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# A Case Study on Wadas Community Social Movement: Community Resistance Movement Against Mining Development

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### **Abstract**

This study aims to analyze the social movements of the Wadas community related to mining development in Wadas Village. Data sources were obtained by capturing news related to hashtags and at-signs, which Twitter social media users widely use to support resistance and rejection by Wadas people. This study uses a qualitative research method with a case study approach. Data analysis used the NVivo12 software application to visualize the data in graphs, images, and word frequency. The research findings show that the plan to build the Bener Dam in Purworejo District and Wonosobo Regency has experienced a very significant rejection with the circulation of two social movements on social media, Twitter, in the form of hashtags and at-signs as evidence of resistance to the mining project located in Wadas village. #Wadasmelawan is the most popular hashtag often echoed on Twitter social media with a percentage The Wadas community social movement subsequently used at-sign @Ganjarpranowo, who is also highlighted in the public sphere and social media, is required to resolve mining conflicts due to permits Location Determination (IPL) for andesite mining from the Governor of Central Java Province. Two Wadas social movements using hashtags and atsigns invite a reasonably high response on Twitter users with as many as 89.34% tweets. This means that the community's resistance to mining in Wadas is very significant in getting support from the public.

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#### Introduction

Agrarian conflicts in Indonesia continue to occur and experience significant fluctuations from year to year (Adiansah, Nulhaqim, & Basyar, 2021). This problem has become a protracted structural agrarian conflict and conflicting claims regarding who is more entitled to access natural resources, land, and territory between local communities and business entities or land managers engaged in production, conservation, extraction, and others (Tohari, 2018). At the end of the conflict, trying to take action to eliminate the legitimacy, existence, and validity of the claims of the other party (Rachman, 2013) triggered the emergence of various protests, intimidation, and protest actions, even a pretty tragic conflict, the death of residents due to beatings from mining refusal (Widianto, 2021). Agrarian conflicts often negatively impact the conflicting parties, such as the emergence of ongoing hostility, material losses, and even fatalities. However, competition is also able to become a supporting part of the survival of a better society (Widapratama & Darwis, 2019).

Agrarian conflict can be one of the threats to national security because it can trigger divisions among the community and reduce the legitimacy of the government in authority (Matondang, 2019b). Various parties are trying to resolve agrarian conflicts by forming a new consensus by allowing people to carry out agricultural activities on forestry land but with certain plants (Adiansah, Apsari, & Raharjo, 2019). The government must control conflict constructively so that the sources that cause conflict can be handled without resorting to violence (Primayanti & Fedryansyah, 2019). It is also necessary to involve the land office in resolving agrarian disputes in the community (Mukmin & Pranata, 2020). A dialogic communication strategy that leads to change and awareness of farmers to be more critical and participatory (Mustopa, Sadono, & Hapsari, 2020). Community empowerment involves forming social integration with cooperation in universities (Nulhaqim, Fedryansyah, & Hidayat, 2019).

However, conflict resolution efforts have not found optimal results in resolving cases of legal entanglement to the community in maintaining the scope of their environment, as happened in Wadas Village, Bener District, Purworejo Regency, Central Java (Hidajat, 2021). The conflict was caused by the community's rejection of the andesite mining located in Wadas to support the Benar Dam construction project (Sibuea, 2022). They are causing Wadas residents to fight back to hinder the implementation of development projects that are being carried out by officers (Adriansa, Adhim, & Silvia, 2020). According to Charles Tilly, mining problems argued that a democratic state system should be able to be seen in the ability of the state to accommodate public involvement, which provides equal political relations between the state and citizens (Satriani, 2015). The recently released Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) report shows that agrarian conflicts are still high during the pandemic and include the impact of national strategic projects. KPA said that three main sectors always dominate the causes of agricultural disputes, namely, plantations, mining, and forestry (Koeswahyono & Maharani, 2022). A legal sociology approach is needed in understanding and explaining agrarian conflicts because, so far, it is not enough with normative law and legal positivism to provide resolution of agricultural disputes that have dragged on for years and have even taken years (Sholahudin, 2017). Threats to environmental defenders from various regions are expected to continue, and residents of the villages of Wadas (Purworejo, Central Java), Pakel (Banyuwangi, East Java), Kinipan (Lamandau, Central Kalimantan), and many more, experiencing agricultural problems. Where areas often affected by land dispute conflicts will be considered a security threat and must be

