

**THE POLITICS OF DEFENDING THE ENVIRONMENTAL : CASE  
STUDY OF THE GEMPADEWA MOVEMENT IN THE WADAS  
VILLAGE PURWOREJO**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement  
for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Government Studies



**Muh Abdilla Akbar Alauddin**

**20180520090**

Supervisor: David Efendi, S.IP., MA.

**PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT SCIENCE STUDIES  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
MUHAMMADIYAH UNIVERSITY OF YOGYAKARTA**

**2022**

## STATEMENT PAGE OF AUTHENTICITY OF WRITING

I am the undersigned.

Name : Muh Abdilla Akbar Alauddin

NIM : 20180520090

Study Program : Government Science Facultate: Social and Political Sciences

Stating actually that the thesis with the title **"THE POLITICS OF DEFENDING THE ENVIRONMENTAL : CASE STUDY OF THE GEMPADEWA MOVEMENT IN THE WADAS VILLAGE PURWOREJO"** is the result of my work and has not been submitted in any form to any university. Sources of information derived from or cited from published or unpublished works from other authors have been mentioned in the text and are included in the Bibliography at the end of this Thesis. If in the future it is proven or can be proven this thesis is the result of plagiarism, then I am willing to accept sanctions for these actions.

Yogyakarta, 3 November 2022

Who Makes a Statement



Muh Abdilla Akbar Alauddin

20180520090

## **MOTTO PAGE**

*“A life that is never at stake will never be won”*

*-Sutan sjahrir*

*“Live as if you were to die tomorrow, learn as if you were to live forever”*

*-Mahatma Gandhi*

*“ Human glory and dignity come from knowledge, not from descent, so the main  
breath is to keep learning.”*

*- Ali Syariati*

*“Resopa tammangingngi namalomo naletei pammase dewata seuwai”*

*(Only people who work hard and diligently will be blessed by God Almighty)*

*- Pepatah Bugis*

## OFFERINGS PAGE

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, Alhamdulillahirabbil'alamin. All praise be to Allah Almighty who has bestowed His mercy and blessings on all of us. I dedicate this thesis to :

1. To both parents and beloved siblings, Father Alauddin and Mother Sumarniati and Adinda Aulia Rezky
2. To the Extended Ewa Family, thank you for your prayers, support, and advice.
3. The best supervisor, Mr. David Effendi, thank you for your guidance and input from beginning to end, so that I can finish to this stage.
4. For my family in Jogjakarta, UMY Islamic Student Association House which has shaped me and taught me many things.
5. To the extended family of Tapak Pengabdi Khalutistiwa And BaladaLaika, thank you for the experience and also the story that teaches many things.
6. And for jeng Riska Nawati, my lover, thank you for accompanying, and endlessly motivating to get through the difficult times in life.
7. Lastly for myself, thank you very much. You are great and powerful!

## FOREWORD

Praise and gratitude always the author prays for the presence of Allah SWT, who has bestowed mercy, blessing so that the thesis entitled "**Environmental defender Politics; Case study of the GEMPADEWA Movement in the Wadas Village Purworejo**" can be completed by the author. The thesis is an obligation and as a final project for students of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

The author realizes that this thesis is not perfect, for that constructive suggestions and criticisms are still very much expected by the author. So that it can be useful for writers and readers in general.

In completing this thesis, the author received a lot of help both morally and materially. Therefore, on this occasion the author would like to express his gratitude to:

The author is very grateful to:

1. Prof. Dr. Ir. Gunawan Budiyanto, MP., as rector of Muhammadiyah University Yogyakarta
2. Mr. Dr. Takdir Ali Mukti, S.Sos., M.Si. as Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
3. Mr. Dr. Tunjung Sulaksono, S.IP., M.Si. as the Head of the Government Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta
4. Mr. David Effendi, S.IP., M.A. as the supervisor, thank you very much for guiding and providing inputs in the preparation of the thesis
5. All lecturers, teaching staff, and TU staff in the Government Science Study Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta.

The author would like to thank you very much for all the pray and your support so that the author can complete this Thesis. May all the goodness and help all get a good reply from Allah Almighty.

Yogyakarta, 3 November 2022

Who Makes a Statement



Muh Abdilla Akbar Alauddin

20180520090

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENDER POLITICS: CASE STUDY OF THE GEMPADEWA MOVEMENT IN THE WADAS VILLAGE PURWOREJO .....	i
STATEMENT PAGE OF AUTHENTICITY OF WRITING.....	ii
MOTTO PAGE.....	iii
OFFERINGS PAGE .....	iv
FOREWORD.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vi
LIST OF IMAGES.....	viii
TABLE LIST.....	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	x
ABSTRACT .....	XI
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Background .....	1
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	25
1.6.1 Environmental Politics.....	25
1.6.2 Conflict .....	26
1.6.3 New Social Movements .....	27
1.7 Conceptual and Operational Definitions.....	29
1.7.1 Conceptual Definition.....	29
1.7.2 Operational Definition .....	31
1.8 Logical Framework.....	36
1.9 Research Methods.....	37
1.9.1 Types of Research.....	37
1.9.2.Data Type .....	37
1.9.1 Data Collection Techniques .....	38
1.9.2 Data Analysis Techniques.....	39

