

PUBLIC INTEREST AS AN ‘EMPTY SIGNIFIER’: DISCOURSE HEGEMONY STRATEGY OF PRO-DAM GROUP IN THE CONTESTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE OF THE BENER DAM NATIONAL STRAGIC PROJECT.

Muhammad Nadhif Achyansyah and Yusa Djuyandi

¹Departement of Politcal Science, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Padjadjaran, Jl. Raya Bandung-Sumedang KM. 21 Jatinangor, 456363
E-mail: Muhammad19241@mail.unpad.ac.id; Yusa.djuyandi@unpad.ac.id

ABSTRACT. This article examines how the discourse of public interest is constructed and mobilized by pro-dam actors to legitimize the construction of the Bener Dam National Strategic Project amid resistance against andesite quarry mining in Wadas Village, Purworejo Regency. Using Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discourse analysis framework, this study employs qualitative methods to analyze textual and non-textual data drawn from official government documents, policy statements, press conferences, mass media coverage, and public communications by central and local governments as well as pro-dam community actors. The analysis shows that public interest functions as an empty signifier that is articulated as a nodal point to unify diverse urgencies—economic growth, water resource management, food security, energy, and tourism—into a single hegemonic demand for the continuation of the Bener Dam project. Through repeated articulation, pro-dam actors succeed in stabilizing the meaning of the project as a collective good while simultaneously fragmenting and delegitimizing the chain of equivalence formed by opposing discourses related to environmental damage, eco-spirituality, livelihoods, and human rights. The article concludes that the hegemonic deployment of public interest enables pro-dam groups to dominate the discursive field of development, although this fixation remains contingent and open to counter-hegemonic re-articulation.

Keywords: Political Discourse; Hegemony; Wadas Conflict; Empty Signifier; Agrarian Conflict

INTRODUCTION

Referring to the records released by the Agrarian Reform Consortium (*Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria*), nearly 50 percent of the land required by the government for National Strategic Projects (*Proyek Strategis Nasional*) under the Jokowi administration in 2021 originated from agrarian conflicts (CNN Indonesia, 2022). The construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency, Central Java, is one such example, where the residents of Wadas Village—10 km from the dam project—opposed land acquisition for the andesite quarry needed for the dam’s construction. This conflict, nationally recognized as the “Wadas Conflict” (*Konflik Wadas*), has become a focal point in public discourse on agrarian conflicts under the Jokowi administration.

In 2022, discussions about Wadas Village’s opposition to the andesite quarry escalated in public discourse, particularly after the arrest of 64 residents who opposed the quarry and the repressive actions of police forces (Anggraeni, 2022; Tayibnapi & Abdurrohman, 2022; Netray, 2022). This conflict traces back to the residents’ rejection of land measurements by the Serayu-Opak River Basin Center (BBW SO) for the quarry, which has been ongoing since the Bogowonto River Dam construction initiative under the President Soesilo Bambang Yudhono’s administration’s MP3EI program (Wardana, 2022).

The residents of Wadas Village raised concerns about environmental threats such as the loss of 27 springs (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup, 2022; Kismunthofiah et al., 2022), eco-spirituality aspects related to the sacredness of the ‘Randu Alas’ tree (Maqoma, 2022; Heksatoro, 2022), threats to livelihoods (Muryanto, 2021; Maqoma, 2022), and legal and human rights aspects that deemed the quarry’s permits flawed and excluded community involvement (Wardana, 2022; Ulum, 2023). These concerns united the residents under the *Gerakan Masyarakat Peduli Alam Desa Wadas*, followed by groups like *Kawula Muda Desa Wadas* (KAMUDEWA) and *Wadon Wadas*, with a primary demand to reject the andesite quarry in the Wadas community (Ulum, 2023).

Following the arrests on February 8, 2022, sympathy for the Wadas community’s struggle united various societal elements, including NGOs, academics, environmental activists, journalists, students, and civil society (Romadlan & Fauziah, 2022; Achyansyah & Husin, 2022; Sulaeman & Mustofa, 2022). Although opposition to the quarry has been ongoing since 2013, the government’s ambition for infrastructure projects often conflicts with the realities directly affected communities face. This broader issue relates to the perceived “greater good” of the Bener Dam project, which is expected to provide positive benefits such as stimulating economic growth, supporting agriculture, and boosting tourism in the *Borobudur*

Raya (Greater Borobudur) and Purworejo areas (SDA PU, 2021; Adam, 2022; Wardana, 2022; Kismunthofiah et al., 2022; Khasanah et al., 2023).

It is crucial for the government—both central and local—and pro-dam elements to assert their position in public discourse regarding the Bener Dam construction and counter the opposition to the andesite quarry. As Kølvråa (2017) suggests, the symbolic relationship between language and politics enables ideological power to be maintained through specific language use in public discourse. This concept aligns with Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, where hegemony is viewed as the organization of consensus operating in both political society and civil society, organizing consensus without violence or coercion (Howarth, 2000; Hutagalung, 2004; Barrett, 1991 in Hutagalung, 2007). Gramsci emphasized the role of organic intellectuals working with the working class to lead a transition towards a socialist society by forming a new historical bloc (Hutagalung, 2004; Siswati, 2017).

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe expanded on Gramsci's concept of hegemony in their *Magnum Opus*, "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy," exploring how hegemony operates within discourse. While acknowledging the importance of the proletariat as a social agent, Laclau and Mouffe introduced other dimensions in forming a new historical bloc, emphasizing the role of new social movements and intellectuals, particularly with the weakening of labor movements at the end of the 20th century (Hutagalung, 2004; 2008). Laclau criticized Gramsci's class-focused analysis in their work and emphasized a theoretical paradigm based on discourse analysis, examining how discourses compete (Hutagalung, 2008). Laclau's conception of hegemony emerged as a deconstructive reading of Marxist hegemony analysis, particularly Gramsci's, becoming a key concept in Laclau's analysis (Howarth, 2000).

