

Syamsudin & Subono , 2018

Volume 4 Issue 2, pp. 568-580

Date of Publication: 3rd August 2018

DOI-<https://dx.doi.org/10.20319/pijss.2018.42.568580>

This paper can be cited as: Syamsudin, M. H., & Subono, N. I. (2018). Political Opportunity Structure and the Success of Temanggung Tobacco Peasant Resistance towards Government Regulation 81/1999. PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences, 4(2), 568-580.

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POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE AND THE SUCCESS OF TEMANGGUNG TOBACCO PEASANT RESISTANCE TOWARDS GOVERNMENT REGULATION 81/1999

Muhammad Hasan Syamsudin

Student of Graduate Program of Political Science, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, West Java
16424, Indonesia
hasan.syamsudin.92@gmail.com

Nur Iman Subono

Lecturer of Political Science Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, West Java 16424, Indonesia
boni.subono@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to gain a comprehensive understanding related to the correlation between political opportunity structure and the success of Temanggung tobacco peasant resistance towards government regulation 81/1999. This regulation basically obligates tobacco industries in Indonesia to standardize their cigarette product to the low tar and nicotine. As a main product of cigarette industries, kretek is the typical cigarette known as highly nicotine cigarette and mostly made from the local tobacco including Temanggung tobacco. A mutual cooperation between cigarette industries and Temanggung tobacco peasant eventually has become an economic backbone not only for tobacco peasant but also for local inhabitant generally. Feeling threatened, tobacco peasant was calling for the withdrawal and finally reach its succes after three years struggle. In order to know the correlation between two factors mentioned above, as a part of social movement theory, political opportunity approach is being used as an analytical tool. This study is also conducted by applying qualitative research methods such as interviewing actors and tracing related literatures. This research finds that there is significant correlation between the availability of political opportunity structure and the success of the resistance. Then,

this study concludes that the form of the availability of political opportunity is none else than the role played by influential ally particularly local politician who closed to the national elite, the president of Indonesia republic, Megawati Soekarnoputri. Instead of its theoretical constraints, the finding strengthens a thesis that without influential ally, social movement would not be able to amplify its interests.

Keywords

Temanggung, Tobacco Peasant, Resistance, Nicotine, Kretek

1. Introduction

As a region situated in the middle of the mountains namely Sumbing, Sindoro, and Prau, Temanggung is the region benefited in agrarian sector. Geographically, its position placed in the mountainous area gives a significant impact for the soil fertility. As a result, its fertilized soil is suitable for any crops, albeit in the summer there is only one crop that can survive in this kind of soil, and this plant is called tobacco. Thus, due to its durability, particularly in the summer season, it has impressed Temanggung peasant to name this plant as plant from pious man or *tanaman para wali* (Brata, 2012).

The combination between soil fertility, the quality of seed, and also the cultivation ability has successfully produced the highest level of tar and nicotine in every Temanggung tobacco's leaves. The very high level of tar and nicotine contained in Temanggung tobacco has given impact for the special taste compared to the tobacco planted in the other regions. This kind of circumstance has made Temanggung tobacco becomes the main flavour of kretek cigarette, a typical of cigarette which is famous among Indonesian. As a result, plenty of cigarette industries particularly kretek industries such as Djarum, Gudang Garam, and Bentoel establish their factories in Temanggung (Rochman, 2013).

As the time goes by, this circumstance has placed Temanggung tobacco to be the most expensive tobacco in Indonesia (Brata, 2012). Consequently, it has successfully raised the economic sector not only for tobacco peasant but also for the local inhabitants generally. The advantage in term of economic resulted by this mutual cooperation has created multiple impact to another sector. According to Temanggung industrial, trade, and cooperation affairs, there are thousands even more enterprises related to the tobacco business, 6.801 related directly and 14.079 indirectly (Topatimasang, Puthut & Ary, 2010). Thus, it means that tobacco business is very pivotal for the life of local dweller.

