

Combating Environmental Injustice: Social Hermeneutic Analysis of the Retextualization of the Jakarta Kamisan Action into Kaltim Kamisan Action

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Abstract.

East Kalimantan activists held peaceful protest demonstrations in front of the East Kalimantan Governor's office every Thursday at 4 pm. This action is known as the Kaltim Kamisan Action (KKA). Initially, the action was an act of solidarity with the Jakarta Kamisan Action (JKA) which demanded the settlement of serious human rights cases in Indonesia. However, in its development, this action does not only duplicate the work of the Jakarta human rights activists. In the hands of East Kalimantan activists, KKA became a 'new text' that was more local in color, became an activist school for budding activists in the province and echoed local issues typical of East Kalimantan. Unlike the elitist JKA, the KKA succeeded in recruiting the urban poor, indigenous peoples, local youth communities and student organizations. Social hermeneutic analysis (Ricoeur, 2006) which emphasizes understanding of new texts, contexts, authors, readers and texts is used to understand the KKA as a text. With this method the author explains how local activists change the resistance text from the central activists into a new resistance text that is used to fight more problems of local oppression, especially the problem of exploitation of natural resources in East Kalimantan.

Keywords: social hermeneutic, demonstration, local issue, solidarity

1. Introduction

Indonesia is never simply fine. Protests in various forms accompany every stage of the history of power, both during the revolution, the Old Order, the New Order, even to the Reformation Order. Demonstrations generally take place to protest an issue were initiated by labourer organizations, student organizations, NGOs or other critical communities. These demonstrations were usually temporary, rallying large crowds, filled with banners/posters full of protest writing, loud orations, and not infrequently, tinged with violence due to the repressiveness of the apparatus.

The Kamisan Action began on January 18, 2007 in front of the State Palace, was renamed the Silent Act, to mark a symbolic act of protest without causing any commotion. The public knows it as the Black Umbrella Action, because it uses the black umbrellas as its main attribute. Kamisan Action was initiated by Jakarta human rights activists and victims' families to urge the government to resolve past severe human rights cases. This action is more symbolic-reflexive than resistance with frontal orations. Its strategy is to cooperate with public figures, who care about the human rights struggle, to strengthen the resistance.

Kamisan Action in Jakarta or Jakarta Kamisan Action (JKA) for short, inspired activists from other cities in Indonesia to carry out the same style of protest. Kamisan Action then took place in several cities in Indonesia.

In Samarinda City, The Kamisan Action, later known as Kaltim Kamisan Action (KKA), began on August 3, 2017. In the early days, this action can be said to still duplicate the JKA. But on the way, KKA is very different from the JKA. In the hands of East Kalimantan activists, the KKA appears to have a different pattern ranging from the issues protested, the attributes of the action used, the community, and the characteristic of supporters. Later, the KKA developed into a kind of 'activist laboratory' for students and East Kalimantan youth communities, which supported many other injustice criticism actions in the wider East Kalimantan.

Nonviolent popular resistance in Indonesia existed long before Indonesia became independent. In 1905, Surantiko Samin led the resistance with the doctrine of the Adam Religion famous for the Samin People's Movement. The Dutch knew it as *lijdelijk verzet*, which means patient, calm, and harmless protest. One of the famous attitudes of this movement is the refusal to pay taxes to the Dutch, even though their property was seized by the colonial government (Widyarsono, 1998)

In the New Order period, the resistance of Kendeng mothers was consistently carried out at the end of the collapse of the New Order regime until now. The colonial practice of New Order ideology was resisted by the people with social movements that at their peak were the phenomenon of reform. In the last two years, Kendeng peasant mothers took action in front of the State Palace while continuing to increase knowledge capacity by regularly discussing and formulating the next method of action in order to maintain the right to live with a self-sustaining environment. (Fitri & Akbar, 2017)

The JKA has become the object of study from many researchers from various points of view. Mutiara Andalas (Andalas et al., n.d.) with a historically-feminist-theological approach view Kamisan Action as an act of using women's power to reverse the stereotyping of power against victims of human rights crimes. Victims of human rights violence at the end of the New Order's rule are often label as looters, rebels, and even destroyers of state security. In Kamisan Action, they reversed the interpretation of the 'God of Security' theology on which the justification for the label was based, restored the good name of the victims as human rights fighters, and demanded a re-investigation of the perpetrators.