Laclau (in Kølvråa, 2017) defined hegemony as "a political type of relation, a form of politics." He argued that hegemony results from contingent political interactions between groups, continuously shaping "the social". From a post-structuralist perspective, all social actions relate to mechanisms of meaning construction within a framework where hegemony becomes fixed in a structure of meaning (Howarth, 2000). The process of fixing hegemonic meaning is political, where hegemonic discourse connects various identities and political forces into a joint project, forming new social elements from previously scattered ones (Howarth, 2000). According to Laclau, hegemony is a political power formed by formulating a "political program" in

which society can identify and emotionally invest (Kølvråa, 2017).

As Laclau (Kølvråa, 2017) argues, hegemony operates within the realm of discourse through articulation practices. Laclau defined articulation as the effort to construct certain elements to create meaning, forming a discourse (Laclau, 2008). He distinguished between non-discursive articulation (*element*) and discursive articulation (*moment*). An element is a polysemic term without fixed meaning, while a moment is a temporary partial condition of meaning due to its differentiation from other signifiers (Laclau & Mouffe, 2008; Howarth, 2000). In discursive fields, elements can become moments when confronted with a discursive structure and given meaning through articulation practices (Kølvråa, 2017).

In Laclau's point of view, articulation can be understood as transforming *elements* into *moments* to become fixed in the discourse order (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Laclau, 2008). Laclau also developed the concept of nodal points, drawing from Lacanian 'point de capiton' to stabilize meaning in language and construct social reality (Howarth, 2005). Politically, nodal points are crucial for analyzing element fixation, as they unify social-political demands, form specific identities, and demarcate discourses and ideologies (Kølvråa, 2017).

In the context of meaning contestation in dam infrastructure development, the contingency of discourse allows elements to compete to become the 'primary meaning' within a field of discursivity, including in the discourse of dam infrastructure development (Atkins, 2017). Post-WWII, dams were initially seen as symbols of modernity (Flaminio et al., 2021; McCully, 1966). However, the paradigm shifted in the 1970s-1980s due to environmental and socio-political concerns, leading donor institutions to withdraw support for dam construction (Lavers & Dye, 2019; Flaminio et al., 2021).

Despite this, the late 2000s saw renewed initiatives for dam construction, viewed as renewable energy sources and economic growth drivers, supported by modern technology and government backing (Nüsser, 2003; Flaminio et al., 2021). However, anti-dam groups questioned these projects' sustainability due to adverse environmental and social impacts (Flaminio et al., 2021; Di Baldassare et al., 2021). The discourse on dam construction is dynamic, involving confrontations between supporters emphasizing technological progress and sustainability and opponents highlighting environmental and social costs, competing to become the primary meaning in the discourse order (Atkins, 2017; Ahlers et al., 2014).

Therefore, it is essential for the central and local governments, as well as community elements supporting the Bener Dam project, to gain legitimacy in public discourse, especially amid the discourse of rejection of andesite quarries that are the material for the construction of the Bener Dam National Strategic Project. Research on the Wadas conflict has been conducted using various approaches, such as the social movement approach (Ulum, 2023; Nursalim & Riyono, 2022; Isma et al., 2023), textual analysis of criticism of the Bener Dam construction (Sulaeman & Mustofa, 2022; Achyansyah and Husin, 2022), and the resistance strategy of the Wadas community on social media (Misran et al., 2023). Meanwhile, from the government's perspective, previous research has highlighted the public interest in the formal legal landscape that provides legitimacy for andesite quarries (Wardana, 2022; Sejarot & Hariri, 2023), as well as analyses from a Marxian perspective that sees the construction of the Bener Dam in Wadas Village as the first stage of the primitive accumulation process, and community resistance based on the threat of loss of economic potential (Ekayanta, 2022).

This article analyzes how pro-dam groups articulate and amplify the discourse on constructing the Bener Dam to legitimize the project as a public good. This research will use Laclau's discourse analysis framework to explore the pro-dam group's strategy in constructing positive meanings and dominating other discourses in contesting the Bener Dam development.

METHODS

This article uses qualitative methods and data collection techniques based on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (2008) discourse analysis. This analysis helps understand how a discourse can become dominant or hegemonic, making it appear natural and taken for granted (Andersen, 2003; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; van Vliet, 2023). This research analyzes the language and context used by the government and pro-dam groups in supporting the construction of the Bener Dam. The researcher will examine how the government and pro-dam groups construct narratives of urgency and political identity.

Data were collected from various online sources, including official websites of the central and local governments, official YouTube channels, and mass media covering the Bener Dam project. Official government documents and other forms of communication will be analyzed to understand how the discourse was shaped.

As van Vliet (2023) argues, hegemony is formed through various signs such as demands, identities, and interests to gain approval from various social actors. Based on this concept, this research will analyze how the discourse of 'public interest' in constructing the Bener Dam is formed and constructed. In this context, data for this study were collected from various online sources, including official websites of central and local governments, official YouTube channels, and mass media covering the Bener Dam project. Official government documents and other forms of communication will be analyzed to understand how the discourse surrounding this dam project development was shaped.

This study employs Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory—which, although it does not provide a standardized empirical method—offers a robust analytical framework for examining how meanings are discursively constructed, stabilized, and rendered hegemonic within a social order (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002; Andersen, 2003; van Vliet, 2023). The framework is particularly useful for analyzing how certain discourses come to appear naturalized or taken for granted. To operationalize this approach, the study adopts the analytical strategy developed by Narwaya (2021), which structures Laclauian discourse analysis into four interrelated stages.

First, the research collects and maps articulations produced by central and local government actors as well as pro-dam groups related to the Bener Dam project. The data are drawn from two types of sources: textual data, including formal government documents and mass media coverage; and non-textual data, such as academic perspectives (journal articles and scholarly opinions), press conferences, and official position statements. This stage focuses on examining how the discourse of "*public interest*" is constructed and articulated within the broader development discourse surrounding the Bener Dam. To maintain analytical focus, the data are limited to articulations produced between the beginning of President Joko Widodo's first administration and August 2023.

Second, the analysis identifies subject positions that emerge through discursive interactions by tracing elements, moments, and nodal points that shape actors' identities within the discursive field. This enables an examination of how different actors position themselves and are positioned in relation to the dominant discourse.

Third, the study explores the logic of antagonism that structures discursive contestation. Following Laclau (2014), antagonism is understood as the constitutive limit of identity and a key driver

of hegemonic struggle. This stage is supported by the logic of equivalence and the logic of difference to analyze how competing demands are unified or fragmented.

