

Discourses Contestation between Social Movement Actors and State Actors in Andesite Mining Conflict in Indonesia

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Abstract

The construction of water resources infrastructure for a Bener Dam, followed by the policy of designating Wadas Village in Indonesia as an andesite mining location, has triggered horizontal conflicts among the villagers and vertical disputes between the villagers and state actors. This conflict has created a contestation space for the discourse of the three groups of parties involved. By integrating discourse analysis and political ecology, this study aims to explore the contestation of discourses by these three parties through political ecology and discourse analysis approaches. Discourse data of this study were collected through in-depth interviews, news analysis from various online mass media, and documentation. The study results show that discourse contestation is a competition for control of the environment between pro-andesite and counter-andesite mining. These critical findings strengthen and sharpen the relations between ideology and discourse in Fairclough's theorizing in the form of discourse categories. In this case, there are subject practices that experience naturalization processes called dominating discourses. In contrast, subject practices still have reflective capacity are referred to as resistance discourses, while subject practices that overcome the two discourses are referred to as independent discourses. Independent discourse can counter the domination discourse of pro-mining groups who carry out unfair social practices felt by contra-mining groups producing the resistance discourse

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1. Introduction

A discourse about the various benefits of infrastructure contained in national projects by the state often raises paradoxes at the implementation level (Myers et al., 2020; Low and Gleeson 2002; Leipold, et.al. 2019; Boucquey, 2020; Toumbourou et.al. 2020; Michaelis, Webster. and Shaffer, 2021). The construction of the Bener Dam, as one of the National Strategic Projects that the Government of Indonesia has discussed, will have various benefits related to the water supply for agricultural irrigation, flood control, power generation, and job opportunity. (<https://sda.pu.go.id/balai/bbwsserayuopak>. /pembangunan-bendungan-bener-berikan-banyak-manfaat-bagi-masyarakat, diakses 26 Oktober 2022). However, the project implementation led to a prolonged conflict for more than five years (from 2016 to 2022). The peak of the conflict over the andesite mining plan in Wadas Village as a policy related to the Bener Dam project occurred on 8 February 2022 when around 250 joint security forces committed acts of violence and arrested 67 residents, including ten children. This protracted social conflict involved many social actors when Wadas Village was designated as the location for land procurement for andesite mining to fulfill the material for constructing the Bener dam.

The discourse about the benefits of infrastructure development and mining that would not damage the environment became a forefront of the tactics from policymakers to persuade the people affected by government policies. On the other hand, the discourse is also a strategy for the community as a medium of resistance to reject and stop mining projects. The developing phenomenon is the discourse contestation of the actors involved in the conflict. Previous studies have shown that discourse contestation was created in environmental conflicts between states, communities, and corporations due to public policies (Mühlhäusler and Peace, 2006; Mels, 2017; Mulvihill, & Bruzzone 2018; Leipold, et.al. 2019). However, the research on discourse contestation has not been carried out in-depth to explore discourse categories as an analytical tool in conflict studies (Borne, 2013). This research focuses on exploratory studies of discourse contestation from various groups in the conflicts over the andesite mining plans in Wadas Village due to the Bener Dam Development Project. To answer this problem, the researcher analyzed the discourse contestation of various actor groups: pro-mining actor groups, counter-mining groups, and independent groups. The analysis is carried out on the discourse contestations produced by these groups and their relation to power relations at various levels (local, regional and national). Similar to the critical

discourse analysis from Norman Fairclough (2006), there is a relation between discourse and the context of social structure where social actors produce these discourses. Through this research, the researchers intend to produce concepts about discourse categories as the core.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Frame

Through Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, this study analyzes various discourses produced by social actors involved in the conflict over andesite mining plans in Wadas. Fairclough (2003) interprets discourse as a social practice that "signals the particular view of language as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements." Discourse is a form of social practice that has a dialectical relationship, influencing and being influenced by the social world, identity, social relations, and other social structures. Discourse is influenced by social change and vice versa; discourse can influence social change (Fairclough, 2006).