Chandra Maulana (Chandra Maulana & Bima Wicandra, n.d.) conducted a research on the design of the popular book Kamisan Action, to attract the attention of millennial to the 10 years of Kamisan Action struggle. The book is designed in such a way that takes into account the power of lay-out design, narrative, and footage about the history of Kamisan's Action journey. This book colour other struggles that are expected to support the struggle of families of Indonesian human rights victims to get justice.

A semiotic review of the song 'Lost' by an indie band called Efek Rumah Kaca (The Greenhouse Effect) shows how minor chords and song lyrics denotatively illustrate clearly the situation of the struggle of families of victims of human rights violations in Indonesia to obtain justice. On the other hand, the song also implies the connotative meaning of the song's absence of coda, to illustrate that there is no meaningful enough settlement effort to resolve cases of gross human rights violations in Indonesia. (Aryani, n.d.)

Kamisan Action in Yogyakarta has a different character to The JKA. In this city, Kamisan's action is no more to remind the public about the enormity of human rights violations in the past that have never been revealed. Yogyakarta's Kamisan Action in no way all mentions the establishment of ad hoc human rights courts, they only present a collective movement as an agent of disseminating information from minority groups. (Son, 2016)

This research seeks to interpret how Kamisan Action in Jakarta was developed into KKA. Using the social hermeneutic method by Paul Ricoeur, this paper interprets how Kamisan Action in Jakarta was contextualized by East Kalimantan activists and became a more locally patterned KKA and developed into a learning vehicle for prospective East Kalimantan activists. Interpretations will include the elements, authors, text, context, and the resulting new text.

2. Method

2.1 Location and Object of the Research

This research highlights the KKA which has been held more than 200 times in front of the East Kalimantan Governor's Office. Initially this action was an act of solidarity to strengthen and extend the echoes of the JKA. This action was initiated by a number of East Kalimantan activists, especially those affiliated by the East Kalimantan Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM Kaltim), an NGO engaged in the environment in East Kalimantan. Later, these initiators collaborated with activists and several local student organizations, some local academics, urban poor communities, indigenous communities, and youth-student groups.

KKA was first carried out on August 3, 2017. The first four KKA (03, 10, 17 and 24 August 2017), still clearly duplicate the JKA. A group of silent activists stood in front of the East Kalimantan Governor's Office holding black umbrellas, without oration, without performances. At that time, there were no flyers or physical flyers, black T-shirts worn by the participants of the action were still plain, and black umbrellas bearing the same lawsuit from JKA, such as "Prosecute Munir Case", "Solve the Abduction of 98 Activists", and "Complete Abolishment of Impunity." Instagram account began to be created right on the fifth KKA, which is August 31, 2017. Shortly after, a Facebook account was also created for publication of the action. Until the end of 2018 alone, there have been 70 KKA carried out. By mid-2021, more than 200 actions had been taken.

At the sixth KKA which took place on September 7, 2017, the action began to be colored with oration. The theme of the oration still follows the same theme as JKA at that time, namely "Tribute to 13 Years of Munir's Death." The 25th Kamisan Action was the first moment the KKA brought local issues, namely criticism of the destruction of the East Kalimantan environment due to the exploitation of the natural resource, with the theme: "Resolution of Natural Resource Jihad: Prayer and Support for Citizen Resistance Action Against the Seizure of Living Space by the State." KKA has grown from simply expanding the court of justice in human rights cases in the past to criticism of local issues. Later local issues, especially related to environmental damage, the seizure of people's living space by mining corporations/oil palm plantations, victims died in mine pits, local corruption issues and local good governance became the most coloring issues at the KKA.