Finally, the analysis examines relational dynamics among discourses, particularly the construction of boundaries between “us” and “the others,” and how hegemonic meanings are stabilized within the discursive order. Data validity is ensured through triangulation by cross-referencing empirical findings with relevant academic literature.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Urgency of Bener Dam Project Development

On a broader scale, the designation of the Bener Dam as a National Strategic Project and its initiation by the central government aim to provide various benefits to the community, particularly in Purworejo Regency and Central Java Province. These benefits include economic aspects, water resource management, renewable energy, and various other benefits that will arise once the dam is completed (Kementerian Pekerjaan dan Perumahan Umum, 2019).

The benefits of constructing the Bener Dam can be categorized into three main urgencies: (1) economic stimulation urgency, related to the Jokowi Administration’s efforts to achieve equitable development through the initiation of infrastructure projects; (2) water management urgency, associated with the ambition of achieving food self-sufficiency and the condition of the Purworejo community, the majority of whom work in the agricultural sector; and (3) tourism urgency, related to the Ambition of the 10 New Balis and the operationalization of the New Yogyakarta International Airport (NYIA) in Kulon Progo, Yogyakarta.

Table 1 Benefits of Bener Dam Infrastructure Development

No.	Description	Benefit	Additional Information
Irrigation Aspect			
1.	Rice Field Area	15.519 Ha	
2.	Cropping Intensity	263 per cent	
3.	Productivity	Padi 5,6 tonne per hectare	
4.	Cropping Pattern	Rice, Palaw-ijaya	
Clean Water Aspect			

1.	Discharge channelled	1.500 litres per second	(1) Purworejo Regency: 500 litre per second; (2) Kebumen Regency: 300 litre per second; (3) Kulon Progo Regency: 700 litre per second.
2.	Population served	45 percent	
Energy Aspect			
1.	Hydroelectric Power Plant	6,0 Mega-watt	
Others			
1.	Conservation	Water Reserves	
2.	Tourism	Tourism and Water Tourism Potential	

(Source: Kementerian PUPR, Direktorat Sumber Daya Air, BBWS SO, 2019)

Economically, the construction of a series of infrastructure projects by the Jokowi Administration is important as it is seen as an effort to address the issue of national economic downturn, which is considered a major problem facing Indonesia (Ekayanta, 2019). From the perspective of the Jokowi Administration, the initiation of a series of infrastructure projects is viewed not only as an effort to stimulate the economy but also to prepare the nation to face future challenges (Ekayanta, 2022).

Specifically, the construction of dam infrastructure under the Jokowi Administration is crucial, as these dams are expected to drive economic growth, create jobs, and support local agriculture. Additionally, the construction of dam infrastructure is essential to address water security threats that could reduce Indonesia’s GDP by 7.3% by 2045 (Patmasari and Ilham, 2022; RMOL.id, 2021). This project also aligns with the Nawacita agenda of the Jokowi Administration 2014-2019, which focuses on economic self-sufficiency by driving strategic domestic sectors (Dewan Sumber Daya Air Nasional, 2019; Kementerian PUPR Direktorat SDA, 2015; Kementerian PUPR Direktorat SDA, 2017).

During his second term, President Jokowi established 48 dam projects out of a total of 201 National Strategic Projects, including the Bener Dam, to achieve equitable development throughout Indonesia (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2020; Tempo, 2022; KPPIP, 2023). This urgency is reflected in Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020 on the Third Amendment to Presidential Regulation No. 3 of 2016 on the Acceleration of the

Implementation of National Strategic Projects, which states that the designation of a series of National Strategic Projects is an effort to “increase growth and equitable development to enhance the welfare of the community and regional development,” as stated in Article 1 Paragraph 1 of Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020.

In Purworejo, the construction of the Bener Dam is crucial for maximizing the potential of the Serayu-Bogowonto River, which is currently utilized at around 30% (Pratiwi et al., 2022). This dam also aims to develop the economic potential of Purworejo, known as the “Land of Paradise” (*Tanah Surga*) due to its various potentials in the service, trade, industrial, maritime, agropolitan, and environmental sectors (Sugiri, 2013; Kismunthofiah et al., 2022; RKPD Purworejo, 2018).

In the context of water resource management, the initiation of a series of dam infrastructure projects by the government is crucial, especially given the current underutilization of water resources, which stands at approximately 691 billion cubic meters per year out of an estimated annual volume of 2.7 trillion cubic meters. This amount is sufficient to meet the needs of various sectors, including the economy, society, and energy through the establishment of hydroelectric power plants (Sitepu et al., 2022). Therefore, the initiation of dam infrastructure as a means of water management is essential for maximizing the potential of these water resources.

Further, efforts to maximize the potential of water resources are significant in line with the Jokowi Administration’s ambition for rice self-sufficiency, aimed at maintaining national food security by using water stored in dams for irrigation (Kementerian Pekerjaan dan Perumahan Umum, 2018; Inayah et al., 2023). This initiative prompted President Jokowi to launch dam construction projects in various regions of Indonesia since 2014 (Djumena, 2020).

The construction of dam infrastructure as a means of water resource management is crucial for promoting the agricultural industry—primarily rice—and further achieving rice self-sufficiency. As stated by President Jokowi when receiving an award from the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) for achieving rice self-sufficiency from 2019 to 2021 on August 14, 2022, the ‘rice self-sufficiency’ under his administration was made possible due to the initiation of a series of large dam projects during his seven years in office (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2022).

Specifically, in the context of Purworejo Regency, the construction of the Bener Dam is crucial for managing the water resources of the Bogowonto

River, which is currently utilized at around 30 percent (Pratiwi et al., 2022, p. 12).

Geographically, Purworejo Regency has significant agricultural potential, with 51,598.14 hectares of dryland farming and 27,677.14 hectares of irrigated rice fields, not including the area of rainfed rice fields (Kismunthofiah et al., 2022). However, the region faces challenges such as land conversion impacting land availability (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016 in Purworejo Regency Government, 2018) and the threat of drought, which is a major concern for farmers in Purworejo, one of the areas in Central Java most prone to drought, especially during prolonged dry seasons (Faizah, 2023).