Fairclough (2003) developed a discourse model with three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice. Each dimension has its area and process, and all are dialectically related. Text is the first dimension of the product. Discursive practice relates to the interaction of texts with individuals or society through production and interpretation processes. The third dimension is social practice or context, which includes sociocultural practices in which production and interpretation occur. These three dimensions are then analyzed with three different analytical models.

Fairclough's theory also uses the main concept, intertextuality, which affirms the interrelation of various texts and discourses in a text. It shows an indirect effect in which text production is situated and influenced by past or contemporary texts or discourses. This concept will also produce ideological effects, including structuring and restructuring the existing discourse order. When power and ideology are embedded in discourse, intertextuality is a mechanism to maintain or change domination relations (Fairclough, 2013).

The relation between ideology and discourse is also crucial in Fairclough's theorizing. Fairclough (2003) emphasized that ideology is embedded in discourse and discursive practices that often occur subtly and unconsciously. Therefore, the subject perceives it as natural and accurate. Through the mechanism of naturalization, ideology limits the cognitive and social practices of individuals and society. However, it does not mean that subjects lose their agency because they also have a critical reflective capacity to question their discursive practices and ideology.

Discourse contestation is created because of power relations (Foucault, 1978) between the actors involved in the conflict over andesite mining plans. In this case, the pro-mining actors deal with the power relations of the counter-mining actors, which are mediated and affirmed by the power relations of independent actors. Viewed from the perspective of Political Ecology, the environment is an arena where various social actors with asymmetrical political power compete to access and control natural resources (Bryant & Bailey, 2005; Toumbourou et al. 2020; Acheampong, 2020). The problem of social conflict related to natural resources and the environment from the political ecology perspective is a socio-political problem (Satria, 2009). It happens because of social and political conditions surrounding the causes, experiences, and management of environmental problems (Forsyth, 2005).

The political ecology theory is based on the assumption that environmental change is not neutral but rather a form of a politicized environment that involves many interested actors at the local, regional and global levels (Bryant & Bailey, 2005; Keil et al., 2005). Mining policy becomes a competition for environmental control by social institutions and actors. The construction of the Bener Dam, which will utilize andesite rocks by the Government, is a form of politicized environment. The policy is a political decision to change the environmental landscape in Wadas. Thus the environmental changes will not occur in a political vacuum.

The struggle for the environment to control access and natural resources involves various social actors. From the political ecology perspective, these actors include the state, corporations, multilateral institutions, NGOs, and social/community groups (Satria, 2009). In the conflict in Wadas, the state is represented by various actors such as the President of the Republic of Indonesia, the Office of the Presidential Staff (KSP), the Coordinating Ministry for Politics, Law and Security, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Republic of Indonesia, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (PUPR), The National Commission of Human Rights (KOMNAS HAM), The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI), Indonesian National Police, Governor of Central Java, corporates consisting of three state-owned corporations that are carrying out the

construction of the Bener Dam and will carry out andesite mining. The NGO/NGO actors are the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH), and the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. Meanwhile, social groups or communities consist of Wadas residents who are pro-mining and contra-mining, the Gempa Dewa community (Wadas Village Nature Lovers Movement), *Wadon Wadas*, academic communities from various universities in Indonesia, and artists.

The power relations between pro-mining actors, especially the state actors, have the capacity to make policies without resident participation. The imbalance of power relations allows these state actors to produce domination discourses. On the other hand, a group of counter-mining actors carries out power relations to produce a discourse of resistance against domination discourse. The independent group has an important role in controlling disputes so that the state domination discourses can be criticized without engaging in conflicts of interest against the two conflicting groups.

3. Method

The data in this study were obtained through analysis of news about the discourse contestation carried out by three actors: a group of pro-mining actors, contra-mining actors, and independent actors. The selected online media include Kompas.com, Republika.co.id, tempo.co.id, CNN.com, repelita.co, Bisnis.com, idntimes.com, cnbcindonesia.com, official websites for government and NGO institutions such as www.sda.pu.go.id, and www.solidaritasperempuan.org. The discourse data from online mass media is supported by data from in-depth interviews with several informants in Wadas village, both pro, and contra-mining actors. The data collected are in the form of domination discourses which include: 1) the state discourse on the benefits of the Bener Dam, 2) the discourse on the reasons for the state establishing Wadas as an andesite mining location, 3) the state discourse that mining is in the public interest permits are not required, 4) the state discourse on the behavior of the police and security forces in dealing with conflict, 5) the discourse on why residents choose pro-mining and 6) the discourse on pro-mining residents regarding compensation payments.

