

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Indonesia as a fertile and green country faces the fact that Indonesians are still weak as a sovereign nation economically, politically, and culturally. Nowadays, various crises and multidimensional inequalities are facts that are still difficult to refute. The contrasting and real inequality is reflected in several sectors, especially in controlling natural wealth and agrarian resources, in which those are still controlled and owned by only a few people, leading to a multidimensional crisis. The ecological urgency, faced by Indonesia today is an importance situation caused by the lost of ecological balance, where both local and global ecosystems lose their carrying capacity and environmental capacity. The increasingly massive ecological emergency and global warming that triggers global climate change further exacerbate the condition of structurally marginalized communities, such as farmer groups, indigenous peoples, rural local communities, and women and children. Indeed, this will further threaten the sovereignty of citizens over their basic needs, such as food, water, and energy

Heretofore, development often comes with a blurry face, not for the welfare of the community; instead, it impoverishes the community and widens the curtain of damage to the environment. In its development, the nature of development that is

being carried out today places the relationship between human life and the environment only as an economic relationship without looking at other dimensions of ecological, social, and spiritual values which resulted in the existence of the traditional grip of oppression and destruction of the environment. The development scheme organized by the Jokowi government today does not seem to be going well and has a bad impact on environmental sustainability. Under the pretext of economic growth and improvement, large-scale infrastructure development, projected and scattered in several regions in Indonesia has resulted in the anomaly of social inequality and a drastic ecological crisis. The large demand for land for development facilities has caused in rampant evictions and then expropriation of land and living space in the name of the public interest. We can trace the exploitation of natural resources to carry out these national developments in the abundance of National Strategic Projects (PSN), which are mostly infrastructure development. Based on the output of the Presidential Regulation Number 109 of 2020 concerning the acceleration of the implementation of National Strategic Projects, there are 201 projects which are divided into several sectors.

In the process, many lands and living spaces have been transformed or converted into national projects, such as toll roads, dams, bridges, airports, mines, and all the infrastructure that supports the economy, leading to rampant evictions, land grabbing and living space due to land acquisition for development purposes. It is a big calamity for some Indonesians who are not in line with the principles of popular development and natural resource management. The massive phenomena of

agrarian conflicts illustrate how the current regime abuses the framework of national development. Especially in Central Java, there are approximately 18 mega projects that fall into the category of national strategic projects; one of which is the Bener Dam, whose construction process creates conflicts and threatens environmental sustainability in several areas, such as in Wadas Village which is a silent witness to the deprivation of human rights, for example, People's rights to land and rights to the environment. Departing from the law as stated in the constitution, it stipulates that in Article 9 paragraph (3) of Law no. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights affirms: " everyone has the right to own a good and healthy living environment", and in Article 65 paragraph (1) of Law no. 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management, "everyone has the right to have a good and healthy environment as part of human rights". This is explicitly stated that the state must play an important role in protecting citizens right to land and their environment (Ervianto, 2017). This case illustrates how Indonesia faces various problems related to injustice in obtaining the right to control and use agrarian resources. The agrarian injustice and natural resource management are often triggered by various political policies at every phase of government. (Nugroho, 2018)

Many agrarian conflicts are caused by gaps in natural resources, especially in control, perceptions, and conceptions, as well as conflicting laws and policies. Conflicts generally occur between individuals, groups, communities and other parties, where each conflicting party seeks to be able to show its strength, so its interests can be realized properly. (Suharto & Basar, 2019) The persistence of the

agrarian conflicts phenomenon is allegedly due to the stuttering and failure of the government to understand the principles of development which is then exacerbated by the swift conflict of interests of the oligarchs. On the other hand, the pressure of neoliberalism which requires guarding investment has resulted in the mechanism of the development process being carried out haphazardly and not relying on procedures, as mandated by Law Number 2 of 2012 concerning Land Acquisition for the Public Interest. Therefore, from accommodating development interests, it is essential to protect people's rights to their land. With this regulation, the government cannot arbitrarily revoke residents' land rights. The community must be involved from planning, determination, to land acquisition. (Muhammad Zaky Adriansa, Nur Adhim, 2020)

Of the several series of emerged conflicts, the one that is currently boisterous and gaining national attention is Wadas. This conflict was caused by the refusal of the Wadas community to the plan of establishing an andesite quarry mine which would be the supporting material for the construction of the national Bener dam construction project. Thus, as a form of effort to maintain the environment and land, the wadas residents formed a group that was founded in 2018, namely the *Wadas Village Nature Care Society Movement (GEMPADEWA)* which consists of several communities such as, *wadon wadas* and *Kawula Muda Wadas*. This national Bener dam construction project is one of the national strategic projects which was regulated and inaugurated in the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 109 of 2020, which is intended for water supply with a water flow rate of 1,500

liters/second and steam power plant (PLTU) of 6 megawatts. In the process of construction, 114 hectares of land in Wadas Village was designated as a mining location for andesite quarry material for dam construction needs.

The residents' rejection of the plan to establish an andesite rock mine has actually been a long time, but in the process of the turmoil and escalation of the residents' resistance has become clearer and wider since the issuance of the Governor of Central Java decree 590/41 of 2018 on the approval of the determination of the location of land acquisition for the construction of the real dam, which until now has been renewed 2 times in the absence of community engagement and consultation which has been refused. The latest is the Central Java Governor's Decree 590/20 of 2021 concerning the renewal of permits (Kompas.com, 2022). The refusal of the residents was triggered by the community's unwillingness to make their land which was their source of livelihood since the ancestors were used as mines, coupled with the process of Land acquisition with mining, that created an information controversy carried out by the community. As a result, the residents of Wadas village refused mining, and a total of 300 people authorized LBH Yogyakarta to become attorneys, rejecting quarry mining. There were the huge environmental impacts, especially on the survival of the environment, agriculture, plantations, forests and quarry of real dam construction materials, such as andesite rocks by residents and the wider community. Preservation of flora and fauna, like eagles is still abundant in the hilly area of the village of Wadas. (Hidajat, 2021)