Specifically for rice farming, rice—both paddy and upland rice—is the main agricultural commodity for the people of Purworejo, especially in South Purworejo (Puspitaningrum et al., 2021, p. 258). However, the rice farming industry in Purworejo is inherently volatile and unpredictable. Graphically, there has been a decline in rice farming commodities, as indicated by data from the Purworejo Regency Government (2017) shown in **Table 2** below:

Table 2. Rice Productivity of Purworejo Regency 2013-2016

No.	Year	Rice Productivity
1	2013	329,938,00 tonnes
2	2014	323,233,04 tonnes
3	2015	355,330,43 tonnes
4	2016	315,596,90 tonnes
5	2017	308,680,22 tonnes

(Source: The Government of Purworejo Regency, 2017)

If not addressed, drought in Purworejo will significantly impact agricultural land, leading to potential crop failure on 913 hectares of farmland (Surmaini in Faizah, 2023). On a larger scale, this will hinder agricultural production—especially rice as a staple food—and further impact the local and national economy. Therefore, in the context of the Bener Dam construction, it is crucial for the government to initiate and complete this project, aligning with the urgency of water resource management on a broader scale.

Meanwhile, in the context of tourism urgency, the construction of the Bener Dam is crucial in supporting the operationalization of the New Yogyakarta International Airport, which is part of the Jokowi Administration’s ‘10 New Bali’s’ (Sepuluh Bali Baru) ambition launched in 2016, particularly related to the development of the Borobudur Raya tourism area. The ‘10 New Balis’ ambition by the

Jokowi Administration in 2016 aims to develop tourism potential outside Bali, where 40 percent of foreign tourists enter Indonesia through Bali, to create attractions comparable to Bali (Satrio, 2021). This initiative was materialized through the designation of 10 priority tourism destinations in 2017 across the country, one of which is the Borobudur Raya area (BPIW Kementerian PUPR, 2017). The development of the Borobudur Raya tourism area prompted the central government to plan a series of supporting infrastructures, including the New Yogyakarta International Airport in Kulonprogo, Yogyakarta, as the entry gate for both local and international tourists to the Borobudur Raya area in 2017 (Resnanto, 2017).

On a broader scale, the plan to build a new airport in Yogyakarta was a response to the overcapacity at Adisucipto Airport and the surrounding land conditions that made expansion unfeasible (Resnanto, 2017, p. 3). Therefore, the construction of NYIA was crucial for the Jokowi Administration, which was then realized through the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 98 of 2017 on the Acceleration of the Development and Operation of the New Airport in Kulonprogo Regency, Yogyakarta Special Region (Resnanto, 2017). Despite opposition from the local community, mainly due to agrarian conflicts over land acquisition (*see*. Gifariadi, 2018), the airport began operations in 2019 with the expectation of attracting more than 2 million foreign tourists and 11 million domestic tourists to the Borobudur Raya area (Wardana, 2022, p. 15; Sofianto, 2018). In the context of the Bener Dam construction discourse, the construction of the Bener Dam is essential for the central government, given its capability to provide water supply for the aerotropolis city—the area organized around an airport—at NYIA as the gateway for tourists to the Borobudur Raya area (Wardana, 2022; Edita, 2019). Upon completion, the Bener Dam is expected to supply water for NYIA's operations, with 46.67 percent of the dam's water supply utilized for NYIA's aerotropolis, which requires significant resources (BPIW Kementerian Pekerjaan dan Perumahan Umum, 2018; Saturi, 2018; Kompas.com, 2021). Therefore, on a broader scale, the construction of the Bener Dam is essential for the government as part of the supporting infrastructure, aimed at increasing tourist visits to the Borobudur Temple area—and further its surroundings—as one of the tourist destinations in Indonesia.

Additionally, as the tallest dam in Indonesia—and the second tallest in Southeast Asia—the Bener Dam is projected to become a tourist attraction in its

own right, particularly related to its water resource tourism potential once completed, which is expected to boost the local economy around the Bener Dam and further Purworejo and its surroundings (Khasanah et al., 2023).

The timeline of the Bener Dam Project Development

In 2016, President Joko Widodo issued Presidential Instruction No. 1/2016 to accelerate National Strategic Projects (Proyek Strategis Nasional, PSN). This initiative aimed to expedite various infrastructure projects—including the Bener Dam—as part of the administration's broader vision of leveraging infrastructure projects to serve the public interest and achieve collective national goals (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2016). The instruction emphasized the necessity of both central and regional government involvement in addressing obstacles faced by PSN projects and further supporting the Jokowi Administration's initiatives based on the objective of serving the public good (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 2016).

In 2017, the central government allocated up to Rp 1.2 trillion for land acquisition for the Bener Dam project (Adriansa et al., 2020, p. 143). However, this land acquisition faced opposition from local communities, causing delays (Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing, 2017, p. 30). Consequently, the Central Java Provincial Government issued Announcement 590/0001933 regarding Land Acquisition for the Bener Dam Development in Purworejo and Wonosobo Regencies in line with the central government's directive to assist PSN projects in 2018 (Central Java Provincial Government, 2018). Following this announcement, BBWS SO (*Badan Besar Wilayah Sungai Serayu Opak*), the entity driving the Bener Dam project, secured environmental permits, location permits, and andesite mining permits, valid for two years, with the expectation that the Bener Dam would be operational by 2021 (Wardana, 2022; Kismunthofiah et al., 2022).

Despite progress, the project continued to face significant challenges, particularly regarding the quarry andesite mining permits. In 2020, the government encountered difficulties in the land acquisition process for the quarry site. This led to the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 109 of 2020, which amended the 2016 regulation to specifically address land acquisition for PSN projects. The Central Java Provincial Government extended the land acquisition process for the Bener Dam by one year, hoping to resolve the ongoing land acquisition

issues (Ramadhan, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2022; Tempo.co, 2022).

By the end of 2021, BBWS SO had not yet completed the land acquisition for the Bener Dam, primarily due to ongoing resistance against the andesite quarry mining since 2018 (Ramadhan, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2022; Tempo.co, 2022). The resistance culminated in a violent clash between residents of Wadas Village and the police, who were escorting BBWS SO during the installation of quarry markers. This confrontation resulted in the arrest of 11 villagers on April 23, 2023, highlighting the conflict as a significant issue in 2021 (Tempo.co, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2022).