Meanwhile, the discourse data from online media and in-depth interviews with cons-mining groups include

1. the discourse by Wadas residents against mining about the benefits of the Bener Dam,
2. The discourse on the reasons villagers refuse to designate Wadas as an andesite mining location,
3. the discourse on NGOs (Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute), the Indonesian Forum for Living Environment (WALHI) Yogyakarta, Kinasih Women's Solidarity about andesite mining,
4. the villagers' discourse on the behavior of the police and security forces in handling conflict,
5. the community discussion against mining on Compensation Money,
6. the academic group discussion on Environmental Impact Assessment, Administrative Court Decisions, and Supreme Court Cassation in the case of andesite mining,
7. Artists' discourse on andesite mining in Wadas.

While the independent discourse data from online media include

1. the discourse of The National Commission on human rights about violations in the andesite mining case in Wadas,
2. Ombudsman discourse on maladministration in internet and electricity services on the incident of 8 February 2022,
3. A discourse of The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia on various issues in the andesite mining case in Wadas.

The researchers also conducted in-depth interviews with several informants to strengthen the data obtained by analyzing online news coverage. The selected research informants consisted of 2 Wadas residents who were pro-mining, two residents who opposed mining, the head of the Gempa Dewa community, one person from the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute, and one person from the WALHI Yogyakarta.

Fairclough's critical discourse data analysis involves three models according to the three dimensions: the analysis model of description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). These three dimensions are then analyzed with three different analytical models. The description is used to analyze the text. The interpretation is used to analyze the process of text production and interpretation. The explanation is used to analyze socio-multicultural practices, which include situational, institutional, and social levels. Analysis of social practices leads to findings about the substance in the domination discourse produced by the pro-mining group, the substance for the resistance discourse produced by the counter-mining group, and the independent discourse substance produced by the independent group.

4.Result

4.1. Discourse of State Actors

The earliest discourse produced by the pro-andesite mining actor group was by state actors and the central and regional governments. The discourse conveyed by these state actors was not about plans for andesite mining in Wadas but about the benefits of the Bener Dam project. The state narrated the dominative discourse on the Bener Dam that this water resources infrastructure would be able to provide benefits (www.sda.pu.go.id, accessed 10 November 2022):

"Water supply for irrigated paddy fields of 13,589 hectares of existing irrigation areas and 1,110 hectares of new irrigation areas. Then, the source of fulfilling raw water for the community is around 1,500 liters/second. The Bener Dam is also useful for generating electricity for Purworejo Regency of around 6 Mega Watt, reducing the potential for flooding for Purworejo Regency and Kulonprogo Regency with a flood reduction value of 8.73 million m³, as well as the potential for developing tourism which can boost the local economy."

The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, through Deputy V of the Chief of Presidential Staff (KSP) Jaleswari Pramodhawardani, said (Kompas.com, 9 February 2022): "The government also hopes that the public will understand the strategic value of this development."

The following social practice carried out by the government is conducting a geological survey to determine the content of andesite stones found around the Bener Dam. Based on the results, Wadas village was designated by the state as an andesite mining location to meet the supply of construction materials for the Bener Dam. As with the Bener Dam development policy, the designation of Wadas as an andesite mining location was also carried out unilaterally by state actors without involving the participation of the residents. Instead of dialogue with the residents, the actors produced a discourse on the government's reasons for choosing Wadas as an andesite mining location. The following is a discourse delivered by two state actors regarding this reason. Director of Dams and Lakes of the PUPR Ministry Airlangga stated (Tempo.co., accessed December 28, 2020):

"The government has many considerations to reach an andesite exploration point in Wadas Village. The investment requirement for the Bener Dam project is cheaper if the andesite raw material is taken from Wadas Village, which is relatively close to the Bener Dam, or about 12 kilometers".