On the other hand, the unilateral claims made by the government are

considered to have been procedurally flawed, because in some of the products of the issued regulations, there are many legal misappropriations. Likewise, the controversy is over the issuance of a Location Determination Permit (IPL) which has disfigured the Purworejo district regional regulation on the regional spatial planning No. 27/2011 that stipulates Wadas village as an area of the Area plantations that are rich in natural resources and also as a landslide prone to other landslides. On the other hand, the Location Determination Permit (IPL) issued is not based on the reasons in PP 19/2021, the article on the implementation of land acquisition type for development for the public interest is not establishing mining activities. Therefore, what should be needed is a Mining Business Permit (IUP). Meanwhile, some of the findings are found from the results of the Amdal surgical study conducted by several academics. There were many defects in the mechanism for making documents. Amdal, which is considered procedurally and substantially, flawed because it did not go through public consultation and combined the same Amdal document with the construction of the real dam which in fact, it is different and must have its own Amdal document as stipulated in the Law No. 3 of 2020. Furthermore, unilateral claims made by the government, for example, land measurements done by the National Land Agency (BPN) which are colored by repressiveness and territorial control, intimidating by the police, is a form of coercion. (CNN, 2022)

One of the conflict explosion events that occurred in the Wadas, was the conflict that occurred on Tuesday, February 8, 2022 that became the public spotlight.

This is due to the forced land measurement efforts carried out by the National Land Agency (BPN) team with the police, and then there are conflict management schemes involving thugs who were formed and planned conditioning conflicts with the citizens in Wadas who refused and thugs who were brought in by the parties related. In its conflict, the wadas community who are members of the nature care movements of the Wadas village (GEMPADEWA) gathered and performed a *mujahadah* at one of the mosques in Wadas. Then, it broke out due to repressive actions and arrests, made by the police who were assisted by paid thugs. Nevertheless, 64 residents, some of whom were minors, some activists and legal assistants of the Wadas community, were arrested. (Puri & Sulastriyono, 2016)

Until now, the members of *GEMPADEWA* continue to refuse consistently. The reorganization of the political struggle built since 2018 accommodates the political aspirations of the Wadas village community who rejects and defends their environment and living space. The existence of a historical relationship that connects between the Wadas community and nature becomes a stimulus of consciousness that arises organically. The political stance that is today maintained to refuse often triggers conflicts that lead to the government's repressiveness through the extension of its hand, namely the police. The path of struggle that has been taken by litigation from the previous few years ranging from hearings, lawsuits to the State Administrative Court (PTUN), and to the stage of appeal in the supremecourt has not gotten a bright spot against the WADAS community. Thus, for Wadas citizens, in this day, the struggle of nonlitigation, like demonstrations is one of the ways that

until this moment continues pursued. Efforts to expand the network of solidarity for the Wadas community that makes the rejection of deprivation and defending the environment on the ground become a political aspiration that continues to fought as an attempt to stem the hegemony of a country that quibble over development

1.2 Problem Formulation

Based on the background above, the researcher tries to formulate a problem regarding the influence of national strategic projects on agrarian conflicts and the politics of maintaining the environment carried out by *GEMPADEWA* to refuse quarry mining in Wadas village which is used as the material for the construction of a real dam. Therefore, the research question, brought up in this study is that How is the political strategy of maintaining the environment carried out by *GEMPADEWA* in rejecting quarry mining in Wadas village, Purworejo Regency.

1.3 Research Objectives

From the research question above, the purposes of this study are:

1. To find out the movements and factors that cause the resistance carried out by the people of Wadas Village who are the members of the Wadas Nature Care Movement (*GEMPADEWA*) in defending the environment
2. To find out the impact and problems of the quarry mining process on the threat of environmental damage in Wadas village

1.4 Research Benefits

1.4.1 Theoretical Benefits

- a. The results of this study are expected to be able to become one of the references in analyzing the agrarian conflict, especially in looking at the relationship between the expansions of capitalism in the development scheme into the agrarian sector.
- b. This research is also expected to be able to open our horizons to the resistance of social movements and rural peasantry, especially in agrarian conflicts.

1.4.2 Practical Benefits

This study provides an overview of the conflict that exists in Indonesia, especially about agrarian conflicts. Moreover, it gives insights to researchers about the role of social movements in overcoming the agrarian conflict.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature review consists of the presentation of several previous studies from various related articles in accordance with the theme in this study, namely about **"Environmental Defender Politics under Case Study of the Earthquake Dewa Movement in the Wadas Village, Purwerejo"**. This literature review is used as a reference material for the author to look at the map of agrarian conflicts that occur in Wadas; therefore, the author presents some literature reviews used in this study as follows;

Based on research conducted by (Nugroho, 2018) entitled *"Agrarian conflicts that occurred in Maluku; Viewed from the perspective of human rights"* explains that it is necessary to re-read land laws. As happened in Maluku, in the form of restrictions on Human Rights in the Land Bill (RUU), there are several important points that need to be explained in the Land Bill. For example, Indigenous people in every region, especially in Maluku, own and of course the Land Bill does not necessarily limit the ownership of land that has been owned for many years for generations so that the rights of Indigenous people need to be respected and protected in order to promote human rights. In addition, the Land Bill must absolutely refer to the UUPA; the land does not only have an economic function, but also social, political, cultural and even spiritual functions. The content in the rules regarding the land registration is not only administrative in nature, but records all land that has or has not been certified. The registration is not just taking notes, but rather examining in detail whether or not there is structural inequality in the area. The inequality must be overcome by holding an

agrarian reform program, so that land tenure is in the areas. It is necessary to synchronize various sectoral laws and regulations related to lands, so the enforcement of laws and regulations become consequential and consistent and achieves a common interpretation of statutory provisions and their follow-up.

Based on research conducted by (Mustopa, A. J., Sadono, D., & Hapsari, 2020) entitled "*Social Movement Communication through Awareness of Farmers in Agrarian Conflicts*" agrarian the conflict that occurred in Caringin, Sukabumi, was a conflict between farmers and the company after farmers realized that there is a predominance of injustice, where the land they cultivate is entitled to use in the name of the company. This condition triggered a resistance movement, built on the process of awareness of the peasantry through a dialogical communication strategy that was heavily influenced by organic intellectuals and students. Awareness is carried out by opening the insights of farmers in which the conditions they experience are a condition caused by the wrong and systematic system. But, it is not easy to resuscitate the peasantry. They are still overshadowed by fear because of the traumatic experiences they have had, such as arrests. The actors begin to carry out awareness slowly by describing the realities of today's farmers in an equal position without any dominance. This strategy is quite effective because it looks to be able to bring awareness, which farmers become more critical in looking at a problem.

