspect of the framing serves to keep the politics of resistance.

In the mobilization of farmers, Kyai uses *mujahadah* as consolidation space whereas symbols like the performance between *Kyai* and *Dandim* (Army District Commander) in which *Kyai* uses his turban to disallow the effort of *Dandim* to dig his command stick into the ground. It is something like religion against the state. This shows us aspects of mobilization using existing social spaces such as useful *mujahadah* to mobilize resistance in addition also to the use of symbols such as the Kyai's turban and command stick. These three aspects above will certainly be strong when the resistance networks synergize consists of different layers that both layers of the santri, farmer associations between villages in Urutsewu, student activists, civil society organizations and institutions of legal assistance and women.

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