With the expiration of the mining permit and continued opposition from Wadas residents in 2021, the Central Government, through the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment, urged the Central Java Provincial Government on June 5, 2021, to expedite the Bener Dam project as a National Strategic Project (Wardana, 2022, p. 20). Subsequently, Governor Ganjar Pranowo issued Decree No. 590/20 of 2021, updating the land acquisition location for the Bener Dam in Purworejo, Central Java (Wardana, 2022, p. 20; Tempo, 2022).

Armed with the Governor's decree and requests from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (Kementerian PUPR) and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (Kementerian ATR/BPN) of Purworejo Regency, BBWS SO returned to Wadas Village to survey land for the quarry site on February 8, 2022, accompanied by 250 personnel from the military, police, and municipal police (Tempo.co, 2022). However, the presence of security forces led to repressive actions against anti-mining groups, including internet restrictions, the siege of Wadas Village, and the arrest of 64 individuals, including children, teenagers, and vulnerable groups, who were seen as obstructing the land survey for the Bener Dam construction (Romadlan and Fauziah, 2022, p. 53; Tempo.co, 2022). As of August 2023, progress on the project had reached 39.25 per cent and was still continuing and expected to be completed by the end of 2024, despite resistance from the people of Wadas Village who are directly affected by andesite quarry mining for Bener Dam materials (Laksono, 2023; Purwanti, 2023).

The timeline of the Bener Dam project demonstrates that delays were not caused by technical or financial constraints, but by persistent social resistance and contested land acquisition processes. Rather than addressing the root causes of local opposition—particularly concerns over

environmental damage and livelihoods—the state increasingly relied on regulatory escalation and coercive enforcement.

The repeated issuance of presidential and gubernatorial regulations suggests that the PSN framework prioritises project completion over participatory governance, thereby narrowing the space for meaningful public engagement. This dynamic culminated in the securitisation of land surveys in Wadas Village in 2022, reflecting a shift from developmental governance to coercive state practices. Consequently, the Bener Dam case reveals how National Strategic Projects can reproduce governance contradictions, where acceleration mechanisms paradoxically generate prolonged conflict, social fragmentation, and legitimacy deficits at the local level.

Contestation in the Discourse of Bener Dam Construction

Contestations surrounding the construction of Bener Dam in Purworejo, Central Java, began in 2013 with the MP3EI initiative from President SBY's administration. The community's resistance in Wadas arose from the plan to quarry andesite as construction material for the dam. Residents set up checkpoints to block access for surveyors, police, and company representatives to Wadas Village (Tayibnaxis and Abdurrohim, 2022, p. 271). Andesite, a volcanic rock favored for its high compressive strength in construction, was chosen from Wadas due to its superior quality and proximity (10 km) to the Bener Dam project, thereby reducing operational costs (Kismunthofiah et al., 2022, p. 23; Fitriani, 2022).

The selection of Wadas as one of the impacted villages for the andesite quarry was formalized through the Central Java Governor's Decree No. 590/41 in 2018, issued by Ganjar Pranowo (Kurniawan, 2023; kumparanNEWS, 2022). The andesite mining in Wadas employs drilling, dredging, and blasting with 5,300 tons of dynamite. The production is expected to reach 400,000 cubic meters per year over 30 months, totaling 12,000,000 cubic meters (Isma, 2023). The community's opposition is based on concerns about environmental damage and noise pollution (Kismunthofiah et al., 2022). In 2018, Wadas residents formed GEMPA DEWA to oppose the andesite quarry (Ulum, 2023, p. 6-8).

The opposition continued into 2020, hindering land measurements by BBWS SO and prompting Ganjar Pranowo to extend the quarry permit for another year (CNN Indonesia, 2022). In 2021, the resistance led to demonstrations and clashes with BBWS SO, which planned to install boundary

markers in Wadas Village. These clashes resulted in the arrest of 11 villagers accused of obstructing land measurements (CNN Indonesia, 2021; Tempo.co, 2022). Governor Ganjar then issued Decree No. 590/20 of 2021 on the Renewal of the Land Acquisition Location for the Bener Dam Construction on June 5, 2021 (Wardana, 2022).

Armed with this decree, BBWS SO visited Wadas Village for land measurements on February 8, 2022, accompanied by hundreds of police, military, and Satpol PP officers. This resulted in the arrest of 64 Wadas residents, including children, teenagers, and elders, who were deemed to be obstructing the land measurement process (Anggraini, 2022, p. 2; Wardana, 2022, p. 20-21; Ramadhan, 2022). The escalation of this conflict drew national attention, with criticism directed at President Jokowi and Governor Ganjar Pranowo. Support for the Wadas community came from various groups, including Amnesty International, Komnas HAM, and environmental organizations like Walhi and Greenpeace (Romadlan and Fauziah, 2022; Achyansyah and Husin, 2022; Sulaeman and Mustofa, 2022).

The Wadas community's opposition to the andesite quarry continued into 2023. In February 2023, residents erected the "*Wadas Melawan*" monument to commemorate a year of conflict and demonstrate their ongoing struggle (Balairungpress, 2023). On social media, support for the Wadas community spread with the hashtag #Wadasmelawan and numerous tweets and responses on platforms like Twitter (Arimbi, 2022). The discourse contestation over the Bener Dam construction in Wadas Village, Purworejo, Central Java, involves various groups with differing perspectives and interests, particularly in opposition to the andesite quarry. Using Laclau's discourse analysis framework, this opposition can be analyzed through four main discourses: (1) environmental, (2) eco-spirituality, (3) economic, and (4) legal and human rights aspects.