1.10 Research Location .....	41
CHAPTER II DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL CRISIS - ECOLOGY .....	42
2.1 Development design in Indonesia .....	42
2.2 Map of the Spread of agrarian conflicts in Central Java .....	45
2.3 Construction of a real dam national strategic project .....	46
2.4 Quarry In the village of Wadas .....	51
2.5 GEMPADEWA and The Rejection of Wadas citizens.....	52
2.6 Overview of the area of Purworejo District .....	54
2.6.2 Hydrological Aspects .....	55
2.6.3 Disaster-prone areas .....	56
2.6.4 Demographic Aspects .....	58
CHAPTER III DISCUSSION .....	60
3.1 Developmentalistic development paradigm.....	61
3.1.1 Wadas as a victim of nasional strategic project.....	76
3.1.2 Socio-ecological crisis in Wadas. ....	80
3.2 Structural agrarian conflicts in Wadas.....	85
3.2.2 conflict dynamics in Wadas .....	96
3.2.3 conflict treatment by the state in Wadas .....	106
3.3 The politics of resistance to defend the environment GEMPADEWA .....	110
3.3.1 establishing a network of solidarity for the political support of the Resistance.....	113
3.3.2 Litigation and non-litigation tactics GEMPADEWA.....	123
3.3.3 The use of social media as a tool of resistance .....	135
CHAPTER IV .....	143
4.1 CONCLUSION .....	143
4.2 SUGGESTION.....	145
REFERENCE .....	147
ATTACHMENT.....	154

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Wadas Village Development Administration Map.....	38
Figure 2.2 Technical Data of Bener Dam .....	38
Figure 2.3 Quarry location map and work road .....	39
Figure 2.4 GEMPADEWA Demonstration Action .....	40
Figure 2.5 Administrative Map of Purwerejo District .....	42
Figure 2.6 Disaster prone map of Purwerejo Regency .....	46
Figure 3.1 SBY attends meeting with Australian businessman .....	52
Figure 3.2 SBY with the British prime minister.....	53
Figure 3.3 MP3EI Map .....	55
Figure 3.4 Trajectory of development policy .....	56
Figure 3.5 PSN Spread in DIY and Central Java .....	58
Figure 3.6 Map of KSPN needs.....	62
Figure 3.7 Wealth in Wadas .....	66
Figure 3.8 Map of the spread of Springs in Wadas .....	68
Figure 3.9 Soil benchmarking .....	79
Figure 3.10 Citizen Care .....	80
Figure 3.11 Violence by authorities.....	83
Figure 3.12 Violence By Authorities .....	86
Figure 3.13 GEMPADEWA network development efforts .....	93
Figure 3.14 Public Examination Hearing .....	96
Figure 3.15 GEMPADEWA and MHH PP Muhammadiyah Meeting .....	97
Figure 3.16 Cover Letter to the Policy Brief.....	99
Figure 3.17 GEMPADEWA Lawsuit Letter .....	103
Figure 3.18 Filing of Cassation .....	104
Figure 3.19 GEMPADEWA Demonstration Action .....	107
Figure 3.20 GEMPADEWA HEARINGS TO DPRD .....	108
Figure 3.21 Mural Utilization.....	110
Figure 3.22 Mujahadah .....	110
Figure 3.23 GEMPADEWA Media Account.....	113
Figure 3.24 International Solidarity for Wadas .....	115



## TABLE LIST

Table 1.1 Theoretical Framework, Variables, Indicators.....	26
Table 1.2 Interviewee Data .....	29
Table 2.1 River Flow Data .....	44
Table 2.2 Flood and landslide prone areas .....	45
Table 2.3 Total population of Purworejo district .....	47

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. AMDAL = Analisis Mengenai Dampak Lingkungan
2. BBWS SO = Balai Besar Wilayah Sungai Serayu Opak
3. BPN = Badan Pertanahan Nasional
4. DPR = Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat
5. FNKSDA = Front Nadhliyin Untuk kedaulatan sumber daya alam
6. GEMPADEWA = Gerakan Masyarakat Peduli Alam Desa Wadas
7. IPL = Izin Penetapan Lokasi
8. KAMUDEWA = Kawula Muda Desa Wadas
9. KONTRAS = Komisi Untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan
10. KPA = Konsorium Pembaruan Agraria
11. KPSN = Kawasan Pariwisata Strategis Nasional
12. KHM = Kader Hijau Muhammadiyah
13. LBH = Lembaga Bantuan Hukum
14. LSM = Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat
15. MA = Mahkamah Agung
16. MK = Mahkamah Konstitusi
17. PEMPROV = Pemerintah Provinsi
18. PERDA = Peraturan Daerah
19. PERPRES = Peraturan Presiden
20. POLRES = Kepolisian Resort
21. PSN = Proyek Strategis Nasional
22. PTUN = Pengadilan Tata Usaha Negara
23. SK = Surat Keputusan
24. UU = Undang-Undang
25. UUD = Undang-Undang Dasar
26. UUPA = Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria
27. WALHI = Wahana Lingkungan Hidup