Based on research conducted by (Muhammad Zaky Adriansa, Nur Adhim, 2020) the land acquisition mechanism of the Bener Dam (Phase 1) in Purworejo

Regency has been implemented correctly, namely related to the Law no. 2 of 2012. As a result of the law, the residents of Wadas Village did not file a lawsuit with the State Administrative Court (PTUN) for the Decree on the Location of Land Acquisition of the Bener Dam in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency. The procurement process was still carried out in Wadas Village. The conflict occurred because of the residents of Wadas Village through blocking the development who implement officers from carrying out their activities. The purpose of the study was to clearly determine the land acquisition mechanism of the Bener Dam and its obstacles in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency. The approach used in that research was socio-legal, the specification of analytical descriptive research. The results showed that the land acquisition mechanism of the Bener Dam (Phase 1) in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency, has been implemented correctly in accordance with the Law no. 2 of 2012. As a result of the law, the residents of Wadas village did not file a lawsuit against the decree of location determination by the Governor, and the location of land acquisition was still implemented in Wadas Village even though they refused. The solutions to overcome obstacles in land acquisition of the Bener Dam, Purworejo Regency include socializing the location of the Bener dam, Purworejo Regency, and socializing the land acquisition decree. It means that social functions and public interests have been regulated in the applicable laws and regulations and will be revoked land rights by the President based on Law No. 20 of 1961.

Based on the results of a study conducted by (Primayanti & Fedryansyah, 2019) entitled "*The agrarian conflict between the Pangalengan agrarian reform movement (AGRA) alliance and the Agribusiness and Mining (PDAP) regional company* " it describes the dynamics of the conflict that occurs. Agrarian conflict is a form of conflict that often occurs in Indonesia. West Java Province is one of the areas prone to agrarian conflict. This study aimed to determine the chronology of the occurrence of conflicts, types of conflicts, and the causes of agrarian conflicts between the Pangalengan Agrarian Reform Movement Alliance (AGRA) and Agribusiness and Mining Regional Companies (PDAP). This study used the library study method. This literature study approach is to look for the theoretical references that are related to the research problems. Based on the results, it is known that the agrarian conflict between the Pangalengan Agrarian Reform Movement Alliance (AGRA) and the Agribusiness and Mining Regional Company (PDAP) that is included in the type of open conflict. The conflicts that occur between community groups and companies in Pangalengan can be called agrarian conflicts. The conflict has occurred since 2003 and began with the company's neglect of land. The land neglect is then used by farmers to grow crops. In 2003, the PDAP came to claim that the 134 acres of land was its right. However, AGRA Pangalengan claims that there is a Basic Agrarian Law, explaining that land cannot be displaced. One provision in the Basic Agrarian Law states that land rights are lost because they are abandoned and not taken care of. So, according to AGRA Pangalengan, the land is no longer the property of PDAP. The agrarian conflict between

AGRA Pangalengan and PDAP continues to drag on because there is no agreement between the two sides.

Based on research conducted by (Suharto & Basar, 2019) entitled "*Agrarian Conflicts in Plantation Land Management at PT Hevea Indonesia (PT HEVINDO) with the people of Nanggung District, Bogor Regency*" agrarian conflicts are mostly caused by natural resource gaps, especially in control, perception and conception, as well as laws and conflicting policies. Conflicts generally occur between individuals, between groups, communities and other parties, where each party to the conflict seeks to be able to show their strength so that their interests can be realized properly; one of which is in the management and control of plantation land, for example, the conflict between PT. Hevea Indonesia (Hevindo) which is located in Nanggung District, Bogor Regency, West Java with the surrounding community, especially the farming community. The conflicts are due to the limited amount of land owned by the community, while the needs of the community are increasing, both the function and benefits of the land for the community. Finally, the community carried out the actions to occupy these lands in various HGU locations although most of the methods used have not led to radical actions. The causes of agrarian conflicts that occurred in Nanggung District were caused by the differences in interests, understandings, increasing the population, limiting local people's access to resources, economic downturns, as well as due to changes in the political climate after reforms and monetary

crises. The strength of each party and the support of the other party, made the conflict that occurred quite lasting, namely from 1993 to the end of 2013.

Based on research that has been carried out by (Hidajat, 2021) entitled "*The Case of Wadas Construction of the Bener Dam; The SDG's*" perspective the SDG's problem has become a government program implemented by all lines of activity programs in society, such as education, government, corporate, socio-economic, defense, political, socio-cultural and even its application to the direct application of practical activities, this is in accordance with the Presidential Regulation number 59 of 2017. The problem in the construction of the Bener Dam in Wadas Village emerged a controversy between villagers as residents of Wadas village and the government through a contractor to build a dam with an area of 114 ha of land underwent liberation while there were many environmental impacts that must be considered, such as agriculture, plantations and forest conservation, river flow management, sediment management of forest and mountain buffer rocks in the Purworejo area. The details of four (4) problems include: construction of real dams, mining (query) andesite stones, land acquisition, land conservation / (query). The solution method includes education and socialization, among others, with the SDG's approach. The findings in the field, obtained from the secondary data include that: the community has formed a team under the name of the community movement that cares about the nature of the village wadas (GEMPADEWA) together with *Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Walhi)* made various kinds of activities, the descent of the Yogyakarta legal aid institution (LBH), brought

in UGM dam construction experts who explained the taking of stones on one of the hills with andesite properties for building materials. There was a confrontation of the community of owners, users and various interests for the construction of the Wadas dam. The implementation of the wadas dam confrontation can be done, including education and socialization of the SDG's Village approach to the community so that they understand more about the government's interests for sustainable development.