resolved immediately through mediation and strengthening of the rule of law (van Leeuwen, Mathys, de Vries, & van der Haar, 2022). Plus, Indonesia is known as a country with disparity, which can be plurality into ethnicity, race, and belief. So it is very vulnerable in dealing with domestic conflicts; one of them is agrarian conflict (Matondang, 2019a).

Throughout 2021, there will be 207 agrarian conflicts of a structural nature spread across 32 provinces with 507 villages and cities. It affected 198,895 families with an area of 500,062.58 hectares. Most agricultural problems occur in East Java with 30 cases, West Java (17), and Riau (16). Although there was a decrease from the previous year with 241 points, agrarian conflicts rose significantly in the infrastructure development sector (73%) and mining (167%). By industry, the highest contributor to the dispute was still the plantation sector with 74 conflicts, followed by infrastructure projects with 52 cases and mining with 30 points (Source: https://www.beritasatu.com). The cause of agrarian disputes is due to activities that disrupt the community's economy, plus land rights are significant as a sign of one's existence, freedom, and dignity (Zakie, 2016) because mining projects have the potential to have a vast impact, ranging from environmental aspects to health and socio-economic problems for the community living around the mine (Kivinen, Kotilainen, & Kumpula, 2020).

This conflict has not been appropriately resolved and tends to stagnate in the resolution process (Z. Zainuddin & Ulya, 2018). This problem has a relatively high level of complexity in its solution, which touches on local communities' legal, political, economic, and rights issues. In turn, the impact is the neglect of the rights of the people who have managed certain lands or lands for generations (Perdanakusumah, 2019). Social and economic factors are also one of the causes of agrarian conflicts (Batlajery, Pattiselanno, & Kakisina, 2018). Thus, causing rejection and resistance from the surrounding community to maintain their rights when they feel aggrieved. Plus, in the cultural context of society, Indonesia has much diversity and is relatively very strong in several local communities, which is the main factor that can color and make resistance to mining activities. This conflict will be more complicated to overcome (Fringka, 2017).

The ways and forms of resistance often carried out by the community can also vary from each region experiencing the same conflict related to agrarian cases. Therefore, a more in-depth study is needed to determine local communities' leading causes and forms of rejection of mining activities in Wadas Village (Harahap & Efendi, 2022). Although many studies of similar conflicts have been carried out, studies in different areas with different cases need to be carried out to see conflict patterns of local people's rejection and resistance to the existence and practice of mining (Alauddin, 2022). One of them is the coal mining case in East Kalimantan which triggered rejection and resistance against the farmers to the private sector PT. Mahakam Sumber Jaya, this resistance occurs because the private sector is considered to be seizing the land of the farmers, which is the land for them to search for, thus triggering the movement of the farmers by involving the Kalimantan Dayak Customary Defense Command (KPADK) organizations which carry out physical and non-physical actions (Antoni, 2015). In South Sulawesi, some communities reject mining because it can cause environmental damage, socio-cultural changes, and various other negative impacts, while groups that support it come from the government and its staff because mining can be used for the advancement of the community's economy (Kurniawan, 2013). Whereas in the case of Central Sulawesi, the rejection of mining occurred because the community considered that the natural wealth they owned had to be used for the welfare of the community and could damage the environment, so the local government issued a decree controlling illegal miners (S. Zainuddin, 2012).