The discourse on similar reasons was also conveyed by Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo as narrated on the website www.repelita.co, (accessed November 16, 2022):

"The distance between Wadas Village and the Bener Dam is about 10 kilometers. According to Ganjar, actually there are other areas around the Bener Dam which have the potential to be excavated for andesite rock mines. However, according to calculations from geologists, only Wadas Village provide rocks suitable for the construction of the Bener Dam. In addition, if you are looking for andesite mining in other areas, the government will have to spend because of expensive price."

It can be concluded from the two-state discourses that the reasons to designate Wadas as an andesite mining location are based more on economic considerations. Based on the discourse, the Governor Ganjar Pranowo in 2018 issued a Location Determination Permit (IPL) for Wadas village as an andesite mining location through the Decree of the Governor of Central Java Number 590/41 of 2018 concerning Approval for Allocating the Location of Land Procurement for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency which includes Wadas Village as a quarry mining location. The IPL discourse became the cause of the conflict of the andesite mining plan in Wadas. The IPL is valid for two years after the issue. It was then extended for another year and expired last 5 June 2022. The permit was then updated with the Decree of the Governor of Central Java Number 590/20 of 2021 concerning the Renewal of the IPL dated 7 June 2021. The text discourse contained in the renewal decree, the Village Wadas is still listed as the location for quarry mining (andesite stone) to construct the Bener Dam. The next state discourse through the Director General of Mineral and Coal of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources has issued Letter Number T-178/MB.04/DJB.M/2021, which permits the mining plan in Wadas to be carried out without other mining permits (Tempo.co., 3 November 2022). The discourse conveyed by the state government is that mining is carried out not for commercial purposes but for public interests, so a mining permit is not needed. Various discourses issued by state actors caused the conflict on 8 February 2022, drawing public attention nationally. On that date, the state sent 250 joint officers (Police, Armies, and Civil Service Police Unit) with a full arsenal to escort National Land Agency officers in land surveying activities for Wadas residents who have agreed to government policies. Regarding the excessive actions of the police and security forces against the villagers, the discourse of the Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security Affairs (Menko Polhukam) Mahfud MD stated (Bisnis.com, 3 February 2022): "The

police have acted according to procedures to ensure public security. There was no violence from the security forces and no shooting."

In addition to these various state actors, the discourse on the pro-mining group significantly influenced the acceptance of the andesite mining plan by most landowners. The Head of Wadas Village and pro-mining villagers narrated it. Based on interview data on 29 July 2022, the head of the village stated, "the position as village head is to implement government policies." Therefore the village head chose to support the designation of Wadas as a mining location. The discourse that the village head must implement state policies explicitly shows his party as a pro-andesite mining actor.

Meanwhile, some discourses of the pro-mining group included narratives obtained by researchers through personal interviews during a visit to Wadas village on July 29 2022: "The villagers have power over land, but the state also has power over the land of its residents." Through this discourse, the residents realize that the state is more powerful than the people. Therefore if the state wants people's land to be used for development purposes, the people must comply with state policies. In another discourse, the pro-mining villagers, who at first vehemently refused, in its development, actually accepted the government's offer. Some of their statements are revealed from the following narrative: "there is no use fighting the state" or "the state is too strong to be resisted by the people" (Personal interview with Mr. Z on July 28, 2022). Through this discourse, the pro-mining residents realized that it was impossible to oppose government programs. In addition, the influence of residents who have agreed to sell their land also has an impact on the choice of residents to eventually sell their land because they feel reluctant to be different from their neighbors. The state discourse influencing the residents to sell their land was about high compensation money. The offer was in the form of monetary compensation, which was agreed upon by most villagers for land prices with an average range of IDR 213,000 per meter. (Kompas.com, 13 April 2022). In addition to land, various types of plants and trees are also valued by the government. The land price offered by the state is about four times the regular market price. The amount of money received follows the area of land. Some residents receive compensation of up to 9 billion.

