

# Environmentalism for Nature to Environmentalism for Profit: Discourse on Andesite Mining in Wadas, Purworejo

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Received: March 31<sup>st</sup> 2023 | Accepted: January 9<sup>th</sup> 2024 | Published: January 30<sup>th</sup> 2024

## Abstract

*This research discusses the discourse related to the mining of andesite stone for the construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo, Central Java, as part of the National Strategic Project. The discourse constructed among actors is highly diverse. The dominant discourse is led by the government, which views the use of the forest for environmentalism for profit, while local residents see the forest as environmentalism for nature. Michel Foucault's discourse theory on the production of knowledge and power underscores the discourses brought forth by the government, the community, and NGOs. Meanwhile, Anja Nygren's concept of environmental discourse complements the various discourses that have emerged. The objective of this research is to observe the dynamics and discourse constructed by pro and contra actors regarding the construction of the Bener Dam. The research utilizes both primary and secondary data, with primary data obtained through direct interviews with sources such as Indonesian Forum for the Environment of Yogyakarta, Community Movement for Environmental Care in Wadas Village (GEMPADEWA), and Legal Aid Institute of Yogyakarta. The conclusion drawn from this research is that the dominant discourse constructed by the government can influence*

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*public opinion, especially through negotiations that lead to mutually beneficial agreements.*

**Keywords:**

*discourse, environmentalism, Bener Dam*

## Introduction

This study focuses on the dynamics and discourse constructed by pro and contra actors regarding the construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency, Central Java. The dam construction is part of the Indonesian Government's National Strategic Project, as documented in the Governor of Central Java's Decree Number 539/29 of 2020 concerning the extension of the land location determination for the construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo. The Bener Dam project is carried out through collaboration between two ministries, namely the Ministry of State-Owned

Enterprises PT Brantas Abipraya and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing through the Regional River Basin Office (BBWS) Serayu Opak of the Directorate General of Water Resources (Anggraini, 2022). In the future, the Bener Dam is suspected to be the tallest dam in Indonesia with a height of 159 meters, a dam length of 543 meters, and a bottom width of approximately 290 meters, as stipulated by Presidential Regulation Number 56 of 2018 regarding the acceleration of the implementation of National Strategic Projects (Bramasta, 2022).

The construction process of the Bener Dam, which requires the use of andesite rock material, has resulted in various responses and objections from different actors. The local community in Wadas Village is divided into pro and contra camps. On one side,



pro actors, dominated by the government and local residents, support the project to proceed. One indicator of why the local community supports mining is the assurance of substantial compensation from the government for the land acquisition of those who agree to mining for the construction of the Bener Dam. Additionally, the Bener Dam is expected to provide high economic value in the tourism sector, benefiting not only Purworejo Regency but also the surrounding areas. On the other hand, contra actors, divided among the local community and external parties (environmental NGOs), consider the project too risky because it neglects ecological and economic impacts.

The pro and contra actors in the development of the Bener Dam claim discourse and knowledge regarding the benefits and impacts that

will be incurred when using andesite rock as its construction material. The economic or material discourse brought forth by pro actors is that the construction of the Bener Dam will provide significant benefits to the community. These include supplying water for irrigation across 15,519 hectares of rice fields, mitigating flood disasters in Purworejo Regency, Central Java, and Kulon Progo Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta, generating approximately 10 megawatts of electricity, providing 1,500 liters per second of drinking water to Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta, as well as Kebumen and Purworejo, Central Java. Additionally, there is the potential for tourism development to enhance the local economy (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 2022).

In short, the stance taken by the government is closely related to a developmentalism



pattern that prioritizes economic growth and progress. In other words, rapid economic growth is considered an indicator of a nation's advancement. However, the economic progress achieved so far has also resulted in significant losses, encompassing wide-ranging aspects such as social, cultural, and environmental impacts. These aspects should be considered in mitigating environmental conflicts.

Escobar (2006) highlighted that the increasing environmental conflicts are a result of the influence of neoliberal globalization. Conceptually, these conflicts can be understood through three interrelated dimensions: economic, ecological, and cultural. Escobar emphasizes the importance of placing economic, ecological, and cultural distributions on equal footing and in proportion. This

means that, for the economic and ecological domains, the value of nature cannot be assessed solely based on its economic sector. Nature is considered 'sacred' and cannot be commodified. Similarly, culture creates practices that determine how nature is adapted to and utilized.

The discourse from pro actors (the Government) as the organizers faces opposition from contra actors. Contra actors engage in discursive construction through environmental issues, emphasizing the negative impacts of andesite mining, including environmental damage. Contra actors are represented by the local community in Wadas, who initiated the formation of GEMPADEWA (Community Movement for Environmental Care in Wadas Village), and the women of Wadon Wadas



supported by NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) such as Indonesian Forum for the Environment of Yogyakarta and Legal Aid Institute of Yogyakarta. These contra actors believe that the Government has failed to understand the close relationship between the local residents and the environment in Wadas.

There are several reasons why contra actors reject andesite mining. First, the discourse constructed by the Government regarding the Bener Dam claims to irrigate the community's rice fields. However, in reality, the water becomes contaminated and cannot be reused. Second, concerning the Environmental Impact Assessment for andesite mining. In the process, the Government does not specifically explain the environmental impacts that will occur, including potential dangers to several villages around the mining area

(Akbar, 2022). Third, there is the issue of not having the Mining Business License from the central government (Guitarra, 2022). These three factors are what drive the resistance from the community in Wadas Village.