Based on the results of a study conducted by (Muhammad, 2020) entitled *"Resistance of Indigenous Women Wana Posangke in Maintaining Cultural Identity"* the purpose of development is not for a few people, but is for all. But, there is a group of human beings whose living space by policy is deprived. It began with fighting to defend its customary territory from attacks by other tribes, (such as the Lage, Kahumamaun, and Besoa tribes). The strategy of the fortress and the courage of the leader existed (Talenga), so the customary territory could be maintained. Customary land is claimed as a historical entrustment that must be maintained. Local wisdom is considered a code of conduct, forests and customary lands as a dependent space for communal living. Meanwhile, the pace of expansion of oil palm plantations by the private sector supported by the state through permit schemes which has created conflicts over resources in indigenous jurisdictions that threaten the existence of Tau Taa Wana's cultural heritage. A fascination with cultural heritage has prompted Wana Posangke indigenous women to carry out resistance movements to protect and maintain communal cultural identity. This means that expansionary activities that threaten the

existence of cultural heritage encouraging the desire to protect and maintain cultural heritage. The expansion and exploitation of structures against land grabbers (financiers) was seen as a common enemy to be fought – this fostered a sense of struggle equal to that of men. The emergence of a spirit of seeking justice and welfare and liberation from the shackles of oppression initiated social movements by positioning themselves as active subjects in determining the future of the community and women. Indigenous women also yearn for the return of women's leadership as contained in the history of the leadership of the Wana people, along with the strong-spirited female actors who are a reflection of today's women and as women born from the Wana bloodshed, they are committed not to sell indigenous lands, and to face problems and challenges.

Based on the results of a study conducted by (Beneditus Dalupe, 2020) entitled *"From Forests to politics studies on Ecofeminism Aleta Baun Di Mollo – NTT"* environmental issues are a global issue today. The main attention to the destruction of nature, in large part, is directed at the impact of the expansion of the corporation on the living environment of citizens. Consequences on pollution, drought, and death have taken place along with the narrowing of the living space of ecosystems and food crises, and increasing attacks of disease. All is a vicious cycle rather than a greedy project of capitalism. The study discusses the model of Aleta Baun's movement in rejecting mining in Mollo, NTT and the continuity of its struggle on the political path. Aleta's movements showed an important difference. The action is to save the environment and

the women's movement (ecofeminism). She led was based on the spirit of Timorese local wisdom. In the local wisdom of Timor believed; stones, forests, water, and soil are like human bodies (fatu, rice, noel, and afuamsana'fatif neu monit mansion). Land is like flesh; water is like blood; forests are like veins and hair, and stones are like bones. This narrative is very powerful in moving women in Mollo. After 13 years of struggle and successfully expelling mining corporations, Aleta continued to organize women and indigenous peoples. The gradual movement model, the urgency of indigenous community development, and formal political options, are the findings that differ from previous studies.

Based on the results of research conducted by (R. Hidayat, 2020) entitled *"Territorial Politics and Land- Forest Grabbing in Lingkae Village, Iron Ore Mine, North Maluku"* found that the country's territorial politics that divide natural resources into arrangements special, such as the determination of forest areas and being facilitated the presence of PT. Tough it is in the taliabu forest, its presence has seized the ownership of traditional peoples' rights to their natural resources (land and forests). This condition does not make the community to remain silent. Various methods have been taken into account, from fighting over the discourse of tribal customary lands to resistance movements through demonstrations that hold companies responsible for losses that they are natural. This article aims to explore how the traditional landscape forms of the Mange tribe and how the mining expansion facilitated by all state instruments is countered by the community, comes in and

dredges it PT. The Tangguh Superpowers within the Taliabu forest have deprived the people of Tolong and Todoli villages of living space and also is deprived by PT. This Tangguh Superpower is facilitated by the state through the division of forest zoning into special forms through one of PT's. The Tangguh Superpowers can easily enter to exploit and deprive Taliabu Island of natural resources. This confirms that the space is political. The politics of space by the state is carried out by means of creating special spaces intended to establish new identities and practices. The division of space into special spaces is a way to paste stories, memories and dreams. Space also connects the past to the present and future spatial projects. Each region captures the symbols in different ways, namely: first, it implies the imagination of the forms of territoriality; second, to present important events; and third, to take a position as well as his opposition to the symbols of the other.

Based on the results of a study conducted by (Asrawijaya & Tegal, 2021) entitled *"Kendeng Farmer Movement in Defending Their Food Sovereignty"* showed that farmers in the Kendeng mountains are a traditional farmer who are very dependent on their natural resources. They live by relying on the natural wealth of Kendeng as a local economic power. A life of subsistence and relying on the norms of reciprocity makes it have a strong solidarity against the forces of capitalism in order to maintain food sovereignty. This study seeks to analyze from the perspective of postmodernism that views the practice of neoliberalism as destroying local farmers. The discussion showed that the background of the emergence of the Kendeng farmer

movement was due to the threat of environmental damage which resulted in the disruption of their livelihoods as farmers. The Kendeng farmers movement cannot be separated from the role of actors from the Samin indigenous community who carries the idea of resistance. *Jaringan Masyarakat Peduli Gunung Kendeng (JMPPK)* is a movement organization that is able to build resistance from grassroots movements to become a national-scale movement. Food sovereignty is one of the reporters of the movement, so Kendeng farmers get their access as a whole to take advantage of kendeng nature with local wisdom, so the Kendeng mountains remain sustainable and protected from damage. Food sovereignty can be realized through food security, by providing freedom of rice field management without the intervention of disruptive financiers. The Kendeng peasant movement rejected the establishment of cement factories and a dynamic of agrarian politics established from the partiality of state policy on the neoliberalism system. This system moves by causing the threat of damage to the natural environment which ultimately disrupts the livelihood system of farmers in the Kendeng Mountain and has an impact on the disruption of national food sovereignty. The political dynamics of the policy have reaped the distrust of farmers in the government. Starting from collective behavior and action, a sense of deprivation has become a frame of struggle against oligarchy government (a term that is often criticized by Kendeng farmers in every action) and its capitalist allies.