The experience of pro-mining residents who received the first phase of compensation resulted in a discourse about the benefits villagers would get if they were pro-mining. The various discourses include: "UGR can be used to buy more land in another village", "they can go on a pilgrimage with ONH Plus", "they can open a shop", "saving the money on the bank", "building a new house". The discourse on higher land prices than normal market prices strongly attracts the other villagers to support the state policies. It is proven by the increasing number of villagers selling their land to the government. The discourse on compensation money has even greatly influenced some residents who used to be a counter-mining group to be a pro-mining group after knowing the amount of compensation. Some residents of Wadas, Bener District, Purworejo, who used to be against mining, are now reported to have turned their backs. Even one of the female leaders of Wadas Village, who used to stand at the forefront of opposing mining, turned around, agreeing to accept the monetary compensation.

Another discourse that influenced the change in the residents' behavior was from local religious leaders (Kyai). The majority of Wadas residents are Muslims from the Nahdlatul Ulama circle. The religious leaders have a big influence on the community because of the strict adherence of the santri or congregation to the Kyai. The discourse produced by the Kyai is "*mendunge wis peteng*" ("the cloudy sky is already dark"). This symbolic discourse means that conditions in Wadas make it impossible for Wadas residents to reject the andesite mining plan so that villagers can better follow the state policy.

4.2. Discourses of Community Movement Actors

The discourses produced by the pro-mining group above received resistance from the counter-mining group. The counter group was produced by GEMPA DEWA, WALHI Yogyakarta, LBH Yogyakarta, Indonesian Women's Solidarity, Artists' Groups, Academics' Groups, and various communities with sporadically protested against plans for andesite mining in Wadas in various cities in Indonesia until 2022. In July 2020, the residents, members of GEMPA DEWA, reported five reasons to the *KOMNAS Perempuan* for rejecting the andesite mining plan. Here are the five reasons by GEMPA DEWA (idntimes.com, 12 February 2022, accessed 16 November 2022):

"First, the mining of andesite stones will displace residents from Wadas Village, which will cause residents to lose property rights, residences, agricultural land, and economic resources and be uprooted from their socio-cultural system that has been built up for generations. Second, Bener District, including Wadas Village, is a protected area, an agricultural area, community forest area, and disaster-prone area according to Purworejo Regency Regional Regulation No. 27/2011 concerning the 2011-2031 Purworejo Regency spatial planning.

Regarding the conflict on February 8 2022, the discourse from the counter-mining group can be seen from the following statement by one of the GEMPA DEWA youth leaders (Personal interview July 30 2022):

"The villagers have experienced acts of violence from the security forces, rejected accusations of carrying sharp weapons. The residents have not committed acts of anarchy because they were only carrying out *mujahaddah* (praying together). Apart from that, the villagers felt a tense and scary atmosphere when the joint security forces attacked. They feel traumatized by the arrests and acts of violence committed against them; even women and children are also traumatized."

Apart from the GEMPA DEWA actor group, the discourse on the contra-mining group was produced by the WALHI Yogyakarta. Fanny Tri Jamboree, Mining, and Energy Campaign Manager, said (cnbcindonesia.com. February 11 2022):

"The land procurement activities for the Bener Dam quarry must be stopped as are all National Strategic Projects (PSN) which must be suspended first based on the Job Creation Law (UU Cipta Kerja) which was suspended based on the constitutional Court decision number 91/PUU-XVIII/2020. Concerning quarry, which is a mining activity, Fanny stated there must be a Mining Business Permit (IUP) for an activity related to mining. Only then will land procurement be carried out. How come the quarry for the Dam has such a special position? He does not have an IUP, and his land acquisition is facilitated, in contrast to the quarry requirements in other public interest projects."

Another NGO actor is the Yogyakarta Legal Aid Institute (LBH). The LBH's discourse criticizes mining without a permit by the reason for the public interest, not commercial as narrated by the state. Yulian, an activist at LBH Yogyakarta, stated (Tempo. co. November 3, 2022):

"There is no clause or article in the Mineral and Mining Law which allows the mining to be carried out without a permit. According to him, mining also cannot be distinguished based on its designation for public or commercial interests. Therefore, the LBH defines andesite mining in Wadas as illegal".

