

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WADUK GAJAH MUNGKUR AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE WONOGIRI COMMUNITY

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Abstract

Infrastructure development during the New Order era served as one of the state's instruments for driving economic growth and social transformation. One such strategic project was the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir in Wonogiri Regency, Central Java. This study aims to analyse the background to the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir and its impact on the socio-economic development of the Wonogiri community from the perspective of state-led development. The research employs a historical method with a qualitative approach through four stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation and historiography. The research sources consist of government archives, development reports, statistical data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), contemporary newspapers, as well as various secondary sources in the form of relevant books and academic articles. The research findings indicate that the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir was not only driven by the need for water resource management and flood control, but also formed part of the state's development strategy to address structural issues in Wonogiri, such as low agricultural productivity, limited water resources, poverty, and high labour out-migration. The existence of the reservoir has brought about socio-economic changes, including increased irrigation-based agricultural productivity, the emergence of new economic sectors such as fisheries and tourism, and rising community incomes. On the other hand, it has led to social changes in the form of population relocation and changes to people's livelihoods. It can therefore be concluded that the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir has had an impact on the socio-economic sector of the Wonogiri community.

Keywords: Infrastructure development; Gajah Mungkur reservoir; New order; Socio-economic transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Infrastructure development is seen as the main instrument in encouraging economic growth, improving regional connectivity, and reducing development gaps between regions. From the perspective of modern development, infrastructure functions not only as physical facilities, but also as a means of social transformation that can change people's life patterns through increased productivity, mobility, and access to economic resources (Calderón & Servén, 2010). Various studies show that large-scale infrastructure development, especially dams and reservoirs, contributes to increasing agricultural productivity, energy supply, flood control, as well as the development of new economic sectors such as fisheries and tourism (Ansar et al., 2014; Duflo & Pande, 2007). However, infrastructure development can also have social consequences in the form of population relocation, changes in livelihood structures, and shifts in the social relations of local communities (Cernea, 2000).

Infrastructure development became one of the main agendas of the New Order government through a national development policy known as the Development Trilogy, which emphasized stability, economic growth, and equitable development. The implementation of these policies is realized through various large-scale infrastructure projects such as highways, dams, power plants, and irrigation networks directed to support the modernization of the national economy

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Article History | Submitted: 6 May 2026 | Revised: 30 June 2026 | Accepted: 5 July 2026 | Publish: 16 July 2026

HOW TO CITE (APA 6th Edition):

Abudan, Rizky Ahmad., Purwanta, Hieronymus. (2026). The Construction of the Waduk Gajah Mungkur and its Influence on the Socio-Economic Development of the Wonogiri Community. *Juspi: Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam*. 10(1), page.171-180

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.30829/juspi.v10i1.29812>

(Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008). One of the strategic projects developed in that period was the construction of the Mungkur Elephant Reservoir in Wonogiri Regency, Central Java.

The construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir is motivated by the geographical conditions of Wonogiri Regency which is dominated by hilly land, relatively low soil fertility, and limited water resources for agriculture. Before the construction of the reservoir, most of the people of Wonogiri still relied on the traditional season-based agricultural system (*pranoto mongso*) so that agricultural productivity tends to be low and prone to drought (Badrudin, 2014). The limited resources also have an impact on the high level of poverty, labor migration out of the region, and the increasing social vulnerability of the local community.

Several previous studies on the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir have focused on the issue of transmigration and population relocation due to reservoir construction. Research by Saputra (2016) entitled, "Migration (Village Bedol Village) of the Wonogiri Community: The Impact of the Development of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir in 1976-1990", emphasizes the impact of population movement through the village bedol program, while the research by Prasetyo and Wasino (2024) is entitled "Environmental and social impacts of Gajah Mungkur reservoir development 1972-1992", more highlight the environmental and social impacts of reservoir construction. Although these studies make an important contribution in understanding the dynamics of the development of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir, attention to the relationship between infrastructure development and the socio-economic transformation of local communities is in a historical perspective. This research emphasizes more about infrastructure development functioning as an instrument of socio-economic transformation that occurs in the community in the long term because large infrastructure projects not only result in physical changes in the region, but also shape the broader social dynamics of the community.