2.2 Method of Data Collection

Data collection was done in various ways. Participatory observations were made. Researchers several times became participants in the KKA to get a detailed description of the implementation of the action. Researchers became members of the community's WhatsApp group to follow the dynamics of discussion of action members. Secondary data was also collected in various ways, such as observing and downloading action publications on Instagram and Facebook accounts and collecting some discussion documents in WhatsApp groups. Interviews with initiators and permanent members of the action were also conducted to obtain data enrichment, although in the social hermeneutic analysis conducted, the information from the perpetrators did not really determine the color of the analysis.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This research will explain the interpretation of the KKA as a result of the retextualization of the JKA. Paul Ricoeur's social hermeneutic views on meaningful action as a text, will be used to analyze the KKA as a new text of retextualization results from the JKA. Ricoeur views an action, whether individual or group, as an open work. An action will always 'open' itself to references outside of itself, so any action or event is always open to interpretation.

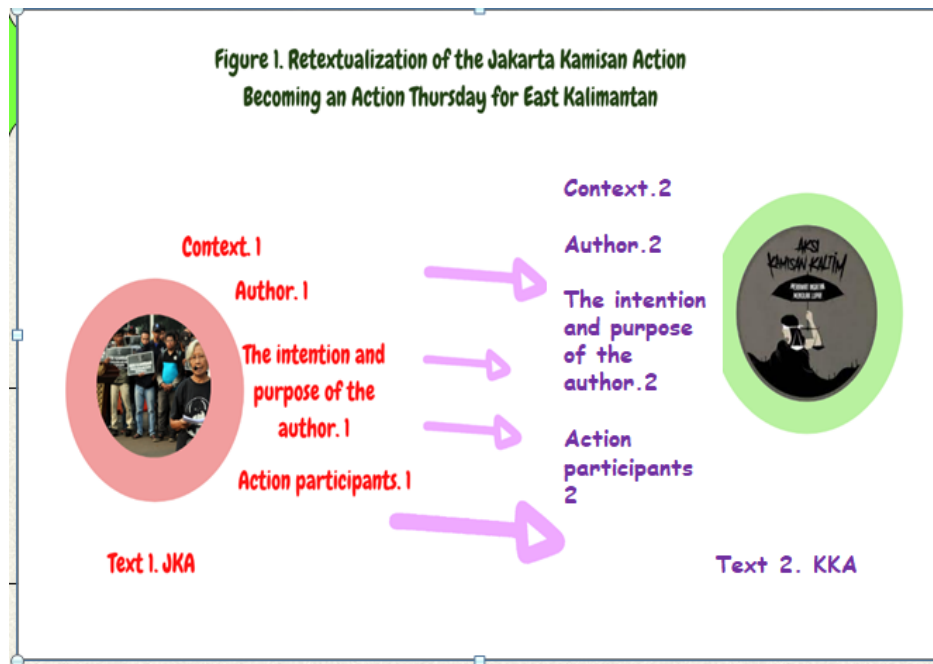
There are several laws of text, according to Ricoeur, related to interpretation and meaning, namely the death of the author, autonomy/objectification of the text, creative readership and new text as a result of creative reader interpretation. An action or even, always contains the intention of the perpetrators (authors). But when an action is standardized into a text, the author 'dies', meaning he can no longer control how the text of his essay will be interpreted by the reader. The death of the author opens the second principle of interpretation, namely the autonomy of the text into an objective text. The text becomes autonomous, open to interpretation by many people with different points of view and interests. The autonomy of the text will open up the opportunity for creative readers to interpret the text into a new text that may no longer be the same as the original text.

There is not a single truly original text in the world, be it written text or the text of social actions. Each text is an intertextuality (Kristeva), always a mutation of other texts strewn across many other textual realities. A text is a series of mosaics. Every mosaic element that is always an element from other texts that is out there. In this way Kristeva informs that each text always refers to many other texts outside the text itself, like an academic book that will refer to many other books as references.

Using Ricoeur's social hermeneutics and Kristeva's intertextuality, this article seeks to interpret The KKA as a retextualization of the JKA and track the references that allow the KKA to be born as a new text that is not exactly the same as the JKA.