An NGO actor who is also against mining is Kinasih Women's Solidarity. The NGO discourse urges the government to (www.solidaritasperempuan.org, accessed November 16, 2022):

"1) Revoke the Decree of the Governor of Central Java Number 539/29 of 2020 concerning the Extension of the Determination of Land Locations for the Construction of the Bener Purworejo and Wonosobo Dams. 2) Not Extend the Decree of the Governor of Central Java Number 539/29 of 2020 concerning the Extension of the Determination of Land Locations for the Dams. 3) Stop mining materials or quarries threatening safety and rob people of their living space and livelihood, especially Wadas women. 4) Carry out conflict resolution that is sensitive and gender-responsive by ensuring efforts to recover from the material and immaterial impacts that women directly or indirectly experience because they are fighting for their sources of life and livelihood. 5) Immediately stop acts of intimidation, including repressive actions against the Wadas people who are fighting for Wadas's nature as a counterbalance to the environment. 6. Immediately take firm action against the police officers who have carried out intimidation, threats, and repressive actions against the community, especially Wadas women, especially those carried out on April April 23, 2021

Another actor in the counter-mining group is the artists. Artists produced various discourses in favor of the struggle of the Wadas people through the media of posters, banners, and even the walls of the houses of the Wadas residents, as well as painted expressions and narratives of rejection by the artists. The various narratives are in the form of pictures and words of resistance to the andesite mining plan as observed by researchers on 28-30 July 2022 at Wadas: "*Wadas ora didol*" (Wadas is not for sale), "*Wadas Waras*" (Healthy Wadas) , "*Wadas Lestari Sekarang dan Nanti*" (Wadas Sustainable Now and Later), "*Cabut IPL*" (Revoke IPL), "*Tanah-tanah di Wadas tidak untuk dirampas*" (Lands in Wadas are not to be confiscated), "*Pemerintah tidak peduli pada nasib kita maka kita harus Bersatu dan melawan*" (The government does not care about our fate, so we must unite and fight). Various posters, banners, and paintings depicting the Wadas residents' rejection of the andesite mining plan are scattered on various roadsides and corners, posts, and residents' homes.

While the discourse narrated by artists on television was delivered by Yayat, one of the senior artists, in an interview conducted by one of the national private TV stations in Indonesia, Yayat explicitly stated:

"Reject the andesite mining plan, it is hard to imagine the damage that occurred in the beautiful and fertile Wadas earth to become damaged and flat, and there are no more hills because everything is leveled to the ground when it is blown up to be used as a mine."

Besides NGO groups, academics, and artists, the Muhammadiyah religious organization has consistently supported the Wadas people's counter-mining movement. The discourse produced by Muhammadiyah covers comprehensive aspects of the Wadas case (tempo. co, accessed November 19, 2022):

"The andesite stone mining in Wadas Village, Purworejo, which is not included in the National Strategic Project, is conclusive, based on the analysis of experts in related fields, having legal problems and

human rights violations from the planning stage to land release."

4.3. Discourses of Independent Actors

Apart from involving two opposing groups, the conflict over the andesite mining plan in Wadas also involves a group of actors who have a neutral and independent position. The function of this group is as a mediator by carrying out investigations and providing recommendations to the parties involved in the conflict. This group consists of three state actors: The National Commission of Human Rights (KOMNAS HAM), the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia (ORI), and The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI).

The discourse produced by the KOMNAS HAM found several people's rights being neglected concerning cases of violence in Wadas Village. The violence occurred on February 8, 2022 (REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, February 24, 2022); the commissioner, Beka Ulung Hapsara stated:

"Before the violence, there was a disregard for the right to Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) where the community has the right to give or withhold their consent to any andesite stone project, especially if the project has the potential to impact the land, livelihoods, and the environment. The KOMNAS HAM also highlighted the lack of socialization from the government and the initiator of the Bener Dam regarding the project plan and its impacts. This condition was exacerbated by the excessive use of force and acts of violence by the Regional Police on February 8, 2022, when surveying the land in Wadas Village".