Based on the results of a study conducted by (Ahmad Izudin and Suyanto, 2019) entitled "*The Social Movement of Parangkusumo residents in the case of eviction of*

Geo Maritim Park Land'', this military student can explain the case of eviction of Parangkusumo residents of Bantul Regency. The problem that became the central point in this study illustrated the dynamics of the social movements of residents affected by the evictions due to the planned construction of the Geo Maritim Park. The analysis obtained from the results of field data through in depth-interviews using the purposive sampling method showed that the cases of resistance movements of residents affected by evictions experienced 'defeat' in public spaces. The defeat was identified because the legal force (land certificates) owned by the residents was not strong and some even rejected the demonstrations initiated by the People's Alliance against Eviction (ARMP). As the case that is in the vortex of conflict, the struggle of citizens to seize their rights is tainted by elitist interests. The implementation of the 1960 Agrarian Reform Law has not been running optimally. Land disputes are still going on here and there. These disputes create new social conflicts. The occurrence of conflict, allegedly, was due to unilateral deprivation. The takeover of land and natural resources by corporations is an apt word to describe dispossession. Corporations become sharp knives for dredging up natural resources. The land, water, forests and seas of this country have become the property of corporations. Privatization is a fitting word to mention the role of corporations in Indonesia. This happened as a result of neo-liberal economics. This model of economics created oligarchy politics.

.Based on the results of research conducted by (Abbas et al., 2021) entitled *"Land Grabbing in Telukjambe Barat, Karawang, West Java and its Theoretical*

Links in the Work of David Harvey and SMP Tjondronegoro'', revealed that the development of the region in Karawang Regency, West Java has resulted in marginalization in sub-urban communities. The marginalization occurs through the process of land grabbing or massive expropriation of land owned by sub-urban communities who are none other than village communities that have long occupied their land. Empirically, the process of land grabbing or expropriation of peasant land by development companies is inseparable from government policies that lead to capitalistic policies and the involvement of government cooperation that facilitates the takeover of farmers' land by development companies and ownership of the peasant people to the private sector. In other words, government policies in the case of agrarian or land are often intervened and influenced by the interests of capitalist corporations. Theoretically, both Harvey and Tjondronegoro share the same view in looking at the problem of penetration of capitalism. It always leads to the marginalization of marginalized people from their production assets, namely agricultural land. However, there are different analytical and linguistic approaches to both, including: Harvey with the analysis of urban space theory which is snide and with harsh language and Tjondronegoro with the analysis of village development and the language which is subtle, but contains assertiveness. Harvey's concept and Tjondronegoro's perspective can be used as the theoretical glasses to see the practice of land tenure by corporations from PT. Dasa Bagja to PT. APL which occurred in three villages of Telukjambe Barat, Karawang District as a contestation due to the expansion of capitalism which plunged into the niche of life of sub-urban areas which are nothing but rural areas. This situation

not only had an influence on the change in the village's spatial layout into a new city space, but also affected to the formation of cases of agrarian conflicts and various speculations about land ownership around the three villages. The struggle for land rights between the corporation and the village community ended in land grabbing or in sub-urban areas (villages), and resulted in many villagers losing their land rights and becoming marginalized people.

Based on the results of research conducted by (Wardana, 2022) entitle *“A quest for agency in the Anthropocene: Law and environmental movements in Southeast Asia”* this shows and carry out how environmental movements has been vital to continu-ously push the transformation of environmental law forward. As a collective expression of dissent, environmental movements have been atthe forefront in the struggles to defend the environment againstencroachment of corporations and the State. They work to fightagainst major causes of environmental pollution and destruction,including big dams, logging, palm oil plantation, mining activities, as well as industrial pollution. Through strategic litigation and policy advocacy they demonstrate the possibility to use the courts to seekredress, improve environmental laws and policies, or mobilize a poli-tics of shaming. However, their attempts at defending the environment as well astransforming environmental law in the Anthropocene have continu-ously operated within an atmosphere of repression.protection at the domestic level, they have been confronted by crimi-nalization, SLAPP, death threats, murders, as well as communist label-ling. Therefore,

international and regional organizations dealing with human rights, especially the right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment, should take this concern seriously. Adopting international or regional legal frameworks on the protection of environmental defenders will enable them exercising their agency to progress environmental law in the Anthropocene without any concern of being retaliated by those whose interests are implicated by their work.

Based on the results of research conducted by (Robbins, 2012) entitled *“Political Ecology”* Explain that The environmental conflict thesis: increasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites accelerate conflict between groups (gender, class, or ethnicity). Similarly, environmental problems become “politicized” when local groups (gender, class, or ethnicity) secure control of collective resources at the expense of others by leveraging management interventions by development authorities, state agents, or private firms. So too, existing and long-term conflicts within and between communities are “ecologized” by changes in conservation or resource development policy. This argument is rooted in three fundamental lessons about social ecology, drawn from feminist theory, property research, and critical development studies. First, the argument works from an understanding that social systems are structured around divisions of labor and power that differentially distribute access and responsibility for natural goods and systems. Second, it reflects an understanding of property systems as complex bundles of rights that are politically partial and historically contingent. Third,

it draws heavily on historical experience of development activities that shows them to be rooted in specific assumptions about the class, race, and gender of participants in the development process, often resulting in poorly formed policy and uneven results.

Based on the previous studies that have been presented and reviewed above, it can be concluded that some politics of maintaining the environment are the part of agrarian conflicts in which is a conflict that always involves between the community, government and investors. There is a conflict of interest between the community and the government and the private sector. Furthermore, it not only damages the environment but has a huge impact on social aspects that have diverse dimensions such as culture and even well-being. Most of the politics of resistance to the environment and land that occurs are caused by the economic system and the paradigm of development. The manifestation is the rise of government development policies that are not in favor of the community and tend to favor the interests of the investment economy and financiers.