In addition to the form of opposition from contra actors against andesite mining, another reason that strengthens the bond between the Wadas community and their environment is related to the longstanding dependence on nature. The potential wealth of Wadas Village from the plantation sector has provided significant benefits to local farmers. Plantations serve as the primary source of daily income for the local community in Wadas. According to a report from the Indonesian Forum for the Environment, the potential yield from plantations in Wadas Village, Purworejo, reaches Rp. 8.5 billion per year. Additionally, income from



hardwood commodities can also reach Rp. 5 billion per year. The highest income comes from the plantation of palm trees. In addition to palm trees, many other commodities also have high value, such as mahogany, teak, durian, sengon, and kemukus. This includes everyday food items like chili, stink beans, bananas, and coconuts, which also have considerable potential (Heksantoro, 2022).

The local residents' dependence, especially farmers, on the commodities from the forest is the fundamental reason why andesite mining is deemed unnecessary. From there, various contested discourses emerge. The discourse contestation led by each pro and contra actor becomes its own carefully crafted agenda. Of course, the most highlighted here is the discourse developed by contra actors against andesite mining. These contra actors play a

central role in their continuous efforts to reject andesite mining. Nonetheless, the efforts made by contra actors are seen as tentative because ultimately, pro actors tend to benefit the most. Moreover, this study becomes more interesting as it explores the dynamics and processes among contra actors who were previously actively resisting but later experienced a decrease in intensity due to agreements or compromises reached afterward.

Furthermore, why is the issue of environmental discourse an important discussion? The urgency in further discussing environmental discourse and development stems from the fact that there is a reinforcement of the rhetoric of "crisis" in public discourse. It can be argued that development leads to an ecological crisis (Kurniawan, 2012). Humans, as rulers and the center of nature, often



perceive themselves as free to utilize the environment and exploit it without considering its sustainability. Escobar (1996) explains that there is no material that is not mediated by discourse because no discourse is unrelated to material. In this context, discourse cannot be separated from the lens of discursive materialism. The construction of the Bener Dam represents a discourse of sustainable development to demonstrate the mediation between nature and capital influenced by the discourse developed in this study.

Therefore, by using an environmental discourse approach, contra actors to andesite mining argue that human efforts will be in vain due to the occurrence of natural disasters. This is a result of neglecting the impacts on the environmental ecosystem. Thus, the well-being of development

can vanish in an instant with the occurrence of various disasters, including floods, landslides, extreme rainfall, and so on (Adhistry, 2020).

Recognizing this, the researcher believes that if the planning and management concepts applied can create the belief that social change can be directed, engineered, and produced at will. The researcher considers that nature can be capitalized even if it is done by the people. A previous study (Muthmainnah et al., 2020) assumed that usually, capitalization is carried out by a group of people with power or private entities. However, in the context of andesite mining, the capitalization of nature is carried out by local residents. Therefore, it becomes clear that capitalist restructuring is increasingly occurring at the expense of environmental conditions. Local residents



initiate various contradictory efforts to restructure these conditions to achieve the desired goal, namely, to increase profits.

Starting from the above issues, a central question arises that needs to be explored further: how is the discursive approach brought by contra actors to andesite mining, where they believe that the forest must be preserved and protected? This involves highlighting the dynamics and discourse that occurred when the intensity of resistance was high initially but gradually decreased towards the end of the resistance. This allows us to see what factors underlie or weaken the struggle of these contra actors, whether compromises or agreements have occurred between the Government and the contesting contra actors.

The focus of this research then utilizes Anja Nygren's environmental analysis, with the

specification of transforming nature into an environment for profit. This is because, based on the fact that Wadas residents who initially disapproved of andesite mining, considering it detrimental in ecological and economic terms, later agreed due to compensation from the government that was deemed sufficient to meet their daily needs. Therefore, the researcher suspects that the resistance by Wadas residents was likely because the compensation provided by the government did not match the amount of land affected by mining. Then, when the compensation offered by the government became more favorable, Wadas residents no longer resisted.





## Theoretical Framework

### 1. Environmental Discourse Theory

This writing is underpinned by the ideas of Dryzek (1997), Kurniawan (2012), and Nygren (1998), who specifically employ environmental discourse in their studies. From their perspectives, this research will elucidate the environmental discourse brought by each pro and contra actor—particularly in the concept of sustainable development, viewed from ecological, economic, social, and cultural aspects without disregarding ‘justice crises’ and ‘humanitarian crises’.

The basis of discourse studies is crucial to explain how knowledge is a part of discourse and is not neutral. According to Foucault, discourse is always identified as a production of knowledge and a wheel of power that is

interdependent and concurrent. Discourse becomes essential for producing knowledge, power, and politics because power can be exercised coercively or productively, distinguishing between dominant and minority discourses. The production of discourse can become dominant by involving actors who organize knowledge systematically, making it authoritative and legitimate in explaining something. Therefore, the logic constructed by the local residents of Wadas will be against mining because mining always has adverse effects on the environment (Sholihin, 2019).

The discourse on the environment has been growing since the 1960s. Marxist-oriented sociologist James O’Connor once stated in the 1980s that contra actors emerged in response to development theories that



emphasized economic growth as the primary reference and were very pro-capitalistic economic systems (Wardana, 2017). Later, Christopher Stone, in his book “Should Trees Have Standing? Law, Morality, and Environment,” sued law enforcement in the United States to make trees and the environment legal subjects. Therefore, the discourse on the environment has been debated by experts for a long time, placing environmental issues as an essential part of the current context.