Of the mining research case studies above, all of them use data from the literature review. However, there is still little research that can reveal the form of rejection and resistance from mining development case studies using analytical data from Twitter media with the NVivo12 software. Therefore, this study will fill the gap. The NVivo12 software was chosen because it can present accurate data capturing trends in social media news movements and is a new tool to support qualitative research that has yet to be widely used (Sutopo, 2022). Supported by the mining problem in Wadas, there was a trend on social media because it invited many groups, academics, practitioners, law enforcement officers, and civil society, so it is very appropriate to reveal the resistance of the Wadas community in refusing to mine (Romadlan & Fauziah, 2022).

According to the Nursalim & Riyono (2022) revealed that the case that occurred in Wadas was very complex in that not only did men put up resistance but also raised resistance from women as a form of solid refusal from mining development so that it was not continued because it was considered to damage agricultural land. Inhabitant. This is also in line with Pariyatman, Santoso, & Madjid (2022) ), who emphasized that social conflicts in Wadas will arise due to social isolation and lack of recognition from the local community. Plus, the OMNIBUSLAW polemic from policies and derivative regulations made by the central and regional governments are considered to only benefit government groups and the private sector, without considering the social impacts that will arise from the mining development (Angraini, 2022). With some of these problems, it is only natural that there will be resistance and resistance from several community groups and participants to defend the residents' agricultural land, which is also a source of livelihood for the local community (Mustofa, Sulaeman, Nurdini, & Raudya, 2022)

Consultation is needed to resolve agrarian conflicts, a form of transformation strategy of the social community movement between discourse and the hybridization process concerning local political and cultural features (Walter & Urkidi, 2017). Government policies that do not involve the community in a participatory manner in granting mining permits trigger the community to carry out a movement of rejection and resistance to mining activities, and this form is a concern for the disaster and the impact it will have on the community for the future (Adi Saputra & Setiyono, 2021). The resistance is due to differences in views on a land acquisition that are deemed inappropriate, contrary to the expectations of local communities, and far from the welfare carried out by the government (Hady, 2018). Generate conflicts that encourage the emergence of small social movements in the community that significantly impact institutions, the environment, and the rights of local communities (Wagner, 2019). Although, on the other hand, mining practices provide benefits in the development sector carried out, it does not rule out the possibility of also hurting the community environment (Zhang & Moffat, 2015). Including the agrarian conflict that occurred in Wadas, which triggered the residents' resistance and resistance to the determination of the mining location, which was considered unilateral, without paying attention to the wishes of the local Wadas residents. Policies and re-evaluation from the government are needed to resolve Agrarian Conflicts related to paying attention to the rights of indigenous peoples (Gayo & Ariani, 2016). This happens because there are still overlapping interests between the central and local governments, weak socialization among the public, and control of illegal mining, which can have a detrimental impact on one side and damage the environment (Taufik, Arwani, & Himawati, 2018).

In this paper, the form of the social community movement in rejecting mining remains the primary rationale in looking at cases of community resistance and rejection

of mining plans because, according to the author, differences in interests between the government, corporations, and communities can be a powerful determinant of mining resistance in Indonesia. Public. However, the author has the assumption that the differences in interests that occur in each case of conflict and resistance to this mining plan are not the same in every area. In addition, the form of community social movements in this paper is seen as a trigger for the support of the Wadas community's resistance to the relevant government officials in the rejection of the andesite mining project for the construction of the actual dam.

This paper focuses on a conflict perspective that looks at the community's factors and forms of resistance in the form of community social movements on Twitter and social media. For this reason, this paper intends to reveal the reasons, factors, and motives that caused the community to reject the mining plan in Wadas Village, Bener District, Purworejo Regency, Central Java, including revealing the actors who can solve this problem. Then, to find out how the forms of rejection by the community towards the mining plan. Thus, this paper can provide a discussion and conclusion about the condition of the Wadas community social movement that appeared on social media Twitter, in resolving the conflict over the location of andesite mining in Wadas Village for the construction of the actual dam, which is a national strategic project of the Indonesian government.