Therefore, related to several previous studies, this recent research tried to examine the politics of maintaining the environment carried out by residents who are the members of the Nature Care Movement of Wadas village (GEMPADEWA) in rejecting Quarry mining in Wadas village, Purworejo Regency. This research was different because it looks at how the expansion of national development in the framework of national strategic projects and the issues of this movement are not only agrarian, environmental, women, human rights, etc as a result of national strategic projects

involving many parties whether or not politicians, investors, and buzzers. This research is expected to be able to accomplish the previous research and become a critical literacy for further research that enriches insights regarding the problems of frequent environment.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Environmental Politics

Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) explain that political ecology is a combination of attention to ecology and political economy at large, namely the dialectic between society and land-based resources, including dialectics between classes and groups in society as well as political ecology studies the sources, conditions and political implications of environmental damage, where in the context of developing countries, the ecological crisis is based more on the inequality of power relations. (Blacikie ; Brookfield, 1987)

Environmental politics is an approach that connects to and combines environmental problems with political economy to represent a dynamic shift in tension between the environment and humans, diverse groups in society on the scale from local to transnational individuals as a whole and also as a frame to understand the complexity of interconnectedness between local, national, global economic politics and ecosystems.(H. Hidayat, 2008)

In the political investigation of the environment, know how the environment changes and is interpreted in political and economic relations concretely. According to Braynt (1993), there are 2 rational reasons in forest management that must be linked to environmental politics, namely:

1.Environmental politics is an exploration of complex economic politics and environmental processes suppressing development in the forestry sector.

2.Environmental politics is concerned with perceptions, policies and practices that condition how forests are viewed, used, and exploited (H. Hidayat, 2008)

1.6.2 Conflict

Human beings are conflictive beings (*Homo Conflictus*), that is beings who are always involved in differences, conflicts, and competitions both voluntarily and forcibly. Hence, it can be interpreted that conflict is a condition between two opposing parties. The conflict can arise into the form of conflict of ideas and the physical between two parties which at certain stages will produce social actions which results from the existence of an element of movement from several parties in contact. Ordinary conflicts arise on different scales, such as interpersonal conflicts, *horizontal conflicts* and conflicts between groups and countries (*Vertical Conflict*). (Susan, 2009)

Meanwhile, according to Karl Marx, human history is a history of class struggle, where conflicts occur due to the existence of equal and unequal social

relations. Thus, the class opposition between those in power by using the resources of society to benefit themselves (the Bourgeoisie) and to oppress those under it (the Proletariat), and from the oppressed groups who try to overcome the domination of those who have more access to power. The central concept of this conflict theory is regarding authority and power. The uneven distribution of authority and power in society becomes a factor that determines systematic social conflicts, that is, between the power elite (the rich) and the poor one who has always been seen as a source of conflict. Since authority and power are legitimate, then any poor person who tries not to submit to authority and power will be sanctioned. Dahrendorf calls it imperatively coordinated associations (Henslin M, 2007)

1.6.3 New Social Movements

According to Stolley, the Social Movement is an effort to achieve certain goals through actions that defy the status quo, authority and established culture. People who carry out a movement build a feeling of collective identity, share feelings about the cause and help their efforts by maintaining a movement. Some movements go shortly, then stop, and can fail or successfully achieve their goal. Some of the other movements went through a long time and had supporters who provided support throughout their lives.(Sukmana,2016)

In its development, most of the New Social Movements (NSM) developed their ideological conception of the assumption that civil society was diminishing; the social space is experiencing a crisis of shrinkage and the "social" meaning of civil society is

eroded by the controllability of the State. State expansion, in contemporary settings, coincides with the expansion of the market (market). The state and the market are seen as two institutions that cause a break-in to almost all aspects of the life of citizens. Under the combination of the influence of state and market forces, society becomes powerless (helpless). As a result, the New Social Movement (NSM) raised the issue of self-defence of communities and societies against the expansion of the State apparatus: agents of social control and control. (Sukmana, 2016)

This is in line with what was conveyed by Tarrow who mentions that social movements are challenges that are based on common goals and social solidarity that are within the scope of continuous interaction with stakeholders; action protest the problems that occur to realize what is the common will. Tarrow places social movements more as political efforts of resistance that are present from various elements of society that rally forces against the holders of authority, in this case powerful parties such as the state (Tarrow, 1998)

Afterwards, Tarrow tries to explain the concept of social movement in four basic property frameworks. These following sections are four basic properties according to Tarrow that a social movement should have, including:

1. Collective Challenges

Collective challenges are actions used to resist through direct action that can interfere with or hinder the owners of the authority in realizing their actions, such as usually symbolized in the form of slogans and patterns to get the

attention of the opposing party. This is one of the methods used because social movements have limited resources.

2. a Common Goal

The main reason that prompts the formation of social movements is the existence of a common goal. The goal becomes the basis for making resistances in order to change the status quo that occurs

3. Solidarity and Collective Identity

The same feelings are the reason why social movements can be formed. It is accommodated in a large umbrella on an issue that departs on the basis of empathy or a feeling of solidarity stemming from nationalism, ethnicity, and religious beliefs.

4. Nurturing the Politics of Resistance

Collective action against the enemy side becomes a fundamental thing that must be treated by social movements; thus, it can be one way to bring down the enemy forces. This political challenge then became a hallmark of a social movement, because it would be a sign that opposition turned into a social movement.

1.7 Conceptual and Operational Definitions

1.7.1 Conceptual Definition

Conceptual definition is a concept used by researchers in determining the scope of the problem that will be used as a variable in the research process. The concept is used as a guide in operationalizing it in the field, making it easier to understand and contextualize the theory used. Therefore, several conceptual definitions related to those variables are determined, including:

1. Environmental Politics

Environmental politics is the politics of natural resource management in an effort to preserve and analyze environmental conflicts. Environmental politics examines the political economic aspects of natural resource management, especially in the development paradigm that is involved in several sectors, such as the government, private sector and society.

2. Conflict

Conflict is a difference of views or disagreements between various parties in seeing a phenomenon or event that departs from differences in their respective interests and then leads to disputes. The rise of conflict cases that occur in Indonesia is caused by the pattern of developmentalism that makes economic increase the main orientation of development. As a result, many development policies are detrimental and marginalize small communities affected by the development process. So, it is not uncommon in cases of

conflict, especially agrarian conflicts. There are always conflicts or disputes involving the state or government as the public sector and the private sector.