The discourse framework is necessary for analyzing and identifying the discourses that occur. Foucault’s discourse provides the foundation for Dryzek (1997) to delve deeper into environmental issues from the perspective of environmental discourse. Particularly, as expressed by Dryzek: environmental discourse begins in industrial society, and so has

to be positioned in the context of the discourse of industrialism (Dryzek, 1997: 14). Departing from Dryzek’s statement, the author believes that the context of industrial society may not be suitable for application in the local community of Wadas Village, as it needs to consider not only environmental discourse but also the social-cultural aspects and local wisdom that have been believed since ancient times. Thus, to gain a deeper understanding of environmental discourse, it is necessary to know the ontology of discourse, identify the relationships between humans and living beings, and recognize the rhetoric and metaphors used to justify the interests and environmental actions of the actors (Dryzek, 1997).

Studies related to environmental discourse have also been conducted by Nygren (1998), focusing on the case of



Costa Rica. From her findings, there are three dimensions that need to be traced to understand environmental discourse: imperative (driving factors), aims (goals), and strategies. The research in Costa Rica indicates the existence of discursive competition at the global, national, and local development strategy levels, resulting in four dimensions of environmental discourse: environmentalism for nature, environmentalism for profit, environmentalism for alternative, and environmentalism for the people (Nygren, 1998).

The four dimensions of environmental discourse need to be examined more deeply when related to the social conditions in Wadas Village. First, environmentalism for nature focuses on the principles of sustainable development to enhance environmental sustainability. Second,

environmentalism for profit recognizes that the process of sustainable development is closely tied to economic growth. Third, environmentalism for alternative suggests that the impact of environmental damage is influenced by the expansion of Western modern culture on non-Western cultures. Fourth, environmentalism for the people emphasizes that an unsustainable production system can also be a result of excessive degeneration in modern culture (Kurniawan, 2012).

The environmental discourse approach in the Third World and Costa Rica by scholars such as Dryzek (1997) and Nygren (1998) provides insight into how environmental issues have become a global agenda continuously discussed to this day. Kurniawan's research (2012) argues that "the most important aspect in understanding



environmental discourse and development lies not only in 'humans' and 'nature' but in the relationship between the two. Therefore, the next challenge for sustainable development is to continuously redefine the relationship between humans and nature." Kurniawan (2012) used analytical tools from Dryzek and Nygren, similar to the approach used in this research. Kurniawan's study found that environmental NGOs in Indonesia often incorporate various elements from different discursive approaches. This phenomenon indicates that environmental NGOs are actively involved in the dynamics and efforts to redefine the boundaries and new agreements of sustainable development in Indonesia.

## 2. Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is an effort or solution designed to reach a mutual agreement so that it can be accepted by the parties in conflict. In other words, the goal of conflict resolution itself is efforts to be made more effectively as a result of conflict, which involves the involvement of various parties with various underlying issues. Conflict resolution focuses on the source of the conflict between two parties, so that they can jointly identify more real issues (Irwandi; Endah R. Chotim, 2017).

According to (Nasikun, 1993), conflict resolution has a pattern that can be carried out in several approaches, namely:

- a. Negotiation, namely an agreement that is tried to be created between one party and another party through negotiations in resolving



- a. dispute. Negotiation is also defined as a way of peacefully resolving disputes through negotiations between the litigants. In this case, negotiation is also interpreted as two-way communication designed to reach an agreement when both parties have the same or different interests.
- b. Conciliation means controlling a conflict by carrying out conciliation which can be realized through certain institutions which enable the creation of a pattern of discussion and decision making between the conflicting parties.
- c. Mediation means that the conflicting parties agree to appoint a third party. The third party will be responsible for providing advice in efforts to resolve a conflict. So, a more compromise agreement can be created.
- d. Arbitration means that the parties in conflict agree to accept a third party, whose role is to provide decisions in order to resolve existing problems.

Environmental discourse and conflict resolution approaches are the reference in this research to see the dynamic and conflict processes that occur in Wadas Village, especially from related actors, namely the Government, NGOs and Wadas residents themselves who are fighting against andesite mining as a development material. True Dam.

### **Research Methods**

This research employs discourse analysis to examine the narratives and meanings produced by actors against andesite mining. Furthermore, discourse analysis, as the chosen research method, is utilized to comprehend the



reasoning and dynamics within the current andesite rock mining. The author aims to explore hidden meanings behind the discourse by employing Michel Foucault's theory on discourse construction. According to Siregar (2021; cited in Foucault, 1976: 117), discourse can be a collection of statements, varying in forms of what is written, spoken, or communicated through specific procedures. Additionally, another form of discourse can be rules that bind what can be said, who is allowed to say it, how to say it, and when to say it. This implies that discourse encompasses all language and practices within its scope.

The type and research method employed by the researcher is discourse analysis with a qualitative approach aimed at addressing questions by emphasizing how the contestation of opposing actors

unfolds. The discourse analysis method is used by the author to uncover and understand the hidden meanings behind the phenomenon of andesite rock mining. In this research, the researcher utilizes Anja Nygren's discourse analysis, which is not only perceived as a language study but also as an analysis of language while considering relationships within a specific context.

Meanwhile, the researcher carried out data collection, namely by interviews and document studies such as journals, articles and websites. Interviews were conducted with local residents who were against and Walhi Yogyakarta who were against andesite mining, and also LBH Yogyakarta who provided an understanding of the legal aspects and forms of injustice felt by the community in Wadas, including:



- a. Indonesian Forum for the Environment of Yogyakarta (Walhi Yogyakarta), regarding why this NGO supports the rejection of andesite mining.
- b. Community Movement for Environmental Care in Wadas Village (namely GEMPADEWA), relates to the form of resistance carried out by community members in Wadas Village who reject andesite mining.
- c. Legal Aid Institute of Yogyakarta, related to advocacy and understanding provided to residents from a legal perspective, that andesite mining has violated the rights and interests of the community in Wadas.