With that in mind, this study aims to analyze the forms of community resistance in Wadas Village against the development of a national mining project using the NCupture data software NVivo 12 from social media Twitter. This is important because the case of rejection and resistance in Wadas highlights the involvement of many parties involved in the resolution, starting from the central government, regional governments, academia, legal aid institutions, and civil society. Therefore, it is natural that it has been trending for a long time on Twitter. NVivo 12 Ncupture data was chosen because it can analyze data accurately, show graphs of problem trends, and be analyzed further (Cioffi, Travaglioni, Piscitelli, Petrillo, & De Felice, 2020).

#### Method

This research method uses a qualitative method with a Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS) approach. The data source was obtained by taking screenshots from social media Twitt This study uses a qualitative research method with a case study approach er related to the social movement of the Wadas community towards mining development by looking at and observing the sign and hashtags that social media users widely used. Furthermore, the NVivo12 software application is used to visualize the data in graphs, images, and word frequency at the data analysis stage.

The data source was obtained by NCupture data on social media Twitter related to the social movement of the Wadas community towards mine development by looking at and observing the signs and hashtags that social media users widely use. At the data analysis stage, the NVivo12 software was used to help visualize the collected data in graphs, images, and word frequencies, making the findings easy to understand. In more detail, you can see the stages of the research in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1
Research Stages

Source: The stages of research are made by the author

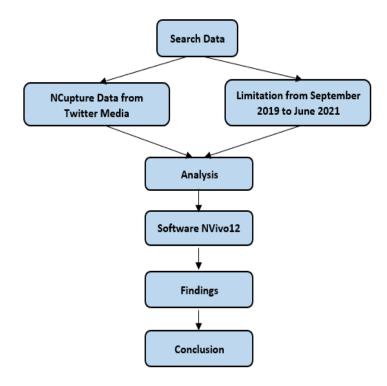


Table 1 shows that the stages of this research started from searching for data that was considered credible and supported this research with NCupture data from Twitter media with limits from September 2019 to June 2021. After the data was collected to reveal the research, the next stage was analyzed using the NVivo software 12 to visualize data and show graphs of data trends. The author's reason for using NVivo 12 Software is a new way that can be used to analyze and manage qualitative research documents (Dhakal, 2022; Edhlund, 2019). Zamawe's research (2015) shows that the NVivo 12 software is used to reveal metadata. The last stage is presenting the findings as a visualization of graphs and images for deeper analysis. It is coupled with discussion studies to strengthen the research findings that have been presented and draw conclusions.

# Results and Discussion Results

The problem of agrarian conflicts in Wadas communities has become the spotlight in the public world. This case is not only felt by the people who live in the neighborhood around the village but also attracts excellent attention for social media users on Twitter. In response to this case, community social movements began to emerge as a form of support for the community to reject the government's national strategic development. They mean that from the emerging social trends, it can be interpreted that the project development launched by the government is far from being told for the welfare of the people, growing the economy, and equitable development by the objectives of the product, which is named the National Strategic Project (PSN). The images of Twitter accounts on NCupture in this study can be seen in Figure 1.

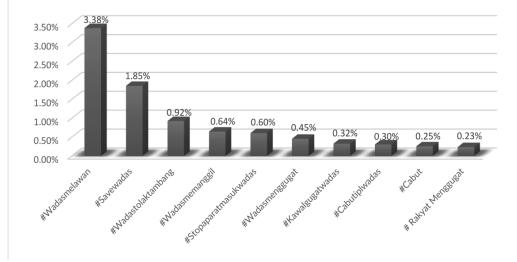
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Figure 2 NCupture of Wadas Melawan social media images Source. Wadas Melawan Twitter account



Figure 2 shows that the rejection and resistance of the Wadas community towards mining development is very significant on social media Twitter and has moved many groups of people, including Twitter users, who also provide support for the rejection regarding mining in Wadas. This condition can least be seen that there are 28.9 thousand followers on the Wadas Melawan account, one of which is Susi Pudjiastuti, who is a former Minister of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Wadas Melawan account has received 2,395 tweets. Furthermore, community social movements in the form of hashtags widely used on Twitter can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3
Wadas Community Resistance hashtag
Source. Twitter was Processed by the author using NVivo12