3. New Social Movements

A social movement is an activity carried out by a group of people that is formed because of a korsa spirit or a sense of empathy for a problem that occurs, usually focused on social or political issues. The many forms of gratuitous policies, which threaten the survival of mankind both in terms of economy and environment, but are still forced, encourage various elements of society to equally fight to defend the interests of small people who are victims of oppression. In the conception of the new social Movement, the presence of the Movement is due to the large hegemony of state institutions and markets that make society powerless, especially, in looking at the relationship of development policies that are based on economic interests that often Some people feel aggrieved. It is necessary to carry out self-defense or consolidate yourself

1.7.2 Operational Definition

In accordance with the conceptual definition that has been described above, to the researcher determines the scope and operational basis of research that discusses how political efforts to resist maintaining the living space of the people of Wadas Village who are the members of the Wadas village nature care movement

(GEMPADEWA) in rejecting the plan to mine andesite quarry rocks that will be projected in Wadas. This can be viewed from several variables taken from the theory that has been conceptually outlined above. It is mentioned as follows:

1. developmentalistic development paradigm

In the midst of the rise of development policies oriented towards improving and growing the economy, it seems to be diseases in today's world commitment in protecting the environment. The pattern of development is that Developmentalism which is the main cause of its life the logic of development domination that degrades natural values. The development that puts forward the economic interests of the state is the result of neo-dictation – liberalism through its free market system and its instruments that influence national policies make countries –The third is pursuing a trapcalled Gross Domestic Product as a benchmark for a country's progress . In addition, the conflicts of interest of national economic and political oligarchs drag the management of natural resources into extractive and exploitative. Therefore, today's government reduces the relations of nature and the environment only as economic relations that are objectified as space and matter that are free to be exploited for the sake of the interests of economic recovery. In this variable, there are several indicators, namely;

- a. Wadas a victim development (PSN)
- b. Socio – ecological crisis in Wadas

2. Structural agrarian conflict in Wadas

The development policy categorized as a National Strategic Project (PSN) is a major infrastructure procurement policy integrated within the framework (MP3EI) or Master plan for accelerating and expanding development the country's economy is estimated until 2025. There is also the division of six major national economic corridors. For example, one of which is Java. It is projected as the central area of national industrial development. With this, efforts to boost the construction of infrastructure have become a major work of the regime to date. Especially central Java, the inclusion of the Borobudur area becomes a region that will be used as a strategic tourism area to promote the use of supporting facilities. Further example, the construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo as a water supply infrastructure and supporting the construction of a 6-megawatt hydropower plant .

However, in its process, the government's efforts to organize strategic projects seem to be carried out haphazardly and do not consider some important aspects in the context of sociability. The orientation of development policies that tend to emphasize the interests of economic growth eventually becomes a slump and a bomb that afflicts the people. Furthermore, many trigger social conflicts that lead to the seizure of living space and land as happened in Wadas Village. The conflict that occurred between the community and the government was caused by a plan to make it as a part of the productive area that was used as a source of livelihood by the Wadas community which becomes mining area for Andesite quarry rocks for the construction of a real dam. Structural issues represent the interests of the

people, starting from the misappropriation of laws, the defects of documents, and repressive efforts made by the government through the police to force citizens into Wadas society. Therefore, several indicators are the operational basis of this research variable, including:

- a. Politicization of state law against the Wadas mining plan
 - b. Dynamics of the conflict in Wadas
 - c. Treatment of state conflicts against Wadas
3. Politics of resistance To defend the environment GEMPADEWA

The resistance of the Wadas community to the mining development plan is a political attitude arising from the local awareness of the community organically where the community refuses because the mining site is a productive area that is a source to depend on life. On the other hand, in addition to environmental impacts that will damage the ecosystem system, mining activities will have the potential to cause landslides and the loss of cultural sites that the Wadas society made as spiritual objects. The community that expressed opposition to the procurement of mining in Wadas Village organized and created a collective space called GEMPADEWA. It was formed in 2018 and became a forum for Wadas residents in rejecting and resisting the quarry mining development plan. In its development, GEMPADEWA works together with several solidarity networks groups, such as LBH Yogyakarta, Walhi, SP Kinasih, and several activists care about Wadas. It has carried out several political maneuvers' advocacy, both through litigation and non-

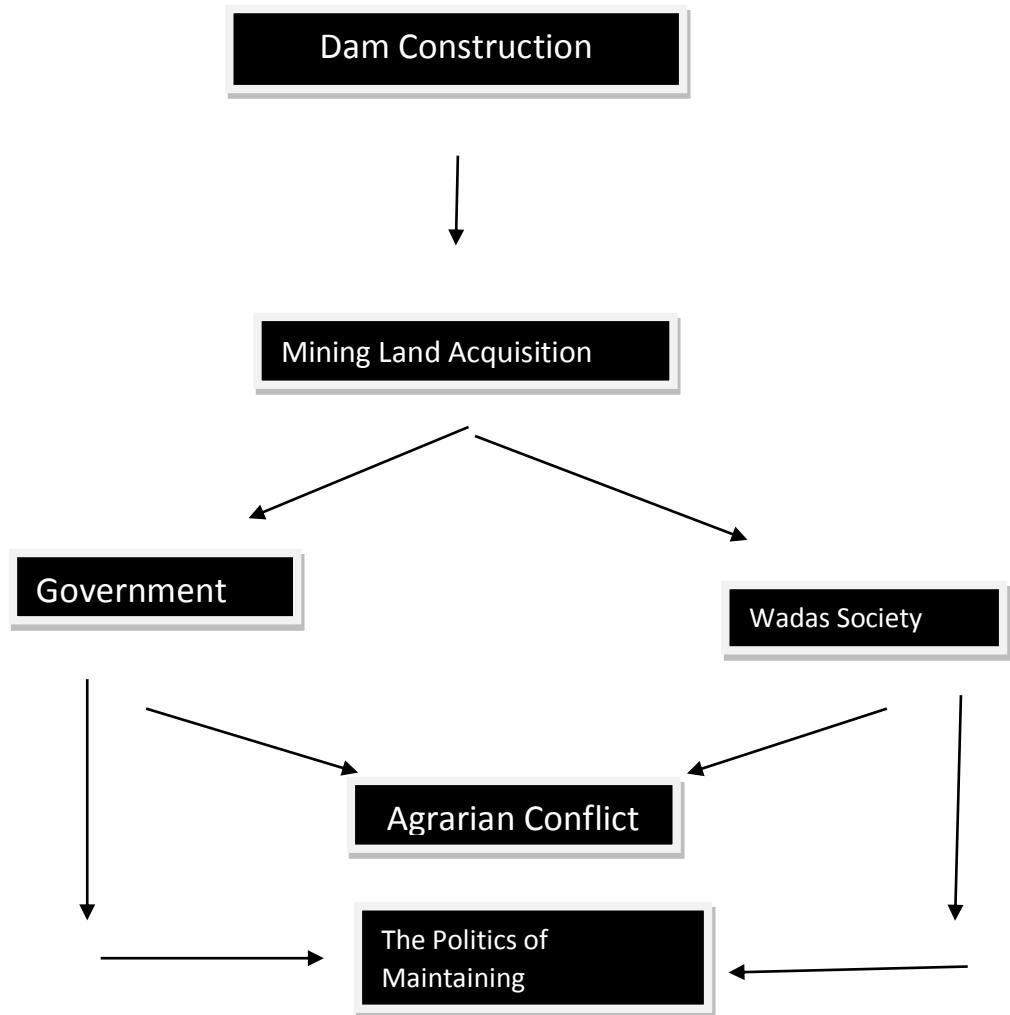
litigation channels. Hence, instead of this variable, there are several indicators, namely:

- a. Establish a network of solidarity for political support of resistance
- b. litigation and non-litigation tactics
- c. Utilization of social media as a tool of resistance

Table 1.1 Theoretical Framework, Variables, Indicators

NO	Theory	Variable	Indicators
1.	Environmental Politics	Developmentalistic development paradigm	a. victim PSNWadas as a b. Socio – ecological crisis in Wadas
2.	Conflict	Structural agrarian conflict in Wadas	a. politization of state law against the Wadas mining plan b. Dynamics of the conflicts in Wadas c. Treatment of state conflicts against Wadas
3.	New Social Movementt	Movement to defend the environment GEMPADEWA	a. Establishing a network of solidarity b. litigation and non litigation tactics c. The use of social media as a tool of resistance

1.8 Logical Framework



1.9 Research Methods

1.9.1 Types of Research

Qualitative research according to (Suwendra, 2018) is research used to see the behavior and habits of certain subjects which are then described using language and words in accordance with the rules of scientific methodology. Meanwhile, according to, explaining that (Al-hamdi, 2020) qualitative research is an effort used to interpret the reality of life based on the understandings of researchers. This qualitative method is used to collect data in the atmosphere, which will then be converted in the form of an interpretation of the phenomenon that occurs in which the researcher is a key instrument, sampling of the data source is carried out in a purposive and snowball manner.

1.9.2. Data Type

Researchers in this study used two types of data, namely primary data and secondary data. The source of the data obtained is the result of information obtained and is related to the research raised.

1. Primary Data

Primary data is a source of data obtained directly from the main actor or people directly involved. Primary data sources are obtained through individual interviews

with speakers in order to obtain sufficient data that is in accordance with the research theme that will be discussed by the researcher.

2. Secondary Data

Secondary data is data that already exists, or data obtained through the industry, websites, and so on. Secondary data in the study is used as supporting data from primary data in accordance with the subject matter under study.

1.9.1 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques are the methods used by researchers in a study in obtaining the information obtained to be used as data in research. In this study, the researcher used qualitative research methods. Where the data search process can be obtained by means of observation, information and documentation.

1. Observation

In the process of qualitative research, observation is very important to understand a phenomenon to be studied based on the source of information that will be used as a source of data. Observation can be done directly by visiting the research site, to observe the environment of the research location.

2. Interview

Interviews are one of the efforts made to obtain data in qualitative research. Interview is a two-way chat process between the researcher and the resource person by asking several questions related to the process of extracting information about the phenomenon used as a research topic. Thus, researchers will get information that will be used as a source of data in supporting the validity of their research.

Table 1.2 Interviewee Data

NO	SOURCES	PERSON(S)
1.	GEMPADEWA(Wadon Wadas and The Young People of Wadas)	3
2.	LBH Yogyakarta	1
3.	WALHI Yogyakarta	1
4.	Solidarity Alliance For Wadas (FNKSDA, KHM,)	3
5.	Community(villagers of wadas)	3
6.	MHH PP Muhammadiyah	1
	TOTAL	12

1.9.2 Data Analysis Techniques

Qualitative descriptive analysis Data analysis techniques used in qualitative research include translation of interview results, data reduction, analysis, data interpretation and triangulation. From the results of data analysis, conclusions can then be drawn to answer the purpose of the first study, namely knowing the level of farmers' acceptance of organic farming. the following are the data analysis techniques used by researchers:

1. Data reduction

Data reduction is the activity of collecting, choosing important things, focusing on finding themes and patterns. In data reduction, attention is focused on the field data that has been collected. The data in the field is then selected, then combines scattered data, explores the theme to recommend additional data then abstracts the rough data into a brief description so as to give an idea and make it easier for researchers to collect data. This data reduction activity is carried out by interviews and direct observation to the field.

2. Presentation or display of data

Data presentation is an information assembly or presentation of a set of information in the form of a narrative that provides the possibility of drawing conclusions and actions. The presentation of data can be done in the form of brief

descriptions, charts, the relationship between categories and the like in its preparation must be arranged logically and systematically to make it easier to understand

3. Conclusion or varification

At the conclusion stage, a test of the meaning that arises from the data is carried out. Conclusions that were initially not yet clear will increase to more detail. "Final" conclusions will arise depending on the size of the field record sets, their coding, storage, and re-search methods used, the researcher's proficiency, and the funder's demands, but often those conclusions have often been formulated in advance from the beginning

1.10 Research Location

The location used as a quarry mining site is the village of wadas located in the Bener district. The Bener Subdistrict area is located in the north of the capital city of Kabupaten Purworejo as far as 10 km and is located as far as 125 km from the capital of Central Java Province. The area of Bener District is 9,408,162 ha. Bener Subdistrict itself is located at an altitude of 150 m above sea level and has a temperature between 18 ° C to reach 25 ° C. The administrative boundary of Bener Subdistrict is that the north is bordered by Magelang Regency, the east is bordered by Magelang Regency and DIY, for the south it is bordered by Loano District, while the west is bordered by Gebang District and Wonosobo Regency. Bener Subdistrict has topographical conditions with a state of being in the high hills of 80% and lowlands of 20%.