The discourse produced by the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia revealed allegations of maladministration in the form of procedural deviations by police officers within the Central Java Regional Police in protecting residents during the process of surveying or inventorying and identifying the land in Wadas Village (Tempo.co. March 3, 2022). The Ombudsman also found problems related to implementing public services in the telecommunication sector involving related parties. The Ombudsman's discourse refers to the fact that when the incident occurred on February 8, 2022, the internet network in Wadas Village was disrupted.

Another discourse is from The House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI). The discourse was that the trigger for tension that led to violence in Wadas Village began with the AMDAL recommendation from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing regarding andesite stone mining for the needs of the physical construction of the Bener Dam (wartaonomi.co.id. February 16, 2022). After carrying out an investigation by visiting Wadas, the DPR RI also provided a number of recommendations to the Governor of Central Java and the Central Java Regional Police Chief.

5. Discussion

The discourse contestation of the conflict over the andesite mining plan involved three groups of actors with asymmetric power relations capacities (Bryant & Sinéad Bailey, 2005). The researcher of the Governor of Central Java issued Environmental Determination Permits without seeking prior approval from the Wadas residents. It triggered horizontal and vertical conflicts representing capacity inequality in power relations between pro-mining and counter-mining actor groups. This power relation capacity inequality becomes the mechanism for creating a category of domination discourse. In this context, a domination discourse is a social practice based on power relations that influences social change through submission, with or without violence.

Before the Governor of Central Java issued the permit as a form of discourse on domination, the state actors from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing through the BBW-SO had already produced domination discourses about the various benefits of the Bener Dam project. In addition, they stated that the mining process is safe and will not damage the environment. Another state actor that has the researchers produce dominating discourse is the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. Through the Decree of the Directorate General of Minerals and Mining, the Ministry issued Letter Number T-178/MB.04/DJB.M/2021 to carry out the mining plan in Wadas without a mining permit. The Coordinating Ministry also produced another dominating discourse for Political Law, Security, and Human Rights. The Ministry stated that there had been no acts of violence by the joint apparatus, and they had acted according to procedures. They said that the atmosphere in Wadas was calm and peaceful, not tense, as portrayed by various mass media.

Fairclough (2006) referred to various state discourses as discourse texts. Furthermore, state actors interpret these various discourse texts through discursive practices (Fairclough, 2006) so that various dominative strategies are born. Furthermore, various social practices will articulate the dominative strategy (Fairclough, 2006). The strategies were carried out through various social practices of state actors in the Wadas case. One of them is through outreach to Wadas residents affected by the mining plan and providing compensation money through deliberation with the residents, deploying excessive police and security forces, acts of violence, and arrests

against 67 residents and several activists. The request of the Governor of Central Java to the Head of the Central Java Police was to release the arrested people and to make apology and dialogue actions after the conflict occurred on 8 February 2022. The objective of the dominative discourse by the pro-mining actor group is to acquire land for andesite mining sites. In addition to having greater political capacity, the state actors have economic resources to influence the choices of the villagers, so they are willing to sell their land to the state by producing higher money compensation discourses. It shows that the state will not harm the community but benefit the villagers. The discourses by the villagers who had received compensation money in the first phase indicated that they could buy the land elsewhere, save money, open a shop, and go on pilgrimage. These discourses from the villagers had a major influence on changing the choice of the villagers, who at first refused to turn around to accept the mining plan in Wadas.

On the other hand, the power relations of the counter-mining group reacted by producing various discourses on the negative impacts of the andesite mining plan on the economic, social, cultural, and environmental sustainability of the Wadas villagers. Apart from that, the group also produced various discourse texts on legal violations committed by the Governor of Central Java in issuing the IPL. Besides that, the Director General of Energy and Mineral Resources issued a decree on mining without a permit, acts of violence, and human rights against joint officers in the conflict on 8 February 2022. Counter-mining actors interpret the various discourse texts as discursive practices for designing resistance strategies articulated in the social practices. Various forms of social practice articulation by the counter-mining actor groups carry out symbolic and non-symbolic demonstrations. They are also carrying out lawsuits against the Governor of Central Java who has issued an the IPL both through the Administrative Court and the Supreme Court and a lawsuit against the Director General of Energy and Mineral Resources regarding the mining decree in Wadas without the need for permission. The discourses are referred to as discourses of resistance, namely social practices that aim to reject or stop various social practices that threaten the survival and environment of society. The contestation between domination and resistance discourse emphasizes that the environment has become an arena where the different social actors with asymmetrical political power compete to access and control natural resources (Bryant & Bailey, 2005).