1. **Environmental Aspect:** Wadas residents are concerned about the loss of 27 water sources crucial for their farming and agriculture (Kismunthofiah et al., 2022; Wahana Lingkungan Hidup, 2022). The andesite quarrying could transform water catchment areas into mining zones, threatening clean water supplies for 200 families (Gempa Dewa in Nuswantoro, 2018). Additionally, the mining increases the risk of landslides and endangers the habitat of the Javan Hawk-Eagle, a protected species and top consumer in the local ecosystem (Budianto, 2022; Muryanto, 2021);
2. **Eco-Spirituality Aspect:** The Wadas community holds strong spiritual beliefs regarding their

environment. The randu alas tree, over 100 years old and considered sacred and they believe that cutting down this tree—for the andesite mining—will bring a disaster of 'blood floods' (*Banjir Darah*) as warned by their ancestors (Muryanto, 2022; Maharani, 2022; Heksantoro, 2022). They adhere to ancestral teachings to protect nature as their "ancestral land" (*Tanah Leleuhur*) (Muryanto, 2022);

3. **Economic Aspect:** Residents fear losing their livelihoods if the andesite quarry proceeds. The economic potential of Wadas Village from natural products is significant, with harvests like petai worth Rp 241 million, sengon wood Rp 2 billion, kemukus Rp 1.35 billion, vanilla Rp 266 million, and durian Rp 1.24 billion annually (Muryanto, 2021). This economic threat motivates them to reject the quarry to maintain their income sources (Maqoma, 2022).
4. **Legal and Human Rights Aspect:** The opposition is grounded in the belief that the Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL) for the Bener Dam quarry is legally flawed. Residents feel they were not given the right to voice their opinions or be involved in decision-making processes regarding the quarry's feasibility (Wardana, 2022; Tempo.co, 2022). Following the arrests of Wadas residents in February 2022, various civil society elements outside Wadas began to criticize—and further voice the rejection of—the andesite quarry in Wadas, reflecting concerns over marginalized communities' rights in infrastructure projects reminiscent of the Soeharto's New Order regime repression patterns (Ramadhan, 2022).

In the context of the discourse surrounding the Bener Dam construction, the unification of various particular demands into one—the rejection of the quarry in Wadas—is made possible by the logic of equivalence in the discursive order, which can unify these particular demands into a larger or universal demand within a chain of equivalence.

"Public Interest" as an empty signifier: Rhetorical strategies of pro-dam groups to deflect the discourse of rejection of andesite quarry mining

As posited by Laclau, the formation of political spaces is shaped by an antagonistic logic. In this research context, resistance to the discourse surrounding the construction of the Bener Dam arises alongside the inherent impossibility of total fixation within the discursive order, allowing for elements that cannot be entirely co-opted. However, the general sentiment among the residents of Wadas

Village is not an outright rejection of the Bener Dam construction in Purworejo Regency, but rather a concern about the andesite quarry mining, which they believe threatens their livelihoods that depend on the surrounding environment (Jamaludin, 2022). Within Laclau's discourse analysis framework, the rejection discourse by the Wadas community against the andesite quarry, if left unaddressed, could threaten the status quo and further endanger the established discourse.

In this context, it is crucial for the pro-dam group—including the central and regional governments, as well as pro-dam community members—to solidify their position within the discourse on the Bener Dam construction to gain public acceptance and create stability within the discursive order. Within Laclau's discourse analysis framework, the strategy of the pro-dam group is to become hegemonic within the discursive order, as Laclau (2008) defines hegemony as “the effort to build inter-discursive relations” and conceptualizes hegemony as a continuous process of various articulation practices responding to political dynamics in social reality, rather than merely the imposition of existing ideas.

The pro-dam group's hegemonic strategy involves ‘quilting’ existing discourses through articulation practices within the discursive order, aiming to make these discourses stable within the discursive order (Laclau, 2008; Kølvråa, 2017, pp. 98-99; Andersen, 2003). Therefore, the collection of discourse articulations in the construction of meaning becomes essential to analyze how a meaning can become stable and hegemonic within the discursive order (Narwaya, 2021, pp. 5-6).

Given the urgency articulated by the pro-dam group, the construction of the Bener Dam as a National Strategic Project (PSN) is promoted as a significant initiative embodying the ‘public interest,’ encompassing national and societal interests. According to Laclau (in Howarth, 2000), the goal of hegemony is “to form and stabilize a system of meaning through articulation practices,” making the analysis of nodal point fixation crucial. A nodal point is a derivative of articulation practices that strives to achieve hegemony in discourse by limiting perception without becoming the core of the discourse.

In Laclau's discourse analysis framework, the discourse of ‘public interest’ can be seen as an empty signifier that becomes a nodal point or a word with rich meaning binding other moments. Therefore, the articulation of ‘greater benefit’ by the government and the pro-Bener Dam group is an essential effort to legitimize the Bener Dam project in discourse

by building relationships with previous meanings, namely the discourse of ‘public interest,’ which in formal legal aspects refers to the interests of the nation, state, and society, ideally the responsibility of the government to achieve for the people's prosperity (Harjanti, 2011).

On a broader scale, understanding infrastructure development as the realization of public interest relates to President Jokowi's government's efforts to achieve equitable development through a series of infrastructure projects in line with the fifth principle of Pancasila to achieve “Social Justice for All Indonesian People” (Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia, 2018; Pribadi, 2020; Kementerian Sekretariat Negara, 2019; Ekayanta, 2019). Therefore, President Jokowi's government has designated a series of infrastructure projects—including the Bener Dam—as PSN with the aim of achieving equitable development.

In the discourse on the construction of the Bener Dam, its legal status as PSN, which the government promotes as an effort to realize the ‘public interest’ as stated in Presidential Instruction No. 1/2016 on the Acceleration of PSN Implementation, the initiation of PSN by the Jokowi Administration—including the Bener Dam—is intended for the public interest of the Indonesian people (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2016). The central government also emphasizes the important role of both central and regional governments in supporting and accelerating the implementation of PSN as an effort to realize this ‘public interest’ (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 2016).

Based on the urgency of the ‘public interest,’ the government has taken steps to ‘smooth’ the Bener Dam project as PSN, including the necessary andesite quarry mining (Wardana, 2022; Sejarot & Hariri, 2023; Hermansyah, 2022). On the ground, this influences bureaucratic perceptions of the Bener Dam project as something non-negotiable for the greater benefit (Ika, 2022; Tempo.co, 2022).