## Results and Discussion

### 1. Discourse on the construction of the Bener Dam as a form of sustainable development

Foucault's discourse serves as the primary tool to frame the agrarian conflict occurring in Wadas Village. One of the main indicators justifying the andesite rock mining conflict in Wadas is attributed to power and knowledge, emerging between the various actors, the Government, and the Community. For Foucault, power is not an ontology but a strategy. Power works from bottom to top, not the other way around; it is not centralized in one person or a group but is dispersed and omnipresent. Power is practiced in everyday life through discourse. Therefore, the exercised power is related to knowledge because knowledge would not exist



without the exercise of power, and conversely, power would not exist without knowledge. Power and knowledge have become an inseparable unity (Siregar, 2021).

According to Siregar (2021; in Sarup, 2011; 112-113), power can both create and give birth to new objects of knowledge, and conversely, knowledge can create influences on power. Without knowledge, power would be challenging to wield. Building on this idea, Foucault asserts that power is no longer merely oppressive and limiting; instead, power is more productive than repressive and negative. For Foucault, power is not solely defined by the social and political structures within a country, but it involves the formation of mechanisms and strategies of authority, how it is practiced, accepted, and considered to be a truth (Siregar, 2021; in Lubis, 2014a; 177).

Sustainable development can easily find its place in the discourse of development truths, but without careful conceptual analysis of what needs to be sustained, for whom, and by whom (Redclift, 1993). Therefore, the main research object is not only the primary population being developed, but also the development apparatus that aims to realize sustainable development. Sustainable development and strategies framed around biodiversity play a crucial role in the discursive production of conditions of production (Escobar, 1996). The conditions of production are transformed not only through models but also through discourse. In political discourse, marginalized groups seek to challenge hegemonic discourses dominated by the government by placing people within the constraints of normal entities to liberate





games of difference. From this perspective, a discourse is formed that can strengthen the emergence of power because through this discourse, it can create norms that are logical, rational, and true (Kellner, 2003).

According to the Bruntland report, the entire movement towards sustainable development is an effort to withdraw from nature, resources, the earth, and human life itself, on a scale that may not be immediately visible. Environmental struggles are raging worldwide. It's as if one way to declare war on nature and humanity is through conflict and struggle (Escobar, 2006). Therefore, it is not surprising that counter-actors worldwide are becoming more steadfast, insistent, and articulate in defending their places, environments, and ecosystems. Thus, questions related to how differences in economic,

cultural, and ecological equality are possible or rejected. For some critical analyses, the uneven distribution of income and material resources is the basis of conflict (Escobar, 2006). Economic distribution is a political issue and is related to social power.

There are two conflicting interests in mining. First, issues related to environmental damage are always debated as the most fundamental reasons continuously presented by those against it. Thus, anti-mining actors establish dominance by articulating discourse on the negative impacts of andesite mining on the environment based on the rejection of andesite mining. Second, for groups that are pro-sustainable development to improve community welfare, it is always presented as a pretext for why the construction of the Bener Dam must be carried out even



by engaging in mining. From this perspective, we can see that there are two major interests that are carefully played, namely the interest in preserving the environment and sustainable development. These two interests will ultimately clash to influence the mindset of each interested actor (Adhistry, 2020).

Discourse on environmental sustainability is not seen as a social construction in the politics of the modern world, where the emergence of new perceptions about global relations makes environmental questions no longer a local but a global issue (Nygren, 1998). It is assumed that the assessment of natural resources is only subject to economic conditions, and that all aspects of nature can be fully reduced to market prices (actual or fictitious). There is an ecological and political process that contributes to determining the value of natural resources

that cannot be reflected solely in market prices (Escobar, 2006). In many cases, there is a mismatch between economic and ecological processes as far as communities assess the environment not for economic reasons, such as when they consider nature as something sacred and not commodifiable. Unequal wealth, economic growth, due to the time and requirements of capitalist production and natural processes are not the same. Then, if production is under uneven distribution, it will negate ecological processes. This also negates the cultural processes that form the basis of human judgment about nature.

## **2. Discourse of actors against andesite mining**

The emergence of environmental actors has been evolving since the early 1980s in response to environmental



issues. The pattern followed by environmental actors involves responding to the development organized by the New Order government, which prioritized the economy and was centralized. Meanwhile, the concept of environmentally and locally based development received less serious attention from the government. Environmental actors fought against and challenged the development paradigm, advocating for the protection of local activities and knowledge (Adhistry, 2020). Discourses on conflicts are always grounded in heated situations resulting from disputes, disagreements, quarrels, and conflicts involving two or more parties. For instance, the rejection of andesite mining in Wadas Village initially sparked due to a study by experts related to the Environmental Impact Assessment conducted by

the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, which recommended Wadas Village as an andesite mining area to support the construction materials for the Bener Dam. From this point, various forms of rejection arose from villagers around the mining area. Due to the differing interests between the opposing actors and stakeholders, it eventually led to the arrest of villagers by authorities accompanied by violent actions (Pariyatman et al., 2022). Clashes between Wadas Village residents and police guarding the measurement of former andesite mining land occurred on Tuesday, February 8, 2022. Residents in Wadas Village believe that there have been mistakes in the decision-making process that designated Wadas Village as an andesite mining area, including cultural-spiritual aspects. The residents of Wadas have a spiritual connection with



the nature of Wadas Village, as well as an understanding of cultural values that have been believed for a long time, as the natural resources in Wadas have greatly benefited the residents.