In contrast to the conflicting discourses between pro and contra-mining groups, the independent actor groups (the KOMNAS HAM, Ombudsman, and DPR RI) produce various discourses which have the role of mediator or controller of the power relations of the two conflicting groups. Analysis of discourse texts by the independent actors in substance shows various violations committed by state actors at the central and regional levels. For example, the discourse text by KOMNAS HAM stated the lack of socialization from the government and the initiator of the Bener Dam about the project plan and its impacts, the excessive use of force by the Central Java Regional Police on 8 February 2022 during the land surveys, and the neglect of protection rights residents in maintaining their environment and life. KOMNAS HAM interpreted these discourse texts through discourse practices to formulate the social practices of this institution's researchers. The social practice is to provide recommendations regarding violations committed by the Governor of Central Java, the Central Java Regional Police, and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, including the BBWS-SO. The discourse text produced by the Ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia found allegations of procedural deviations by the police officers within the Central Java Regional Police in protecting residents while surveying, inventorying, and identifying the land in Wadas. The Ombudsman interpreted this discourse text to follow up on these initial findings. In this case, the follow-up as a social practice is to raise the status of the results of the investigation to the examination.

Meanwhile, the discourse text produced by Commission III of the DPR RI after a visit found 13 points on issues of human rights violations in the incident on 8 February 2022. The DPR RI members interpreted the discourse text to formulate social practices narrated by this institution. In this case, the social practices are in the form of recommendations to the Governor of Central Java, the National Land Agency of Purworejo Regency, and the BBWS-SO.

The discourse contestation analysis of the three groups confirms the perspective of political ecology that the problem of social conflict related to natural resources and the environment belongs to a socio-political problem (Satria, 2009). It is due to social and political conditions surrounding the causes, experiences, and management of environmental problems (Forsyth, 2005).

The discourse analysis, through three categories, provides a more detailed and comprehensive exploration of how Fairclough's theory of intertextuality affirms the interrelation of various texts and discourse. The dialectics on domination, resistance, and independent discourses show how text production's circumstantial effects are situated and influenced by past or contemporary texts or discourses.

6. Conclusion

The protracted conflict in Wadas was triggered by a discourse on designating this village as the location for the andesite mining plan to supply construction materials for the Bener Dam in Purworejo. The discourse produced by the government through the Governor of Central Java gave rise to the social structures of the pro-mining, the counter-mining group, and the independent group. The three groups were involved in a prolonged discourse contestation. The pro-mining groups consisting of the Wadas villagers and state actors produce various domination discourses to ensure the andesite mining plan can be continued. The counter-mining groups produce various discourses of resistance intending to reject or stop the mining plan. Meanwhile, the independent groups produced various recommendation discourses for conflict resolution.

The discourse contestation shows a tendency for pro-mining groups from among the Wadas residents to agree to sell their land to the state. Even so, the counter-mining minority group still consistently rejects it through various productions of resistance discourses. The various recommendations from independent groups have influenced the social practices of state actors to open up more space for dialogue and improve the welfare of villagers so that the practice of violence no longer occurs.

So far, the horizontal and vertical conflicts are still ongoing in Wadas until the end of 2022. Conflict resolution in the future will depend on the expertise of state actors to produce discourses that are more acceptable to the counter-mining group. Suppose the group insists on defending their land and rejects the andesite mining in Wadas. In that case, it will be a different problem for the state, especially when forcing the counter group in today's democratic era. The conflict resolution presented by the state will be a crucial precedent as a reference for similar cases in the future.

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