The picture above explains that the national strategic development project experienced strong rejection from the Wadas community, so this phenomenon went viral on various social media. The rejection of development that is being fought for by the Wadas community has also received sympathy and support from users on Twitter and social media. The form of refusal was flooded with hashtags such as #Wadasmelawan, #Wadastolaktambang, #Wadasmemanggil, #Savewadas. #Stopaparatmasukwadas, #Wadasmenggugat, #Kawalgugatwadas, Cabutiplwadas, #Cabut, dan Menggugat. Furthermore, more severe actions occurred in large-scale demonstrations between Wadas communities, environmental activists, and legal aid agencies (LBH) with relevant local government officials, especially the police security apparatus. So don't be surprised if the hashtag #Wadasmelawan is the highest and most popular hashtag used on Twitter in responding to the phenomenon that occurs as a form of support for the resistance of the Wadas community.

It does not stop there; with the emergence of resistance to development from the surrounding community, other social movements in the form of the at sign have also become the focus of the community and social media users. The at sign movement that has emerged focuses more on several public officials and institutions that are considered to have an essential role in resolving the agrarian conflicts in Wadas; The sign in the spotlight can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4
The at-sign (@) of the People's Resistance of Wadas
Source. Twitter was Processed by the author using NVivo12

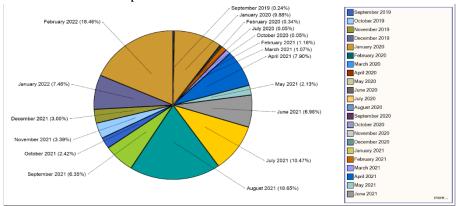


The picture above shows that the at-sign @ganjarpranomo is the most popular used in addressing the problems of andesite mining plans in Wadas Village. That's because he is the governor of the province of Central Java, so the community demands the role of Ganjar Pronomo as governor to take part in taking policy actions in solving agricultural problems from the National Strategic Project (PSN) plan for the Bener Dam, Purworejo, Central Java. It didn't stop there; other support came from the association of legal aid institutions in Yogyakarta who were also involved in providing legal assistance to Wadas communities to provide justice, so the at-sign @lbhyogyakarta began to be widely used on social media. This movement culminated when many other sympathizers joined in providing support and refusal to urge the president to remove the mine location

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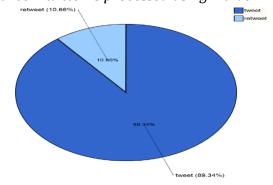
determination permit (IPL) in Wadas Village. On social media, the at-sign like @lbhyogyakarta, @wadasmelawan, @ylbhi, @jatamnas, and the at-sign with the president's name, keep popping up @jokowi also be highlighted. In its development, the community continues to take forms of rejection, based on selected data from September 2019-June 2021, which can be seen in Figure 5.

Figure 5 Trending in the Resistance of the Wadas Source. The author processes Twitter with NVivo12



The diagram above shows that the cases in Wadas Village started in 2019-to and 2022. It means that the rejection of the Wadas community has been conveyed for a long time regarding the andesite mining plan in Wadas Village as material for the National Strategic Project (PSN). The refusal was made before issuing the Location Determination Permit Decree Number 509/41 of 2018 on June 7, 2018, concerning Approval for Determination of Land Procurement Locations for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency. However, with the issuance of the Location Determination Permit (IPL), the name of Wadas Village is listed as the location for andesite mining for the construction of the national project. This shows that the government is arbitrarily and does not prioritize the aspirations of the Wadas Village community. So don't be surprised if the rejection continues until the joint apparatus represses the peak to Wadas residents on Tuesday, February 8, 2022, in line with the public response that developed on Twitter media with 18.46%. Likewise, the results of user tweets are very significant; it can be seen in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6
Tweets and Retweets Social Movements of the Wadas Community
Source. Twitter is processed using NVivo12



The picture shows that 89.34% of tweets are significant on Twitter social media. It means that most users from Twitter media indirectly support rejecting andesite mining located in Wadas Village for national strategic development. Plus, from the start, the Wadas people themselves had denied the project long before issuing the Location Determination Permit Decree. Based on several social movement data presented, the central and regional governments should review the sustainability of the development of the national strategy, which is considered not to prioritize the community's welfare and listen to the aspirations of the Wadas residents.