Besides generating dozen of the enterprises, economic activity resulted from tobacco business also contributes to the rise of local employment. Temanggung agriculture and plantation

affairs noted that the impact of the tobacco chain business has been able to employ around 66.072 people, it is consisted of 47.642 people-family involved in planting tobacco, 20.031 people involved in post harvesting, and 198 people in trading clove, kretek industries, and local cigar as well. Those exact calculations have not included the number of farm workers brought from another region in order to help local peasant for harvesting and chopping tobacco leaves (Topatimasang et al., 2010). All in all, it is not exaggerated that Temanggung then is called the “tobacco town”.

2. Research Problem

The problem arises when the beneficial cooperation between Temanggung tobacco peasant and cigarette industries is disrupted by the public health policy issued by the government. The high level of tar and nicotine which is special characteristic of Temanggung tobacco is considered as a serious threat to the health. After the fall of new order regime, in the reign of B.J Habibie President, the government regulation focusing on tobacco control was issued. Through the government regulation 81/1999, B.J Habibie tried to restrict the distribution of the cigarette through the technical procedures including limiting maximum level of tar and nicotine in every cigarette product 1.5 mg and 20 mg respectively (Rosser, 2015).

According to the local tobacco peasant, despite the restriction is targeted to the cigarette industries, yet it would probably ruin their economic life due to the low tar and nicotine tobacco only can be found in imported tobacco particularly Virginia tobacco, not local tobacco, moreover Temanggung tobacco (Abhisam, Hasriadi & Harian, 2011). Thus, it means that cigarette industries would decrease the number of local tobacco absorbing and switch to imported tobacco gradually.

After fall of B.J Habibie regime, considering the advice from the stakeholders including tobacco peasant, The President, Abdurrahman Wahid revised 81/1999 to 38/2000. However, the article concerning tar and nicotine limitation had not been removed. Feeling threatened by this policy, in 2000, Temanggung tobacco peasant gathered to establish a community called sumbing-sindoro tobacco peasant community or *paguyuban petani tembakau sumbing-sindoro* (PPTSS) then decided to demand the withdrawal.

In the resistance movement, in early 2002, PPTSS departed around 7.500 peasants and farm workers to Semarang-the capital city of Central Java in order to gain a support from the governor and the member of provincial parliament (Wisnu Brata, personal communication, March 12, 2018). Still in the same year, in the late October 2002, 70 busses went to Jakarta-the capital of Indonesia republic to demand the government for withdrawing the regulation

particularly regarding the limitation of tar and nicotine level article (Timbul Mondoretno, personal communication, March 21, 2018).

Not only mobilized local peasants and farm workers, PPTSS also lobbied several elites started from local elites such as regional and provincial politicians to national elites like the minister from certain ministries and the President of Indonesia republic, Megawati Soekarnoputri (Timbul Mondoretno, personal communication, March 21, 2018). After long struggle, finally, government regulation 81/1999 and 38/2000 had been revised to 19/2003. In this recent policy, the limitation of tar and nicotine level article had been totally removed.

This paper will attempt to answer these questions: (1) what kind of the political opportunity factor which leads to the success of the resistance? (2) how does PPTSS manage a political opportunity factor to gain a success?. This discussion in this paper will be divided into three sections. The first section will explain the social movement theory and the political opportunity approach. The second section will address the context of government regulation 81/1999 issuance and the rise of the local resistance. Then, the third section will analyse the form of political opportunity factor and the way PPTSS manage the opportunity. This analysis will be conducted through qualitative method in which the main source is coming from interview and the related literatures.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Social Movement Theory

Basically, there is distinction between social movement and collective behaviour. First, it is related to the way they organize themselves. Social movement has an internal rule in order to achieve their goals. It is different from collective behaviour in which the protest expression is often spontaneously and temporarily occurred such as crowd, riot, rebel, and fads. Second, in order to mobilize themselves, social movement fully depend on logical considerations and also self-conscious. Thus, it gives an impact for the well-organized planning. In contrast, in collective behaviour, the logical considerations and self-conscious are often ignored. As a result, it will keep well-organized planning away, so the collective action will be rarely occurred. Third, related to the durability, social movement is able to survive for a long term period, whereas collective behaviour only survive for short term period (Locher, 2002). In terms of Temanggung tobacco peasant resistance, the resistance is already fulfilling those categories above, it can be clearly seen by the way they organize themselves and their durability. Thus, this is becoming the main reason that social movement theory is applicable as analytical tools for this specific case.