Based on these problems, this study aims to analyze the background of the construction of the Mungkur Elephant Reservoir and its influence on the socio-economic development of the Wonogiri community during the New Order period. This research argues that the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir not only functions as an infrastructure for water resource management, but also as an instrument of state intervention that plays a role in shaping the socio-economic transformation of local communities. This study is expected to contribute to the study of development history, especially regarding the relationship between state infrastructure development and socio-economic changes of the community at the regional level.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a historical method with a qualitative approach to examine the background of the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir and its influence on the socio-economic development of the Wonogiri community during the New Order period. The historical method is used to systematically reconstruct past events through critical analysis of historical sources and interpretation of social phenomena according to the context of the times (Gottschalk, 1985).

This research uses the perspective of New Order development theory by placing infrastructure development as a form of state-led development that not only aims to encourage economic growth, but also shape social changes in society. During the New Order period, national development emphasized three main principles known as the Development Trilogy, namely stability, economic growth, and equitable distribution of development results (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008: 583). Within this framework, infrastructure development is seen not only as a technical means to meet economic needs, but also as an instrument of the state in encouraging modernization and social transformation of society. Therefore, the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir is understood as part of a national development strategy that has an influence on changes in the social and economic structure of local communities who are mostly dependent on the agricultural sector.

The research process is carried out through four main stages, namely heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013). The first stage is heuristic, which

is the process of collecting historical sources that are relevant to the research topic. Primary sources in this study include reports on the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir, archives from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), statistical data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), contemporary newspapers, documents from the Bengawan Solo Project, and official reports from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The secondary sources are in the form of books, journal articles, theses, and previous research related to infrastructure development, local history, and socio-economic changes in the community.

The second stage is source criticism which is carried out to test the validity and credibility of historical sources. External criticism is used to assess the authenticity of documents based on the source origin, year of publication, and publishing institution, while internal criticism is carried out to assess the correctness of the source content, the consistency of the data, and the level of trust of the information obtained (Daliman, 2012, p. 52). This stage is done to reduce the possibility of bias and ensure that the source used has a high level of validity.

The next stage is interpretation carried out through thematic and contextual analysis. Historical facts obtained from archives, development reports, statistical data, and newspapers are classified into several themes of discussion, including the socio-economic conditions of the community before the construction of the reservoir, the process of infrastructure development, population relocation, and post-operational socio-economic changes of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir. The results of the analysis were then interpreted using the perspective of New Order development to explain how state-driven infrastructure development played a role in shaping changes in the economic structure and social dynamics of the Wonogiri community.

The last stage is historiography, which is the process of compiling historical facts into the form of a systematic, chronological, and analytical narrative based on the results of source criticism and interpretation that has been carried out (Gottschalk, 1986). Through this approach, the research not only describes historical events, but also explains the relationship between the country's development policies and the socio-economic transformation of local communities in more depth.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Background of the Construction of the Mungkur Elephant Reservoir

Wonogiri Regency is the southernmost area of Central Java Province. The name Wonogiri comes from the word *wono* meaning *pedestals* or forest and *giri* means mountain, so it is interpreted as an area consisting of pedestals and mountains. The soil condition in Wonogiri is classified as arid and barren with hilly contours. Many small rivers will later become the headwaters of the Bengawan Solo River (BPS Wonogiri, 1974).

The condition of the soil makes the agricultural system in Wonogiri dependent on the season. Farmers still use *the pranoto mongso system*, which is a calendar guided by the season. The calculation of seasons is not based on the year AD but the results of observations and analyses on events that recur in several decades of seasons that occur in Javanese society (Badrudin, 2014). The season is *the season of labuhan, rendhengan, mrengan, and ketigo*. The division of the season into four aims to determine what crops are suitable for farmers to plant. *Labuhan* is a transition season from dry season to rain. In this season, farmers begin to prepare the fields to be planted during the rainy season. The *rendhengan* season is the rainy season, in this season farmers plant rice. The *marengan* season is the transition season from the rainy season to the dry season. Farmers began to prepare land to replace rice for palawija. The *ketigo* season is the dry season, farmers start planting palawija as a substitute for rice due to the lack of rainwater. Agricultural systems that only rely on the season cause agricultural productivity to be less optimal due to lack of water sources (Afrianto, 2015).

The natural conditions and agricultural land cannot produce sufficient food production for the community, as a result of which Wonogiri is an area with poor food and high poverty levels.

This was shown in the 1970s because the high cost of rice from the Wonogiri people made tiwul rice derived from cassava or cassava dried into gaplek and then processed into a staple food instead of rice (Ratnaningsih, 2017).