From the cultural aspect itself, the land in Wadas has long been believed to be the source of life for the local residents. This socio-cultural aspect is also strengthened by the Javanese proverb “sedumuk bathuk, senyari bumi,” which means no matter how little is taken away from us, we will resist to the end. On the other hand, the spiritual aspect believed by the Wadas community is that the land they have occupied for hundreds or even thousands of years has been bequeathed by their ancestors as land with spiritual value due to the emotional bond established since ancient times. From the natural land of Wadas, there are also many natural resources that can be

processed and utilized to meet daily needs. Therefore, one form of effort to preserve the heritage of the ancestors is to protect the natural land of Wadas (Pariyatman et al., 2022).

This is because the majority of Wadas residents make a living as farmers. The economic aspect is a fundamental reason for the Wadas residents’ rejection of efforts to manage their land. One of the reasons for the rejection of andesite rock mining is that it will directly impact the damage to the farming and plantations of Wadas residents, which have been their source of livelihood. In addition, there is a fear among the Wadas residents regarding their environment; for example, andesite rock mining can cause damage to the environmental ecosystem, disrupting clean water sources, and posing other significant risks such as floods and landslides.



The same issue arises in postmodern cultural analysis. Although postmodernists agree that nature is socially and culturally constructed, they do not specify what kind of nature we want to construct. Local communities, often constructed as beneficiaries or victims of development interventions, are seen as self-motivated actors actively engaged in environmental and development discourse (Nygren, 1998). This perspective aligns with Anja Nygren's theory regarding "Environmentalism for Nature."

"Environmentalism for Nature" is a discourse aimed at supporting environmental preservation efforts within the concept of sustainable development. In short, it can be observed in the efforts made by the government or environmental NGOs to protect and conserve the natural environment and biodiversity

(Kurniawan, 2012). Humans are assumed to be outside this ecosystem. When related to the current context, the activities causing the environmental crisis are created and caused by human arbitrary actions towards nature. Therefore, adherents and experts of this discourse always try to emphasize and promote the importance of ecological order, with little attention to economic and social arrangements. Humans are viewed as external to the ecosystem, and the emergence of the environmental crisis is assumed to be a consequence of human excesses that harm nature, with little consideration for socially unequal utilization of natural resources. Mining is defined as a global problem that threatens the existence of all humankind. In this context, the ecological aspect is considered highly important.



Then, when the intensity of rejection is high, what happens is that the local residents of Wadas resist. This is a form of disagreement with the andesite mining. The discourse brought by these opposing actors regards the forest as a natural asset. Therefore, the forest must be protected and preserved. Opposing actors resist to prevent the government from carrying out andesite mining. According to Sidney Tarrow (2001) in his book titled “Power In Movement and Contentious Politics,” there are indicators used to resist, including:

### **2.1. Repertoire**

Repertoire is defined as a tool or instrument that can be used by specific community groups in an effort to achieve a collective agreement. In other words, a repertoire is a way or strategy through which people can engage in collective action in the

context of political resistance (Tarrow, 2001). The forms of repertoires vary, according to the needs and political context faced. Repertoire becomes a resource used by actors to claim a resistance movement, so it is packaged by actors into a collective identity that can be accepted and relatively easily carried out by the community without the need to incur significant costs or take great risks. Furthermore, forms of resistance are collective actions taken by certain groups of people in specific situations to challenge opponents using incentives that support their networks of trust and solidarity.

Therefore, repertoire is crucial for understanding the assumptions behind specific resistance actions, the methods taken, and the existence of certain forms of action, as well as why changes occur. There are several forms of



repertoire as manifestations of resistance actions, such as street demonstrations, work stoppages, damaging public property, issuing petitions, creating resistance hashtags on social media, and so on. In the case of Wadas, the resistance employed involves the use of symbolic meaning. Simultaneously, the community needs to experiment with alternative productive strategies and cultural resistance against the material and symbolic restructuring of capital and

modernity (Escobar, 1996). In this context, the materials brought by the Wadas community during the rejection, especially when the intensity of rejection is high, are symbolic in nature.

Symbolic struggle emerges as a result of the creation of competition, contests, or rivalry in the effort to seize or maintain power over other social actors. Its forms are diverse, whether it involves existence, viewpoints, perceptions, or others (Jazeri,

**Picture 1. Action wrapping the cloth to the tree**



Source: (Konde, 2023)

2009). The style of symbolic struggle primarily uses language as its tool, without direct physical contact. In executing its actions, the form of discursive warfare in symbolic struggle is by emphasizing doxa, which is power or legitimacy. Doxa is the discursive world that dominates life (Wijaya & Santoso, 2022). One form of symbolic discourse carried out by the residents of Wadas in their resistance is the act of tying cloth around trees by the Wadon Wadas women as an effort to reject andesite stone mining. Wearing traditional Javanese attire, the Wadon Wadas women wrap long white cloths around the trees.

The action took place on December 6, 2022, with the slogan “Wadon Wadas Mangku Bumi Pertiwi” (Wadon Wadas Guardians of Mother Earth) carried out symbolically. In Javanese tradition, it is believed that a mother always

takes care of her child, and this is what the Wadon Wadas did, hoping that the land of Wadas has provided life for the residents, and therefore, the nature of Wadas must be preserved and protected (Konde, 2023). Approximately forty Wadon Wadas women participated in the action, joined by villagers affiliated with the Village Environmental Care Movement of Wadas (GEMPADEWA). In an attempt to acquire the land of Wadas from its residents, the government used invitations and sweet promises by offering relatively high prices, allowing Wadas residents to release their land. However, the Wadon Wadas women and the GEMPADEWA environmental care movement rejected these invitations. One member of Wadon Wadas expressed, “We want to show that



Picture 2. Dumb action of the wadas.