2.4 Analytical Method

Researchers position themselves as creative readers. The researcher acted as a reader, reading the KKA as a 'new text' by East Kalimantan activists who acted as readers of the JKA text, and then composed a new text called 'KKA'. Thus, the KKA is a new text resulting from the retextualization of the old text of the JKA by Jakarta human rights activists. The logic of the author, text, reader, and new text is seen in Figure 1.



With social hermeneutics, retextualization 1 JKA into Text 2 KKA can be illustrated in Figure. 1. The context of JKA is the disappointment of the families of victims of gross human rights violations that claimed many victims. The families of the victims were fully supported by Jakarta human rights activists, acting as Authors 1, authoring a text of resistance in silence that was originally called the Silent Action, later known as the JKA. The victims' families supported by Jakarta activists and celebrities held a silent rally in front of the State Palace carrying a black umbrella that read "Refuse to Forget" and photos of the victims. This action is intended to recall the campaign promises of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Joko Widodo who convinced his voters to solve past gross human rights violations.

East Kalimantan activists, acting as readers, as well as Authors 2 who authored Text 2: KKA. They are local activists who mostly come from the East Kalimantan Mine Advocacy Network (JATAM Kaltim) engaging in issues of criticism of life damage due to mining corporations. Severe natural damage in East Kalimantan, floods that are getting more frequent and deepening, the number of fatalities in mine pits are increasing, heavily damaged infrastructure and poor quality of bureaucratic services is Context 2, which also color the Text 2 of the KKA. In the course of time, the issues of the KKA became more local. Human rights issues only became part of the issues carried by the KKA. The interest of participants tends to increase, both in terms of the number of participants and the origin of the community. It even

penetrates high school students and urban poor. The purpose and goal of the KKA, which originally only expanded the solidarity of the JKA, was transformed into a new action text that was more locally colored.

3. Research Findings

- 1) The text of JKA was read and turned on by East Kalimantan activists with East Kalimantan social context, transformed into a new text of KKA that is locally patterned and has other functions, became an activist laboratory or activist school that gave birth to new activists in East Kalimantan. KKA is not just a duplication of JKA. KKA is a new text resulting from the retextualization of the old text of The JKA. Originally, The KKA was intended to echo the same solidarity, attributes and style of silent action. The difference was only the addition of the word 'Kaltim' on the attributes of umbrellas, flyers, and black T-shirts worn by the participants. But then in the hands of East Kalimantan activists, with a different East Kalimantan social context from Jakarta, KKA was transformed into a new text that is different from JKA.
- 2) The JKA, brought to life in the context of East Kalimantan, was transformed into a more locally patterned action, carrying more issues of environmental damage, deprivation of living space, deaths in mine pits, flooding and performance of local bureaucracies.
- 3) In the hands of East Kalimantan activists, the KKA succeeded in cooperating with more non-activist participants from various communities and made the KKA as an 'activist school' or activist laboratory, which gave birth to new young activists in East Kalimantan.
- 4) KKA succeeded in standardizing critical orations and poetry collections into 2 books, namely 'Resistance from Mahakam' and 'Weapon of Words'.
- 5) KKA is also a consolidation platform for the broader critical actions of East Kalimantan activists, such as the "Corrupted Reform Movement" and the "Movement Against Omnibus Law."

4. Discussion

4.1 From *The Mother* to JKA

The JKA was placed as Text 1 in this study. At first glance this action is very simple. A mother named Mrs. Sumarsih with an innocent expression of sadness and angry, was silently standing alone in front of the State Palace every Thursday at 4 p.m. Dressed in an all-black costume, with a black umbrella, carrying a portrait of a teenage boy, directed right towards the Palace. This action highlights the sadness and despair of a mother who left her son so suddenly in a very tragic way and without any condemnation at all.

This action is not an original idea or innocent spontaneity of Mrs. Sumarsih with Jakarta human rights activists who have been accompanying the families of victims of gross human rights violations in Indonesia. Jakarta human rights activists, along with the victim's families are Author 1 who authored a text of JKA. The action model was inspired by The Mothers (Plaza de Mayo) movement in Argentina on April 30, 1977; an act that promotes the symbolic

power of women, in this case the voices of mothers who suddenly lost their children in the event of resistance against the military regime and coup over President Isabel Peron.