In the discourse on the construction of the Bener Dam, its status as PSN, based on the effort to realize the public interest, is used by the pro-dam group to achieve meaning fixation and counter the discourse of rejecting the andesite quarry, which is suspected of environmental damage and licensing defects. The efforts of the government and the pro-dam community to dominate the structure of the ‘public interest’ discourse are carried out through a series of articulation practices within the discursive order as an effort to build relationships with other discourses and form political identities.

The articulation of the ‘public interest’ discourse in the construction of the Bener Dam can be traced through information publications by the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (PUPR) in 2018, where the construction of the Bener Dam was articulated as a government effort to improve the welfare of the wider community, with the quote: “The benefits of the Bener Dam are entirely for the public interest to improve the welfare of the community” (Ministry of PUPR in KumparanNEWS, 2022).

In 2018, the Central Java Provincial Government also endorsed this discourse by issuing announcement 590/0001933 on Land Acquisition for the Construction of the Bener Dam in Purworejo Regency and Wonosobo Regency, articulating the dam and andesite quarry in line with the central government’s efforts to realize greater benefits (Central Java Provincial Government, 2018). The ‘public interest’ discourse is also responded to by government actors and the pro-dam community, especially in response to the discourse of rejecting the andesite quarry by the residents of Wadas Village. For instance, in 2018, Purworejo Regent Agus Bastian stated that the construction of the Bener Dam aligns with the “state interest” as regulated by law and that state interests are more important than individual or group interests (Bagelen Channel, 2018). In 2021, Regent Agus reiterated his support for the Bener Dam construction project initiated by the Central Government, emphasizing its benefits for the Purworejo community (Purworejo Regency Government, 2021).

Dwi Purwantoro, Head of BBWS SO, in a 2021 press conference, asserted that the construction of the Bener Dam is based on the ‘people’s interest,’ especially the Purworejo community, with a series of positive impacts once the project is completed (Sidik, 2021). In 2022, the articulation related to the ‘public interest’ discourse became dominant, especially in response to the rejection of the andesite quarry and the escalation of the Wadas conflict. On February 9, 2022, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Mahfud MD emphasized in a press conference that the construction of the Bener Dam is based on the ‘people’s interest,’ especially for the Central Java community, in line with the urgency of PSN (Kompas.TV, 2022).

This articulation is also supported by Rahman Hidayat from the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment, who emphasized various benefits of the Bener Dam for the Purworejo and Central Java communities in water resource management (kumparanNews, 2022; Baheramasyah, 2022). Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources

Arifin Tasrif also stated that the Bener Dam project is the embodiment of ‘national interest,’ including the andesite quarry, which does not need separate licensing (Maulidar, 2022).

Central Java Governor Ganjar Pranowo emphasized the Bener Dam project as a realization of ‘national interest’ (as Governor Ganjar verbatim said “*Kepentingan Merah Putih*”) that provides significant benefits for the community, especially in Central Java and Purworejo Regency (Humas Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Tengah, 2022; Rizqy, 2022). This articulation is also supported by Purworejo Regent Agus Bastian, who urged the residents of Wadas Village to prioritize the “broader community interest” (Purworejo Regency Government, 2022). Support for this project was also articulated by Polosoro and DPD Papdesi organizations, emphasizing that the project is based on the ‘broad community interest’ (Utamining, 2022).

Pro-project community elements also articulated the ‘public interest’ discourse, such as Denny Siregar, who stated that the construction of the Bener Dam is based on President Jokowi’s grand vision to achieve food self-sufficiency and the welfare of the surrounding community (COKRO TV, 2022). Purworejo community leader KH Asmuni also supported the project, stating that its purpose is to prosper the residents of Wadas Village and Purworejo (Hamdani, 2022). A similar articulation was made by Siti Rodiah from Wadas Village, who supported the Bener Dam project because it is considered for the public interest and provides water benefits for the Purworejo community (Kompas.tv, 2022).

Through these articulations, the pro-dam group—including the central government, local governments, and pro-dam communities—discourse the construction of the Bener Dam as an effort to realize the “public interest” for the community, especially in Central Java Province and Purworejo Regency. The success of this discourse can be understood as an effort to build a relationship between the Bener Dam project and the ‘public interest’ discourse to achieve hegemony and obtain legitimacy in the discourse.

Within the realm of discourse antagonism, a series of articulations framing the construction of the Bener Dam as the embodiment of the public interest by the pro-dam group can be read as an effort to strengthen the position of various actors with the same demand within the discursive order and further become hegemonic within a meaning structure. This can also be seen as a strategy to disrupt the chain of equivalence formed by the group opposing the andesite quarry, or in Laclau’s terms, turning ‘universal’ demands back into ‘particular’ ones.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that pro-dam actors—comprising central and regional government institutions as well as pro-dam community groups—actively articulated the construction of the Bener Dam as an embodiment of the “public interest” in response to resistance against andesite quarry mining in Wadas Village. Through the aggregation of various developmental urgencies, the discourse of “public interest” functioned as a nodal point that unified these actors under a shared political demand: the continuation of the Bener Dam project as part of the National Strategic Projects framework. In this discursive formation, the pro-dam actors positioned themselves as legitimate representatives of collective welfare, while simultaneously framing the dam’s construction as necessary and inevitable for the broader population of Purworejo Regency and Central Java.

From the perspective of Laclau’s discourse analysis, this articulation not only stabilized the meaning of development but also produced political identities within the discursive field. The pro-dam discourse constructed a clear subject position aligned with “public interest,” while assigning negative signifiers to groups opposing the quarry, thereby marginalising counter-discourses. However, as discourse is inherently contingent and never fully closed, this hegemonic articulation remains open to challenge. The findings of this study thus highlight that contestation over the Bener Dam is not merely about infrastructure development, but about struggles over meaning, legitimacy, and whose interests are recognised within development discourse—pointing to the ongoing possibility of re-articulating alternative, community-centered understandings of development.