Source: (Purworejo24.com, 2022)

there are still Wadas residents who consistently reject andesite mining," said Tri Handayani (Wiji) from Wadon Wadas.

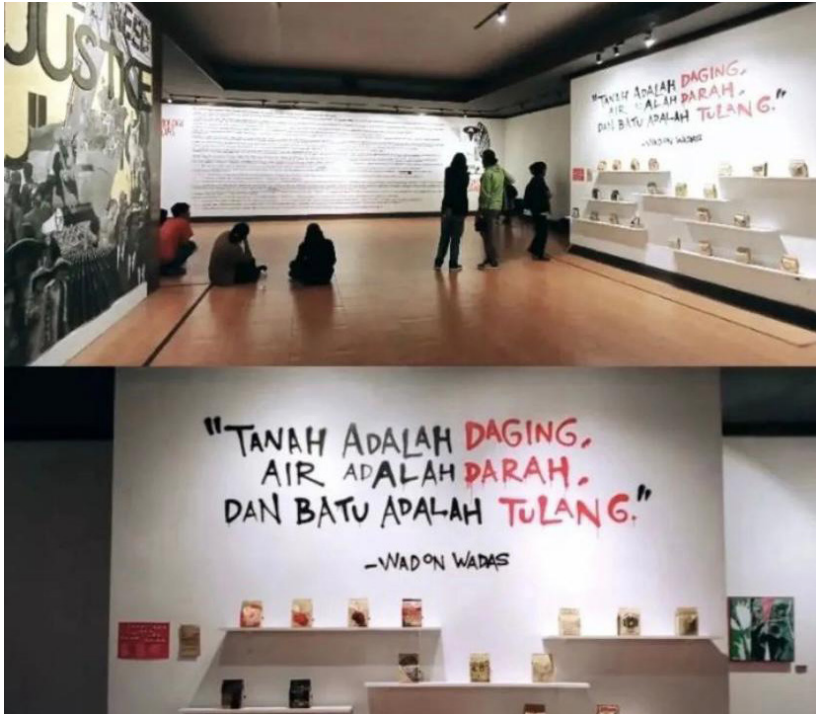
In addition, there was a symbolic action carried out by members of the GEMPADEWA association, namely a silent procession around the village of Wadas. This action was nothing less than a firm rejection by the residents against all efforts related to the planned mining

activities in Wadas, including the inventory activities conducted in Wadas from July 12 to July 15, 2022.

The dumb action was carried out by the Wadas by circling the village with various attributes each wearing, such as beech capes, posters, bringing durian seeds and rambutan, and shutting their mouths with rides. The attributes used have their own meaning for the people of Wadas. For example, the action of bringing plant seeds



Picture 3. Symbolic action to the ground



Source: instagram @kepadatanah

is carved as a symbol or form of consistency keeping the natural sustainability of Wadas Village. Besides, there are also those wearing beeches, believed to be a symbol of the traditional women beech craftsmen who are threatened with extinction if mining activities continue.

There's an unbeatable act, too, of shutting your mouth with a run. The action is an expression that the people of Wadas Village have run out of words with the efforts that have been voiced as a form of protest against the Government. Finally, there's an act of putting money in the



mouth that suggests that any form of environmental damage that will occur in Wadas Village, will not be replaced by anything, including billions of rupees.

Symbolic resistance, not only by the people of Wadas, but also by the outside parties, Walhi Yogyakarta, who supported Wadas resistance. The symbolic action was carried out by the artists to respond to the situation that occurred at the time in Wadas. The agenda is being held in six major cities and six provinces, namely Bali, Batu, Semarang, Jakarta, Bandung, and Yogyakarta.

The symbol was made by the artist as a form of support for the Wadas people to commit a rejection of the Andesit mine because nature must be protected and preserved. The exhibition in these six

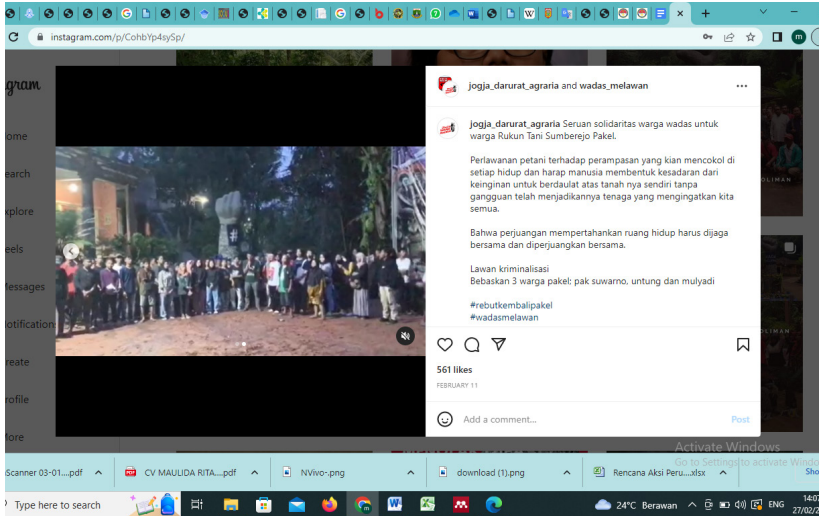
cities aims to make the entire community aware of the conflict in Wadas and to empathize with the people of Wadas.

Some of the symbolic resistance carried out by the Wadas, it is a form of discourse built with "Environmentalism for nature" because forests must be protected for their survival and sustainability. Although with the construction of the Bener Dam can prosper society, but they chose to do rejection.