The lack of regional potential makes the migration factor or migrating the people of Wonogiri to big cities also high. They work as laborers, servants, and other jobs, the hope is that by leaving Wonogiri they can change their fate for the better. The number of people who carry out mobility outside the region (*boro*) is more than 10% of the total population of Wonogiri. On average, the growth of the labor force in Wonogiri Regency is 10.9% and the labor absorption rate is only 1%. That reality triggers the phenomenon of Wonogiri labor mobility outside the region, especially big cities such as Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, and Bekasi which are considered to be able to provide better life expectancy (Tirta Putri, 2022).

The low economic level certainly also has an impact on the social conditions of the community related to the level of social vulnerability such as crime, divorce and suicide. The crime rate in Wonogiri can be said to be high. Based on BPS Wonogiri data from 1969 – 1974, the total number of crimes that occurred was 2,011 cases.

Table 1: Crime Rate in Wonogiri Regency in 1969-1974

(Source: BPS Wonogiri 1974)

No	Crime	Year					
		1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
1	Combustion	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Penculikan	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Murder	0	3	0	1	1	4
4	Theft	377	327	295	316	337	265
5	Robbery	20	8	2	7	15	4
6	Rape	19	1	0	0	0	1
7	Divorce	1	1	0	2	2	0
		419	340	297	326	355	274

Based on the table above, it shows that the crime rate in Wonogiri Regency is too high, especially in theft cases which are almost 90% of the crimes that occurred in 1969-1974. This happens because the poor environment of the community results in all means being done to meet their economic needs. This difficult economic fulfillment factor also has an impact on the number of divorces in Wonogiri Regency. BPS Wonogiri data shows that the number of divorces was recorded at 2,128 cases throughout 1974 (BPS Wonogiri, 1974).

Therefore, infrastructure development plays an important role in increasing social and economic growth in a region. The New Order development theory places infrastructure development as a form of *state-led development* with the state as the main actor in the planning and implementation of development. Infrastructure is not only used to drive economic growth, but also becomes an instrument of social transformation through regional integration, population mobility, and the formation of new social structures (Dove & Kammen, 2001).

The condition of limited water resources in Wonogiri Regency is the main factor that encourages the state to intervene in development through the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir project. In the perspective of *state-led development*, infrastructure development is not only intended to provide physical facilities, but also as an instrument to change the economic structure of society. This can be seen from the reservoir development policy which is not only directed at providing

irrigation, but also at creating job opportunities and diversifying the regional economy. The increase in employment during the development process and the implementation of irrigation systems throughout the year show that the state is trying to reduce people's dependence on seasonal agricultural systems that previously led to low productivity.

Before there was the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir, the Wonogiri area was difficult to water, both for agricultural and industrial irrigation needs. The Gajah Mungkur Reservoir has an impact on changing lives both socially *and* economically. The project will require 13,000 workers annually during the construction period. In the agricultural sector, job opportunities are also created because of the introduction of a year-round irrigation farming system, no longer dependent on the season. In addition, it is also a solution to solve flood problems and provide electrification for the Wonogiri area and its surroundings (JICA, 1976:).

The construction of reservoirs as an effort to increase agricultural productivity is the main goal, because the people of Wonogiri are mostly farmers. This is shown by the results of gross regional domestic *product* according to the business field in 1975-1980 showing that the agricultural sector contributes the highest gross regional domestic product (GDP) compared to other sectors. In addition, the reservoir is also expected to grow other sectors such as tourism, industry, trade and services.

PRODUK DOMESTIK REGIONAL BRUTO MENURUT LAPANGAN USAHA, ATAS DASAR HARGA BERLAKU DI KABUPATEN WONOGIRI: 1975 - 1980
(Jutaan Rupiah)