REFERENCE

- Achyansyah, M. N., & Husin, L. H. (2022). Kajian analisis kritis Norman Fairclough dalam pemberitaan Project Multatuli “Wadon Wadas menjaga alam untuk anak-cucu”. *Jurnal Ilmiah Widya Sosiopolitika*.
- Adam, B. (2022). *Pemberitaan pembangunan bendungan di Desa Wadas pada Kompas.com dan Viva.co.id (Analisis framing Robert N. Entman)* [Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Nasional].
- Adriansa, M. Z., Adhim, N., & Silviana, A. (2020). Pengadaan tanah bagi pembangunan Bendungan Bener di Desa Wadas Kabupaten Purworejo (Tahap I). *Diponegoro Law Journal*, 9(1), 138-154.
- Ahlers, R., Brandimarte, L., Kleemans, I., & Sadat, S. H. (2014). Ambitious development on fragile foundations: Criticalities of current large dam construction in Afghanistan. *Geoforum*, 54, 49-58.
- Anggraeni, R. M. (2022). Konflik agraria pembangunan Bendungan Bener Purworejo: Perspektif yuridis normatif. *El-Dusturie*, 1(1).
- Arimbi. (2022). Merunut solidaritas Wadas di Twitter & melihat akun yang paling berpengaruh. Netray.com. Retrieved from <https://analysis.netray.id/merunut-solidaritas-wadas-di-twitter-melihat-akun-yang-paling-berpengaruh/>
- Atkins, E. (2018). Dams, political framing, and sustainability as an empty signifier: The case of Belo Monte. *Area*, 50(2), 232-239.
- Di Baldassarre, G., Mazzoleni, M., & Rusca, M. (2021). The legacy of large dams in the United States. *Ambio*, 50(10), 1798-1808.
- Dewan Sumber Daya Air Nasional. (2019). *Rekomendasi Isu Strategis Ketahanan Air*.
- Flaminio, S., Piégay, H., & Le Lay, Y. F. (2021). To dam or not to dam in an age of Anthropocene: Insights from a genealogy of media discourses. *Anthropocene*, 36, 100312.
- Heksantoro, R. (2022). Warga Wadas ungkap mitos pertumpahan darah jika ada tambang di desanya. Detik.com. Retrieved from <https://www.detik.com/jateng/berita/d-5955634/warga-wadas-ungkap-mitos-pertumpahan-darah-jika-ada-tambang-di-desanya>
- Howarth, D. (2000). *Discourse*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Howarth, D. (2014). An interview with Ernesto Laclau.
- Hutagalung, D. (2004). Hegemoni, kekuasaan, dan ideologi. *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial, Politik, dan Hak Asasi Manusia*, 74(1), 1-17.
- Jørgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. Sage.
- Kementerian PUPR. (2017). Laporan kinerja Direktorat Jenderal Sumber Daya Air tahun 2017. Retrieved from <https://sda.pu.go.id/assets/files/be87c-lakip-ditjen-sda-2017.pdf>

- Kementerian PUPR. (2019). Rencana strategis Direktorat Sumber Daya Air 2015-2019. Retrieved from <https://sda.pu.go.id/assets/files/REVISI-RENSTRA-SDA-2015-2019-12102019.pdf>
- Kismunthofiah, K., Masyitoh, D., Hidayatullah, A. F., & Safitri, R. M. (2022). Socio-ecological analysis of andesite mining plans in Wadas Village, Purworejo, Central Java. *Masyarakat, Jurnal Sosiologi*, 26(1), 3.
- Kølvrå, C. (2017). The discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau. In *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Politics* (pp. 96-108). Routledge.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2008). *Hegemoni dan strategi sosialis: Post Marxisme dan gerakan sosial baru*. Yogyakarta: Resist Book.
- Maqoma, R. I. (2022). Ekospiritualitas memicu sengitnya penolakan warga Wadas terhadap penambangan andesit. The Conversation. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/ekospiritualitas-memicu-sengitnya-penolakan-warga-wadas-terhadap-penambangan-andesit-177733>
- McCully, P. (1996). *Silenced rivers: The ecology and politics of large dams*.
- Muryanto, B. (2022). Tanah Surga' Wadas dijadikan tambang: 'Mengapa pemerintah menindas petani?. Project Multatuli. Retrieved from <https://projectmultatuli.org/tanah-surga-wadas-dijadikan-tambang-mengapa-pemerintah-menindas-petani/>
- Narwaya, S. T. G. (2021). Discourse Analysis in the Perspective of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. *Journal Communication Spectrum: Capturing New Perspectives in Communication*, 11(1), 1-11.
- Netray. (2022). Menilik media online populer yang getol kawal konflik di Wadas. Retrieved from <https://analysis.netray.id/media-online-populer-yang-getol-kawal-konflik-wadas/>
- Nursalim, N., & Riyono, S. (2022). Analisis perlawanan perempuan terhadap kebijakan pemerintah dalam penambangan batu andesit di Desa Wadas. *Mimbar Administrasi*, 19(1), 32-49.
- Patmasari, E., & Ilham. (2022). Multiplier effect of dam development in Indonesia. *Research and Analysis Journal*, 5(9), 17-23. <https://doi.org/10.18535/raj.v5i9.339>
- Romadlan, S., & Fauziah, I. (2022). Konstruksi realitas media online mengenai kekerasan aparat kepolisian di Desa Wadas, Jawa Tengah. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi dan Media*, 26(1), 53-70.
- Sulaeman, K. M., & Mustofa, M. U. (2022). Potret paradigma developmentalisme baru Jokowi dalam film dokumenter "Wadas Waras" (2021): Kajian analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough. *JISIPOL | Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 6(2).
- Tayibnapis, R. G., & Abdurrohman, M. (2022). Virtual social movement in a Wadas citizens support network on Twitter. *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 9(5), 270-282.
- van Vliet, L. (2023). Deconstructing Neo-Colonialism: Germany and Senegal's Potential Gas Partnership and its Implications (Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam Amsterdam, The Netherlands).
- Wardana, A. (2022). Geografi hukum proyek strategis nasional: Studi kasus Bendungan Bener di Purworejo, Jawa Tengah. *Undang: Jurnal Hukum*, 5(1), 1-41.
- WALHI Yogyakarta. (2022). Bingkai kepentingan program pembangunan dan tambang andesit di Wadas. Retrieved from <https://walhi-jogja.or.id/index.php/2022/08/26/bingkai-kepentingan-program-pembangunan-dan-tambang-andesit-di-wadas/>