## 2.2. Framing

Framing is a process of alignment, collective interpretation, and social construction to form a consciousness that those who feel harmed must be actively engaged in collective action to change the situation. The framing process requires the media as an instrument of framing. In this case, framing is a process of framing or discourse

**Picture 4. Publications made on social media instagram @jogja\_darurat\_agraria and @wadas\_melawan**



Source: Instagram @jogja\_darurat\_agraria

carried out by the counter actor as a form of resistance to andesit stone mining. This framing refers to the social media account of @wadas\_combat. In this case, the framing used by counter-actors activists is not free from campaigns and mass mobilization. How through the social media campaigns,

counter-actors can influence the public to share sympathy and can change the government's policy not to do mining in Wadas.

Various media used by counteractors as a form of resistance by conducting demonstrations using banners. The implicit message in the banner is that Wadas residents rejected the Andesit stone mine for damaging the environment



and interfering with the lives of the citizens. The demands of the people of Wadas are to stop the construction of mines in Wadas because expansionist capitalism will continue to plunder people's lands as commodities or distribution routes for accelerating the accumulation of capital.

## **Conflict Resolution in Wadas: Environmentalism for Nature to Environmentalism for Profit**

Conflict resolution arises when a conflict has been ongoing for a long time, continuously and has not found a clear point in its resolution. Joint efforts and agreements to resolve conflicts can involve governments, communities, and NGOs in resolving the mining conflict in Wadas Village, Purworejo. According to Nasikun (1993), a conflict settlement scheme can be resolved in the following ways:

### **a. Negotiation**

Negotiation is an agreement that is attempted between one party and the other party through negotiation in the settlement of a dispute. In this case, negotiations are also understood as two-way

communication designed to reach agreement when both parties have the same or different interests.

The negotiation process has actually taken place between the village government and the community in connection with the construction of the Bener Dam since 2013, when it was first laid. As a result, the community agreed and supported the development acceleration programme through a national strategic project scheme. (PSN). However, in the middle of the journey, precisely in 2018, the construction work of the Bener Dam requires the material of andesit as its main material, one of which is in the area of Wadas Village. From here, protests and rejection arose from some citizens when the mining of andesit occurred in their village. The root of this problem was the response of the Wadas citizens because the process

of socialization related to the acquisition of andesit stones for construction materials was not discussed from the beginning. Indeed, what is very unfortunate is that the negotiation process is not created from the outset, tends to be ignored until the conflict grows wider and wider. Besides, there has not been a clear meeting point and further clarity from each side between the government and the public.

As a result, the aspirations that the government and the public are trying to agree through the negotiation process do not necessarily work. Certainly, there is a tendency that the government permits and ignores the voices of the community groups that are around the Andesit stone mining area. The public is disappointed in the unilateral decision of the government and, as a result, generates a conflict that is widening and widespread.



## **b. Conciliation**

The control of a conflict by conducting conciliation that can be realized through certain institutions that enable the creation of a pattern of discussion and decision-making between the parties to the conflict. Reconciliation becomes an important part when conflict escalates and violent or repressive acts occur to the detriment of either side. For example, representatives of citizens joined in the GEMPADEWA (Wadas Village Nature Movement) visited several state institutions scheduled for 23-25 February 2022. These institutions include: Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Ministry for Environment and Forestry, Ombudsman, Women's Chamber, Human Rights Chamber, and Presidential Staff Office.

This citizen came to ask for a solution to the andesit rock mining plan for the construction of the Bener Dam.

However, the aspirations and attitudes of Wadas citizens have received varying responses from government agencies. There are some who are pro and supportive of andesit rock mining, but some agencies propose to review the implementation and licensing processes. As a result, no reconciliation efforts were made between the parties.

## **c. Mediation**

Mediation is the process and effort by which parties to a conflict agree to designate a third party. Third parties are then responsible for providing advice in efforts to resolve a conflict between the parties, the government and the public. That way, a more compromise deal could be created. One of them is through the law enforcement

apparatus of the State Business Court Semarang. The mediation attempt was carried out by the mediator judge in the process of negotiation or negotiations between Central Java Provincial Government and the society. The mediator judge facilitated the course of mediation between the two parties as a form of response to the complaint submitted by the citizens in connection with the permission to renew the establishment of the construction site of the Bener Dam in Purworejo district.

#### **d. Arbitration**

Arbitration means that the parties to the conflict agree to accept a third party, who has a role in delivering a decision in order to resolve an existing problem. Through this arbitration, the parties in the dispute must accept the decision taken by the arbitrator, because of its absolute nature.

A third party or arbitrator can be a court who is prepared to settle a lawsuit over a conflict that has arisen. In this case, the decision of the judge of PTUN Semarang No. 68/G/PU/2021/PTUN.SMG dated August 30, 2021 issued by PTUN Semarang through a lawsuit made by the citizens of Wadas in connection with the permission to renew the location of land acquisition for the construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo district, is declared rejected. Although the citizens' lawsuit was rejected by the PUTUN Semarang, it does not indicate who wins or loses, but it is about the truth of attitude and sustainability of life. Regarding the ongoing efforts made when it concerns humanitarian aspects and injustice.

Environmental conflicts have been widely discussed at various global, national and local levels. Moreover, environmental conflicts are always associated





with the roles of the individual actors involved. An actor can be a differentiator in resolving environmental conflicts if it is considered capable of delivering new knowledge. The conflict in Wadas Village is one example of how the role of an actor is so visible in alleviating a problem. The people of Wadas, who were originally very resentful of action and forms of rejection of andesit rock mining, have turned into 'supportive actors'.