The Mother text became a reference for Jakarta human rights activists to create a protest on behalf of severe human rights victims in Indonesia. They are creative readers, and at the same time they also act as the authors of a new text of Silent Action later called JKA. Mrs. Sumarsih in black umbrella carrying a portrait of her son, silently stand in front of the State Palace. It is a perfectly designed symbolic action.

There are 2 main contexts that encourage the emergence of JKA. The first is the number of victims of democratic fighters in Indonesia who are not investigated. Until after the reformation, the struggle of Indonesian human rights activists has not shown a bright spot at all. In the presidential campaign ahead of the 2009 presidential election, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono promised a thorough investigation of cases of human rights violations in the past. The same promise was delivered again by Joko Widodo in the presidential election campaign five years later. After becoming president, these campaign promises were not realized.

Table 1: Comparison of Text I (JKA) and Text 2 (KKA)

	Jakarta Kamisan Action	Kaltim Kamisan Action
Reference	The Mother	Jakarta Kamisan Action
Context	Gross human right violations in Indonesia, democracy, and civil society	Gross human rights violation in Indonesia Economic inequality between central and local government Exploitation of natural resources and environmental destruction in East Kalimantan Liability lawsuit on behalf of dozens of mine pit victims The seizure of people's living space around mining corporations/oil palm plantations. Deprivation of people's living space around mining corporations/oil palm plantations Liability lawsuit against dozens of victims of liability mine pit lawsuit on behalf of dozens of mine pit victims
Writer	Jakarta human rights activists, families of victims of gross human rights violations, critical celebrities of Jakarta	Environmental activists and other activists who are connected with Jakarta activists
Text Structure	1. Action participants Families of the victims of gross human right violation, Jakarta activists, critical celebrities	Local academicians Students of local campus (individual and 'classroom') Urban poor Indigenous community Urban student group Local journalists
	2. Issue of concern Demands for settlement of cases of gross human rights violations: kidnapping, forced disappearance, criminalization of	Demands for settlement of cases of gross human rights violations: kidnapping, forced disappearance, criminalization of democracy fighters, murder Liability lawsuit for dozens of mine pit victims Natural degradation lawsuits and routine flooding Lawsuit against criminalizing the justice fighters of people's living spaces Solidarity and national momentum commemoration

	democracy fighters, murder	
Attribute	Black umbrella, photos of victims, all-black costume	Black umbrellas, online flyers, posters, black T-shirts, stickers, shows, Kaltim Thursday Market, large banners, guerrillas, piggy banks, and flyers

The second context is Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's political stance that does not repress a number of government critics' demonstrations, but also does not respond to demonstrations whatever harsh the criticism was. He did not repress the demonstrators. When Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's photo was burned, there was no action against the actor. Even in the socking student suicide that protested the difficulty of small people's lives, Yudhoyono also did not respond meaningfully enough.

Both political contexts of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership encourage Jakarta human rights activists to choose to take another model of action. They read this situation well. At the same time they also acted as readers of other action texts cross-time and cross-country. The Mother's action became a reference text, not accepted raw, but used as a reference to build a new resistance action text that matched the political context of Jakarta.

Jakarta human rights activists and victims' families act as authors. In this case, the activists acted as companions for the families of human rights violations victims in Indonesia, having previously acted as readers of The Mother, the political context of Indonesia which was still taboo investigating human rights violations, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's actual leadership at that time which was considered flabby. These texts became a reference to build a new action text that is expected to be more able to 'touch' the famously melancholic Yudhoyono.