#### Discussion

This is not the first rejection, and resistance to mining development has occurred in Indonesia, as in Bima Regency, where the community strongly rejected PT. Jagad Mahesa Karya is engaged in sand mining because it is considered not to provide anything in return for the welfare of the surrounding environment (Aidin, 2020). A similar rejection also occurred in Paseban on the south coast of Java because local wisdom must be preserved to encourage the community to move so that the sand mining project business is not continued (Akbar, 2017). From some of the research found, most of the rejection and resistance that occurs is because the mining development that will be built is not profitable for the welfare of the community, more than eliminating the livelihoods of residents (Ahid Wahyu Kurniawan, 2018; Hardinia, 2014; Mansyah, 2013; Moerad, Susilowati, & Windiani, 2016; Mulka, 2020).

However, if we look at the support efforts made by the central and regional governments in encouraging mining and granting operating permits, it can accelerate regional progress and encourage investment (Hadi, 2022; Nurdin, 2017; Sudrajat & Yustisia, 2013). In the studies presented, the central and regional governments should also prioritize the impact of local wisdom and sustainability in mining policies so that there will not be repeated rejections from civil society (Hakim, 2022; Junaidi, 2019). Therefore, this research is essential to reveal to see the movement of resistance and rejection of mining problems in Wadas Village, plus the renewal of using analysis with Twitter media and the NVivo12 software, because technological developments continue to develop very fast, so research with Twitter social media needs to be done. In order to be able to overcome issues that are trending among social media users (Atiko, Hasanah Sudrajat, & Nasionalita, 2016; Noprianto, 2018; Pakpahan, 2017).

## Conclusion

The Agrarian Reform Consortium (KPA) noted 207 agrarian conflicts throughout 2021. The case in Wadas extended the list of agricultural disputes in Indonesia. The leading cause of this problem is the government's rejection of the andesite mining project to construct the actual dam as a national strategic project. Its implementation caused strong resistance and denial in the Wadas community, culminating when the joint security forces of the TNI and Polri carried out repression and surrounded the houses of residents who were deemed to have violated the constitution. It invites a significant response from Twitter social media users in the form of two social movements with the hashtags #Wadasmelawan and the at-sign @Ganjarpranowo; these two movements support the resistance carried out by the Wadas community with 89.34% of tweets. It means that a project review is needed that considers the community's welfare and sustainable economic growth. This research focuses on social media and Twitter, and it

is hoped that further research will be able to compare the social movements of people on other social media to get more in-depth results.

The Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA) recorded 207 agrarian conflicts throughout 2021. The Wadas case extends the list of agricultural disputes in Indonesia. The leading cause of this problem is the government's rejection of the andesite mining project to build a dam which is a national strategic project. In its implementation, it created strong resistance and denial in the Wadas community, which culminated in the joint security forces of the TNI and Polri carrying out repression and surrounding the homes of residents who were considered to have violated the constitution. This prompted a significant response from Twitter social media users in the form of two social movements with the hashtag #Wadasmelawan and signatures @Ganjarpranowo; these two movements supported the resistance by the Wadas community with 89.34% of tweets. The limitation of this study is that it only focuses on analyzing data captured from Twitter media regarding forms of community resistance in Wadas. It is hoped that in the future, there will be in-depth field research that can analyze directly and consider community welfare and sustainable economic growth so that people can compare social movements on social media with findings directly in the field.

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