After we understand the distinction between social movement and collective behaviour, now understanding the comprehensive meaning of social movement becomes also pivotal. According to Diani and Bison (2004), social movement is the collective actions with clear conflicting orientation to certain social and political counter movements, and it is also carried out by the actors who have strong solidarity and collective identity more than the other coalitions (Sukmana, 2016). Another definition stated that social movement is also associated with the challenges for certain groups in which the objective and solidarity becomes an internal guidance particularly when they interact with elites, authority, or even contender (Escobar & Alvarez, 1992). The clear definition was also proposed by Tilly and Tarrow (2007) that defines social movement as an action to gain a change through interaction which contains a contention and it continuously occurs between citizen and the state as well (Subono, 2017).

The discourse of social movement studies has finally produced at least three approaches which has its own proposition. First is political opportunity structure approach, second is mobilizing structure approach, and the last one is framing processes approach. The first approach perceives that the up and down of the social movement is completely depend on the external factor particularly the character of political system (Crossley, 2002), whereas the second approach views the development of social movement is fully depend on the internal factor such as informal-social network and the role of meso groups (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996), then, the third one believes that the success or failure of social movement is influenced by the how they interpret and construct their collective identity to legitimate their action and gain support from public (Sukmana, 2016). However, in this paper, the approach that will be used as analytical tool is merely the political opportunity structure.

3.2 Political Opportunity Structure Approach

In term of political opportunity structure, though the characteristic of the political system becomes main concern, yet it does not enough to explain what political opportunity structure is. There are many scholars which come up with their own thesis statement related to the political opportunity structure. Through synthesizing Brockett (1991), Kriesi et al (1992), Rucht (1996), and Tarrow's (1994) propositions, at least there are three dimensions of political opportunity structure. First, the dynamics of social movement is highly influenced by the openness and closeness of the political system. Second, it depends on stability or instability of political alliances which undergird the government. Third, its dynamics is influenced by the presence or absence of elite alliances, and the last one, it is also determined by the state's capacity and preference for repression (McAdam et al., 1996).

Concerning to the elite allies, Tarrow (1998) proposed a conceptual framework namely the influential allies. Instead of political system, influential allies is one of pivotal dimension of political opportunity structure which cannot be left out. He stated that challengers are encouraged to take collective action when they have allies who can act as friends in court, as guarantors against repression or as acceptable negotiators on their behalf (Tarrow, 1998). Moreover, according to Gamson (1990), the role of influential allies often leads to the movement success (Tarrow, 1998). Referring to those explanation, we can underline that the role of influential allies in social movement is significantly important.

Despite clear explanation of political opportunity structure approach, yet it is cannot be separated by its criticism. At least, there are two counter arguments related to this approach. First, in the middle of the borderless world-globalization, the dimension of political opportunity structure which has been constructed only by regional framework will become more irrelevant (Castells, 2006). Second, as an external factor, political opportunity structure emphasizes social movement as dependent variable. Consequently, it will categorize social movement into the passive movement not the main factor of social and political changes. However, according to Gamson and Meyer (1996), albeit political opportunity can create a new space for the movement, at the same time the movement also can make a political opportunity (McAdam et al., 1996).

4. Context: Findings and Discussion

4.1 The Issuance of Government Regulation 81/1999

The issuance of government regulation 81/1999 actually cannot be separated by its political context. According to Rosser (2015), basically, the fall of new order regime has brought an opportunity to the civil society in all sectors to be more engaged in public policy making process. It is commonly known that under Soeharto regime, civil society had a constraint to organize themselves on every public policy making process. However, the democratization had successfully opened up the new space for civil society including anti tobacco society (Rosser, 2015). The most sophisticated achievement from anti-tobacco society benefited from that circumstance was the issuance of government regulation 81/1999.