The conflict in Wadas shows that the government's approach to suppressing public resistance has not been well implemented. From the conflict that has taken place in Wadas, it is clear that the conflicts that emerge to the surface are vertical and horizontal conflicts. The vertical conflict between the government and the people is caused by a disagreement that ends in the loss of public confidence in the government,

while the horizontal conflict is created because of the pros and cons associated with the andesit mining, involving parties such as government, the public, and the NGO. Thus, this horizontal conflict results in the creation of a gap between government and its people as well as between the Government and NGOs. The distance is born from the form of disappointment and frustration shown by the people as a result of the authority or decisions taken by the Government against the reality of the problem. The runaway of social and cultural values, arbitrary actions, and dehumanization are basic examples in it. As a result, society will become fragmented in the capture of existing situations, excessive anxiety and fear of the survival of life ahead because of the loss of their livelihoods (Astuti, 2012).

The people of Wadas Village have become 'pro-building the Bener Dam', of course because of the negotiations and compromises that have been agreed afterwards. One real form can be seen from the right to damages on land paid at a high price. From here, it can be seen that there is a shift in the narrative below by the actor against the miner andesit to the 'pro' actor of the mining. The way that this counter-actor built is from environmentalism

for nature to environmentalism for profit. That means that, there has been an agreement between the public, the government, and NGOs in breaking the chain of prolonged conflict. There's a dynamic process of resistance to resilience. Retrieved from the mass media NUonline on February 12, 2022, as follows:

*“Why are we willing to surrender our land to the material of the Bener Dam, because of the wealth of the people. As a farmer,*

**Picture 5. Compensation for the losses to the Wadas Society**



Source: Investor.id



*I want our lives to be better than ever before,” Sabar said. “In addition, the government has promised to plant mines as a tourist destination. “The government has planted them as tourist sites. So this is the reason we’re willing to give up our land because we think the government has done no harm, both in terms of price and promise. That’s why we’re willing,” clearly. (NUonline, 2022).*

The underlying reason emerging from Wadas citizens is that citizens will accept andesit mining because it is entirely a government-run program. Therefore, Mr. Sabar believes that the government will compensate for the nominal losses by a large amount. For example, by compensating for land losses belonging to citizens, which can reach 5-8 billion.

*“So we agreed we can give up our rights. We have no burden, no compulsion whatsoever anyone to give up the right. We also always socialize to anyone. For me there are no pros and cons because we are always socializing,” Sabar said.*

Besides, there is another Wadas citizen, Khoirul Rizal who initially made a rejection by taking part in a demonstration then turned into agreeing to an andesit stone mine. He accepted a loss of 3 billion that would be used to build a store.

*“Yes, I used to refuse because it was from my own discretion. In addition to adding experience and information from the side what it looks like and what this side looks like,” said after receiving compensation money at the Wadas Village Hall, Friday (4/11/2022) (Investor.id).*

The above picture shows that there has been a process of payment of land damages belonging to residents in the village hall, Friday, November 4, 2022. The payment of damages is a government commitment to pay the land belonging to the citizens whose location is affected by the occurrence of mining activities and used as construction material of the Bener Dam. Later, the same thing was also launched by Zaenal Arifin who previously strongly rejected the mining of Andesit stone. However, he accepted the mine andesit because of the damages on three areas of land he owned amounting to 8 billion. Thus, a total of approximately 193 billion damages have been liquidated by the Government according to the report of National Economic Agency of Purworejo Regency.

The writers realize when the people who were initially opposed became pro, because they felt that compensation for losses was enough to meet their needs. The government has also approached the people of Wadas so that their land can be sold into a feasible thing. Then, from environmentalism for nature to environmentalism for profit is a key indicator that forests that used to be protected for their sustainability, are lost when they can be sold at a high price.

## Conclusion

Sustainable development, which is seen as modernization, turns out not all can have a positive impact on the local population. Development has always been judged to sacrifice everything that is considered important to the life of society. The way the actors are built is very different. The discourse built by the government believes



that the forest can be used as a profit, if the construction of the Bener Dam remains in place while the locals believe that the woods should be preserved. In the political concept of the discourse itself, certain marginalized groups are constantly trying to oppose forms of hegemony and reopen the boundaries that have created the power gap. The locals have always rejected anything that could take away their living space.

In this study, the main issues raised are related to the environmental discourse from environmentalism for nature to environmentalism for profit conducted by local citizens. In the context of the discourse environmentalism for nature, citizens are opposed to andesit stone mining, so they do a rejection with a repertoire, that is, a symbolic action. The purpose of the local people to take action

is to prevent andesit stone mining from happening. Actually, they agreed to the construction of the Bener Dam, but they refused when the material for building the dam had to take away their living space.

Moreover, in spite of the compensation made by the government, the citizens refused to consider that compensation for the loss did not meet their living needs. However, when the amount of compensation exceeded the amount due by the Government, the local people became pro with the mining of andesit stone and their land could be used for mining. The form of compensation only limits the material losses experienced by the Wadas community, without considering the long-term effects of the loss of land and livelihoods. As a result, citizens are affected by the patterns and ways shown by the government. People in Wadas Village are more



realistic and take a supportive stance as there is negotiation or negotiations going on. Then, the discourse built by the people here has changed, that is to say, to become environmentalism for profit.



## Acknowledgements

This research was funded and supported through the Master Student's Research Grant 2022 by the Citizen Engagement and Natural Resource Governance Education (CitRes-Edu) project, coordinated by the Department of Politics and Government, Universitas Gadjah Mada, and the Department of Geography, Norwegian University of Science and Technology. We are grateful to the project team who provided supervision, insight, and expertise that assisted the writing process during the course of this research, also for comments that contributed in improving the manuscript.





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