The power of maternal grief left by children is only used to touch the care of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who was known as a melancholy leader. The use of maternal power is a mosaic of The Mother text, referencing but not using it fully. It did not mobilize mothers, but highlighted the sadness, the shock of a mother who was left by a sudden death of her child, died in vain from gunshot wounds that were never completely investigated. The all-black costume confirmed the shock, concern and sadness. Black umbrellas read 'Refuse to Forget' and photos of dead children were used as a means of reminder of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's campaign promises. He stressed, the KKA is a symbolic action of families of victims of gross human rights violations to recall the promise of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono campaign to solve severe human rights cases that have not been realized after coming to power.

4.2 Retextualization of JKA Towards KKA: Kaltim Activist School and Criticism of Ecological Injustice

KKA was initiated by East Kalimantan activists, most of whom are environmental activists, engaged in local NGOs such as WALHI Kaltim, JATAM Kaltim, AMAN Kaltim, and POKJA 30. They are connected and networked with Jakarta activists. They are as readers of the JKA and at the same time they also act as the authors, who make up the Text 2: KKA.

The national issue of Indonesian human rights justice, remains part of the first context of KKA. The second context of KKA is East Kalimantan, one of the richest provinces in Indonesia. East Kalimantan is famous as a wealthy province of Indonesia. Tropical forests

with rare *ulin* wood (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*) become the main charm, followed by extractive wealth such as oil, gas and coal. However, East Kalimantan also bears the burden of acute ecological damage due to the unjust relation between the provincial and central governments. East Kalimantan is experiencing acute deforestation due to national economic policies that allow Jakarta conglomerates to exploit natural resources in East Kalimantan. Currently East Kalimantan has thousands of mine pits that have claimed 40 lives. Flood disasters become commonplace in the rainy season. Conflicts between indigenous peoples and corporate business operating in their lands are not infrequent.

4.2.1 Criticism of Ecological Injustice and Poor Bureaucrat Performance

KKA activists, retextuate JKA into the new text of KKA. In the hands of East Kalimantan activists, the KKA became not just an extension of the JKA. Several issues of economic injustice, ecological characteristics of East Kalimantan have been raised in the KKA. KKA activists used this KKA, to echo sharp criticism of severe living space damage and acute ecological crime in East Kalimantan.

Table 2: East Kalimantan’s Unique Themes of KKA

Date	Theme
23 November 2017	Tribute to 28 Children Victims of Mine Pits
30 November 2017	The Country’s Call to Save “East Kalimantan Rejects Cement Factory”
25 January 2018	350 Years Samarinda, 71% Loss of Living Space
12 April 2018	Ecological Terror on Balikpapan Bay
26 April 2018	Clean The East Kalimantan Election From Ijon Political Mine
21 June 2018	Suing Against Anti-Corruption Commitment of East Kalimantan Governor Candidate
4 October 2018	What the New Governor Do?
1 November 2018	Hey, Concerned Governor! (30 Lives Died In Mine Pits)
15 November 2018	Turn On the Danger Sign: 31 Lives Die in Mine Pit
22 November 2018	32 Lives Have Names, Turn On Danger Signs
13 December 2018	Jihad Saves Our Living Space and Natural Wealth

In the period November 2017-December 2018, there were 11 themes of KKA that featured ecological issues and criticizing performance of East Kalimantan bureaucrats. Criticism of the justice demands for the deaths of the victims of the mine pits got a serious place on KKA. This theme was even echoed up to 4 times a year. In this action against ecological crime, KKA movers mobilized mothers whose children died in mine pits. Campus academics and students mobilized by lecturers supporting this movement. The defense movement also featured a community of East Kalimantan female fighters reciting poems written by themselves dedicated to the victims who died in mine pits. These poems were later published in a collection of poems entitled 'Weapons of Words' published in 2000.

Another ecological criticism that was also quite strong occurred at the KKA on November 30, 2017, which carried the theme of rejection of the construction of cement factories in Berau Regency. This rejection is based on concerns about the damage to the Karst landscape in Berau which is the guardian of water reserves in the East Kalimantan mainland. The action was supported by many elements of student organizations of East Kalimantan

campuses and several local environmental NGOs. KKA was also a supporter of the protests against the rejection of this cement factory carried out outside the KKA.