As Rosser (2015) stated, the powerful cigarette industries under new order regime had placed them to be undefeated stakeholder. There are at least five underlying reasons why the giant cigarette industries became so powerful. First, the cigarette industries had structural influences to the state rather than anti-tobacco groups. Those kind of the influences were an ability to employ massive work force, increasing tax through excise, and empowering economic activity in other sectors such as media, sport, retail, and also hospitality. Second, the cigarette

industries also had built business connection to the political elite played by the Soeharto's family. For instance, Susilo Wonowidjojo, the founder of Gudang Garam cooperated with Soeharto's young brother, Probosutedjo as a cigarette paper supplier. In addition, Soeharto's son, Tommy Soeharto was also involved in clove monopoly in 1990 (Lawrence & Collin, 2004).

Third, cigarette industries had been able to influence a public policy by mobilizing their own group. For instance, in 1992, kretek industries association (GAPPRI) and white cigarettes industries association (GAPERINDO) had successfully organized themselves against the government policy initiative in which tobacco would be categorized as plant with addictive chemical substance. Forth, besides organizing their group, cigarette industries also able to mobilize their stakeholder particularly tobacco peasant in order to pursue their goal. Lastly, the cigarette industries also had a powerful ability to create positive image throughout the philanthropy and social responsibility program such as Djarum Foundation and Sampoerna Foundation. Those philanthropy organizations were investing billions rupiah even more in plenty sectors such as education, research, sport, art and culture, and music,. All in all, it had successfully placed cigarette industries as a social, culture even sport life support in Indonesia (Rosser, 2015).

The powerful cigarette industries met its challenger when new order regime was collapse. When the new emerging space came up, it was smoothly utilized by the civil society including anti-tobacco groups to consolidate as well as penetrate their interest in public policy making process. If the circumstance under new order regime was not lucky enough for them due to the closeness of policy making process, conversely, the fall of new order regime was utilized to build a stronger connection among anti-tobacco groups in order to amplify tobacco control's agenda. It can be clearly seen that in 1998 anti-tobacco groups established an organization called Komnas Pengendalian Tembakau or national commission for tobacco control. Then, it becomes a front-runner of tobacco control movement in Indonesia (Rosser, 2015). The issuance of government regulation 81/1999 which aimed to restrict tar and nicotine level on cigarette actually cannot be separated by its pivotal role.

4.2 The Rise of Local Resistance

The enactment of government regulation 81/1999 had ignited a response unpredictably. This response was coming from tobacco peasant particularly Temanggung tobacco peasant. Though PPTSS was established in 2000, but the real movement was began in 2002. According to the founder of PPTSS, Timbul Mondoretno, the content of government regulation 81/1999 was hurting local peasant. The restriction of tar and nicotine level would probably throw them into serious economic problem. It is understandable because the nicotine level of Temanggung

tobacco was very high whereas in the regulation the nicotine level must be dropped into 1.5 mg. If we just obey that regulation we would not get anything to live (Timbul Mondoretno. personal communication, March 21, 2018). Besides, they also realized that it was quite easy for industries to switch from local tobacco to imported tobacco which was cheaper and simpler. However, for local peasant, to change tar and nicotine level in every Temanggung tobacco's leaves is hardly impossible due its specific geographic factor.

In Brata's point of view, their worries of cigarettes industries maneuver was clearly answered when cigarette industries innovated the new product called mild cigarette which contained less nicotine than kretek in early 2000's. Brata stated that it was clear that industries would not accommodate local peasant interest, which meant an imported tobacco would be cigarette industries prioritize rather than local tobacco including Temanggung tobacco (Wisnu Brata, personal communication, March 12, 2018). In the middle of this unlucky circumstance, instead of cooperate with cigarette industries, PPTSS decided to mobilize themselves in order to demand a withdrawal.

4.3 Demonstration and Seeking for the Influential Ally

On their resistance, PPTSS hold both demonstration and also lobbying strategy. In 16 October 2002, the demonstrations were held in Semarang-the capital city of Central Java and Jakarta-the capital city of Indonesia republic. In Semarang, there was approximately 7.500 tobacco peasants and farm workers departed from Temanggung and surrounding regions such as Wonosobo, Magelang, and Kendal to demand governor and provincial parliament's support against government regulation 81/1999 (Wisnu Brata, personal communication, March 12, 2018). After gaining support, the demonstration was continued to Jakarta in 28 October 2002. Around 70 busses or 5.000 tobacco peasants and farm workers were departed from Temanggung to Jakarta which took distance around 400 kilometres. The objective of the latest demonstration was to withdraw government regulation 81/1999 particularly concerning tar and nicotine restriction article (Daeng, Hadi, Suryono, Siregar & Septianti, 2011).

Not only demonstration, a strategic lobbying was also carried out by PPTSS actors. PPTSS actors completely realized that without building strategic alliance their struggle would be useless. Thus, in their guidance organizational struggle, they were not anti to political parties as long as they support PPTSS' interest and it also prevailed conversely (Wisnu Brata, personal communication, March 12, 2018). The lobbies were targeted to the several elites started from regional elites such as Sardjono, chair of Temanggung regional executive and also Bambang Soekarno, chair of Temangggung regional parliament, senior politician of Temanggung Indonesian democratic party of struggle or *partai demokrasi Indonesia perjuangan* (PDI-P) as

well as chair of Indonesia regional parliament associations or *asosiasi DPRD kabupaten seluruh Indonesia* (ADKASI).

Fortunately, Bambang Soekarno fully supported the struggle of the tobacco peasant. His support could not be separated by his social background whom his father and grandfather were live from planting tobacco (Bambang Soekarno, personal communication, March 22, 2018). Then, his sympathy brought PPTSS actor to the provincial elite such as Mardiyanto, the governor of Central Java province and certain members of provincial parliament particularly from PDI-P, PPP, and Golkar. After gaining a support, Bambang Soekarno was connecting them to the national elites such as Achmad Suyudi, the minister of health, Bungaran Saragih, the minister of agriculture, and also Rini Soemarno, the minister of industry and commerce (Wisnu Brata, personal communication, March 12, 2018). Even, according to Timbul Mondoretno, Bambang Soekarno successfully brought PPTSS' interest to the presiden of Indonesia republic, Megawati Soekarnoputri (Timbul Mondoretno, personal communication, 21 March, 2018).

4.4 The Source of Social Movement's Ally Influence

A success story of Bambang Soekarno for advocating PPTSS' interest to Megawati Soekarnoputri cannot be separated by his position as influential local politician. At least, there are three factors why Bambang Soekarno has a strong access to the national elite particularly Megawati Soekarnoputri.

First, it is caused by his personal closeness to the president. Bambang Soekarno recognized that he has personal closeness to Megawati Soekarnoputri (Bambang Soekarno, personal communication, 22 March 2018). His closeness was caused by his loyalty to Megawati Soekarnoputri started particularly when PDI-P was split into two factions in early 90's. In this period, Bambang Soekarno decided to choose Megawati's faction namely PDI-P pro Mega as his political choice. Moreover, Bambang Soekarno also decided to lead Megawati's faction in Temanggung as the chairman. His devotion to both PDI-P and also Megawati Soekarnoputri had successfully brought him as strategic ally in front of the president.

Second, the closeness between those political elites also related to Bambang Soekarno strategic position as the chair of Indonesia regional parliament association or *asosiasi DPRD kabupaten seluruh Indonesia* (ADKASI). This position had successfully raised his political bargain to the top political elites including the president. Through this organization, he consistently penetrated PPTSS's interest to the national elites. He recognized that if he just lobbied in the name of Temanggung regional parliament chair, it would no be serious impact for his struggle, whereas if he used his position as the chair of ADKASI, it would be powerful enough to press the elites (Bambang Soekarno, personal communication, 22 March 2018).