Protests against the pollution of Balikpapan bay have also been the theme of the KKA on April 12, 2018. The leak of Pertamina oil refinery that polluted the waters of Balikpapan bay became an important issue. The action was strongly supported by WALHI Kaltim and some elements of Balikpapan students.

Protests and criticism of the poor performance of local bureaucrats and dirty elections also got a special place in KKA. Criticism was primarily directed at the performance of the elected Governor of East Kalimantan who is considered to have no empathy for the various life grievances of East Kalimantan residents. The criticism was also based on the pessimistic sense of East Kalimantan activists as the changes in provincial leadership have not resulted in improvements in East Kalimantan. Criticism of the election, which was considered to be intertwined with greedy mining corporations, was also a theme in some of the actions.

4.2.2 Open Organizing, Widespread Networking and Activist Schools for Beginners

The KKA Movement is supported by a massive campaign on social media as well as a number of other activities outside of the regular KKA agenda. Some of these activities, including The KKA Goes to Campus, watch together, discussions, training, seminars, book discussion, short classes, and commemorative exhibitions. KKA created membership groups on social media such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram. Membership is open to those interested in participating in the KKA.

There is no standard structure and organizing of KKA. All resource organizing issues related to the action were discussed more in the WhatsApp group. Every beginning of the week, activists of KKA agreed on a theme and invited anyone to fill in the available action content. This allows the presence of a new mass of action that not only comes to witness, but also interacts directly with those who are first in the KKA circle--or identified as activists. In contrast to the JKA which consists mostly of activist groups, KKA actually accidentally found a new function, namely as an activist “printing” laboratory.

New members have the opportunity to participate in organizing the implementation of the action, starting from the preparation of the theme, putting attributes such as flyers, umbrellas, and speakers. Each member can also fill an oration, poem or donate again for entertainment. From this fluid organizing system, it allows many new members who are not from among activists to eventually learn together and be born into new activists in East Kalimantan.

The composition of KKA participants was increasingly diverse. Starting from activists who based is the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM Kaltim), academics, campus activists/organizers, to arts groups, hobby communities, journalists, workers, women, and the urban poor. On several occasions, KKA presented families of victims of environmental damage, farmers, workers, and other elements of the oppressed people according to the theme that was being raised.

If observed further, the number of people involved in KKA was always changing. Sometimes there were many, sometimes the other way around. It was influenced by two factors, namely the theme and the class of certain lectures. Based on interviews with Darmawansyah, one of the guerrillas of KKA, KKA got crowded if the theme raised about the

commemoration of the big days or the birthday of national critical figures. This is due to the sense of solidarity of action on the issues being discussed in Indonesia.

The KKA supporter also consists of academics. Not infrequently they bring their students during lecture hours and make KKA as a substitute for lectures in the classroom. The arrival of these students is of course not based on critical awareness of an issue, but merely because of the mobilization by lecturers and interests to ensure their grade is not problematic because of their presence in the field class.

Their existence enlivened the KKA. In these lecture class times, the number of people can even reach 50-70 people. In an ordinary day only a dozen people, even finger count. Even so, the presence of hordes of students can be easily distinguished from those who are sympathizers (guerrillas) of KKA.

Table 3: Mass Mobilization of University Students and High School Students

Date	Theme	Origin of the Supporters
23 November 2017	Tribute to 28 Children Victims of Mine Pit	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
14 December 2017	International Anti-Corruption Day "Politics without Corruption"	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
21 December 2017	One Mother's Goal (Mother's Day)	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
4 January 2018	Beware of the Election Political Year	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
18 January 2018	Natural Resources Jihad Resolution "Prayer and Support For Citizen Resistance to The Deprivation of Living Space by The State"	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
22 February 2018	Reject RKUHP and MD3 Act	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
15 March 2018	Dark Record of Cases of Indonesian Human Rights Violations	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
22 March 2018	The Death of Riverine Civilization (World Water Day)	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
12 April 2018	Ecological Terror on Balikpapan Day	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
19 April 2018	Week before May Day, Laborers, Unite!	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
26 April 2018	Clean Up East Kalimantan Election and Political Mining Entrepreneur	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
19 July 2018	International Justice Day (Justice For All Victims)	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
26 July 2018	National Children's Day "Seizing the Deprived Joy"	High school students, family of victims, community
30 August 2018	International Day of Victims of Forced Disappearances (Wiji Thukul Tribute)	Lecture class Faculty of Cultural Studies
27 September 2018	Millennial and The Burden Of History 1965	Lecture class of IAIN Samarinda, youth community
4 October 2018	What Can The New Governor Do?	Lecture class of Faculty of Law and Faculty of Economics and Business
18 October 2018	4 Years of Jokowi's Regime, Promises to Solve Human Rights Cases Are Just Hoaxes	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman

		University
8 November 2018	20 Years of Semanggi Tragedy	Lecture class of Social Development, Mulawarman University
15 November 2018	Turning on the Danger Sign: 31 Lives Dead in Mine Pit	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
22 November 2018	The Lives Have Name, Turn On the Danger Signal	Lecture class of Faculty of Law
29 November 2018	16 Days Of Anti-Violence Against Women	Community, high school students
13 December 2018	Jihad Saves Our Living Space and Natural Wealth	Community, high school students
20 December 2018	We Come from the Same God: People with Different Ability	Community

The true KKA activists can be identified based on the special attributes used, such as black T-shirts, black umbrellas, tote bag, and masks bearing the logo of KKA. Items such as portable computers and mobile phones were plastered with stickers bearing the logo of KKA. They will also be happy to fill in appearances every week, promote KKA flyers on social media, invite others to get involved, follow social media accounts and all activities organized by KKA. In addition, they are also the ones who attended earlier and returned later when the action was held.

Generally, activists born from KKA were those who initially came because of the mobilization by others, both lecturers and organizations where they are sheltered. They were given the opportunity to show something, week after week. The interaction with others made some of them confident to perform again, even on a larger "stage", such as when protesting, by taking part as an orator and field coordinator. Furthermore, activism activities continue to be carried out and the cycle of activism in Samarinda was recycled.

KKA developed in a different direction from the JKA which still remains with the pattern of Silent Action in front of the presidential palace. Now, KKA has been networked with many local NGOs, academics and student organizations who are the main supporters. KKA became one of the places where activists were learning to take critical action and discussions. Currently, there are many new activists who were born from KKA.

5. Conclusion

The KKA is the result of retextualization of the JKA which was reinterpreted by adjusting East Kalimantan's special socio-political issues. The spirit of the new text 'KKA' is the same as the spirit of JKA's reference text that is against arbitrariness of power. But the character of the authors with the context of the struggle, produces a different pattern of text. KKA evolved into a more local action in terms of issues raised, the text structure was also dynamic and varied.

Attributes, structures and styles of action also move more dynamic and varied, not just silent action, KKA can turn into a traditional performance stage when criticizing the conflicts of indigenous peoples and corporations. In different occasion, the action can take the form of a poetry reading parade stage or an indie music stage. Both poems and songs still carry the spirit resistance against ecological crime.

KKA developed and found a different color from the initial reference text from the JKA. East Kalimantan activists were readers of the JKA text, as well as the authors who wrote the new text of KKA. The beginnings of the implementation of KKA did intend to be a display

of JKA. But this reference text turned on by East Kalimantan activists in the context of typical East Kalimantan situation, produces a new text of KKA which was more locally patterned.

In the hands of East Kalimantan activists, the JKA was used to revive the critical awareness of the people of East Kalimantan about the many problems of living space and serious environmental damage in East Kalimantan. KKA also managed to mobilize more people from diverse circles than the elitist JKA. Open organizing and fluid membership, making KKA also a school of formation for activists and has produced several new local activists. East Kalimantan activists, acting as the authors of the text of the KKA, used the Jakarta Kamisan Action to echo local issues that are no less serious. Although initially use the JKA, but The KKA can now be said as a new text and different from the JKA. The action structure of KKA was developed in such a way that the theme, the model of organizing the action, connectedness with local organizations, and support from more grounded circles.

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