The last one is a non-personal factor. The non-personal factor means the local political configuration. In 1999, the presidential election was held, PDI-P had successfully led the election which had around 35% followed by PKB, Golkar, PPP, and PAN which only got 23%, 12.5%, 16.5%, and 5% respectively (Simanungkalit, Nainggolan & Santoso, 2004). Albeit the regional executive chair was not led by PDI-P cadre yet PDI-P had dominated the legislative council with 14 seats. An achievement pursued by Bambang Soekarno as the chair of Temanggung PDI-P branch at that time became a considerably important to the elites in Jakarta including the Chairman of PDI-P Megawati Soekarnoputri.

4.5 The Form of Social Movement's Ally Influence in Withdrawing Regulation

Related to the Bambang Sukarno's influence, it could not be denied that his closeness to the president Megawati Soekarnoputri is the main factor of the PPTSS' success. His closeness was utilized by him to advocate PPTSS' interest. The way he advocated was through discussing the benefit and also the drawback of the regulation. After a hard lobbying, finally, Megawati Soekarnoputri agreed on the PPTSS' grievances and demands. Then, a letter from ministry of health was released and stated that the minister did not mind if the government regulation 81/1999 would be revised. Due to the revision should involve a cross ministerial meeting, thus, the ministry of state secretary, Bambang Kesowo invited cross ministerial representative and also Bambang Soekarno to join in the revision meeting.

It should be noted that the only person who represented local elite in the revision meeting was only Bambang Soekarno no one else. After the debate over the tar and nicotine article, finally the article of tar and nicotine restriction was successfully removed and the new government regulation 19/2003 was issued in 13 March 2003. According to founder of PPTSS, Timbul Mondoretno, the main factor why almost ministries particularly ministry of health became so cooperative, it is merely due to the agreement of Megawati Soekarnoputri on what Bambang Soekarno explain, if they refused, it means they are in danger politically. Besides, Timbul Mondoretno also recognized that without Bambang Soekarno favour, the struggle of PPTSS would not be heard in front of national elites (Timbul Mondoretno, personal communication, March 21, 2018).

Another way to advocate PPTSS' interest carried out by Bambang Soekarno was also by pressing the national elite through ADKASI. The pressure targeted to the member of national parliament (DPR-RI) who were not cooperative enough to them. One of the serious threat was delivered by the member of ADKASI as well as chair of Biak regional parliament, Nehemia Wospakrik who demand Papua independence if the government regulation 81/1999 was not withdrawn (Bambang Soekarno, personal communication, 22 March 2018).

5. Conclusion

Based on the discussions above, it can be clearly seen that in very small case, one of the political opportunity structure dimensions that leads to the triumph of tobacco peasant movement is none other than the availability of the influential allies. An ability for seeking and managing an external resource through lobbying influential elites as well as keeping them to be part of the movement has successfully bring PPTSS to pursue their ultimate goal. The involvement of local elite, Bambang Soekarno in every step of PPTSS' struggle as connector as well as guarantor has improved PPTSS' political bargain in front of the national elites particularly the president of Indonesia republic, Megawati Soekarnoputri. This circumstance has become great opportunity for them to penetrate their interest which is none else than withdrawing government regulation 81/1999. Thus, it proves that there is strong correlation between the success of movement and the availability of political opportunity structure. In more detail, it is also justifying the Gamson's (1990) thesis statement that perceives a success of the social movement basically cannot be separated by the role of influential allies (Tarrow, 1998). All in all, in specific case, the political opportunity structure particularly the role of influential allies is still considerably important of the social movement success.

Related to the limitation of this study, a case study approach applied in this study is constructed for driving a comprehensive understanding. However, it must be acknowledged that it cannot be used for generalization. This means that the findings mentioned above only prevail for a specific case particularly related to the Temanggung tobacco peasant resistance towards government regulation 81/1999. As a part of struggling for their livelihood, Temanggung tobacco peasant will always resist as long as the public health perspective becomes a main paradigm in composing public policy. In the other hand, as a part of realizing a public health encouraged by local and international actors, the government is also fighting for limiting the cigarette industries expansion. It means, that the political dynamcis between those elements including the dynamics of Temanggung tobacco peasant will always be relevant to be studied for resulting a particular knowledge.

Acknowledgments

This work was fully supported by Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP) through its master degree scholarship program. Any remaining errors are completely becoming the author responsibility.

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