Lapangan Usaha	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. Pertanian	18.056,350	19.921,400	24.385,890	31.321,320	46.245,250	66.683,990
2. Pertambangan/Penggalan	239,140	284,850	296,890	333,570	416,610	494,970
3. Industri	380,596	410,668	523,616	602,737	890,024	1.170,747
4. Listrik, Gas dan Air Minum	15,450	20,430	23,770	29,190	42,320	57,170
5. Bangunan	667,489	974,841	1.278,916	2.070,012	2.020,093	2.150,963
6. Transport dan Komunikasi	866,889	1.242,547	1.939,641	3.166,616	4.246,136	5.432,016
7. Perdagangan Besar, Eceran, Restoran,	5.068,951	5.333,962	6.546,377	8.404,780	12.744,663	18.254,779
8. Bank dan Lembaga Keuangan	243,170	365,130	507,030	589,820	822,480	1.101,980
9. Sewa Rumah	666,330	798,020	866,780	950,040	1.169,890	1.380,000
10. Pemerintahan, Pertahanan	2.855,087	3.360,534	4.306,404	4.900,487	6.513,055	9.179,101
11. Jasa-jasa	946,112	1.365,386	1.518,961	1.892,289	2.531,568	3.006,938
Produk Domestik Regional Bruto	30.964,524	34.076,668	42.194,045	54.370,771	77.581,589	108.912,843
Jumlah Penduduk Pertengahan Tahun (jiwa)	934.716	943.183	946.456	939.962	940.625	942.955
PDRB per KAPITA (Rp)	32.100,15	36.129,43	44.581,10	57.843,58	82.478,58	115.501,42

Figure 1 : Table of Gross Regional Domestic Product Results 1975-1980

(Source: BPS Central Java, 1982)

The plan for the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir had been formulated long before the Bengawan Solo flood problem in 1966. The initial stage began with field observations and engineering studies in collaboration with Japan from 1963 to 1965. However, in that year the development could *not* be carried out due to unstable national political and economic conditions. Until finally there was a major flood of the Bengawan Solo River in 1966 and 1968 which became the turning point for the government to immediately realize the Gajah Mungkur multipurpose reservoir project and to increase agricultural productivity. In the end, the reservoir construction plan was reviewed and its construction was formulated through technical cooperation with the Japanese government in 1972-1974. The Japanese government sent a field survey team led by N. Aihara and 20 other experts and companies such as OECF (*Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund*), Nippon Koei Co., Ltd., Japan Engineering Consultants Co., Ltd, and CTI Engineering Co., Ltd. After the planning and survey stage was completed, the government approved the construction of the Gajah Mungkur reservoir by issuing the decree of the Minister of Public Works and Electricity No. 135/KTPS/1969. This decision indicates that the Gajah Mungkur multipurpose reservoir project can start (Prasetyo, 2024).

The construction uses a budget of Rp 59.78 billion. The funds come from the State Budget (State Revenue and Expenditure Budget) with details of more than 36 billion and the rest from loans from the Japanese side through *Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund* (OECF) as an intermediary of more than 22 billion. In 1976 a contract was signed with Nippon Koei Cp. Ltd Consulting Engineer who designed the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir. The

construction involved around 2500 workers and 35 Nippon Koei Co. Ltd Consultants from Japan (Sidiq, 2023).

The development began with land acquisition. An area of 9,500 hectares is needed, but only 8,800 hectares are used as inundation areas and the rest is for green land or *green belts* around *reservoirs*. Community land is compensated according to the value of the land. The good and bad of the land has been regulated by the parameters of the location of the land and its conditions, with the levels of classes I, II, III, IV, and so on. The value per meter of the soil varies depending on the soil class. Class I per meter land will be different from the price per meter class II and so on, so later it will only be multiplied by how many m² of land you have. This replacement is carried out as a whole of property and objects owned such as land, houses and plants that have been grouped have different nominal compensation, for example houses that are permanent walls have the highest compensation price, and so on. In addition to compensation in the form of money for residents affected by this development, they were also given the opportunity to work on the Gajah Mungkur project (Ngadijo, 1986).

Table 2. Compensation for communities affected by the construction of the reservoir (Source : Kompas 23 September 1976)

No	Types of Indemnity	Amount of Damages
1	Wall House	IDR 6,000/m ²
2	Wooden house	IDR 2,500/m ²
3	Bamboo house	IDR1,750/m ²
4	Well	IDR 2,500 to IDR 7,500
5	Yard Land	IDR117 to IDR175/m ²
6	Rice Fields	IDR 95 to IDR 190/m ²
7	Farm	IDR28 to IDR70m ²
8	Teak Tree	IDR 2,000/rod
9	Clove Tree	IDR 1,500/bar
10	Cashew Tree	IDR 100/bar
11	Mango Tree	IDR200/bar

After the community received land acquisition. The next stage is transfer by transmigration. The areas affected by the construction of reservoirs are 51 villages from 6 sub-districts, so that the residents of these areas are transferred by transmigration to other areas. This transmigration program is known as "Village Bedol Transmigration". Village bedol transmigration is the movement of the entire population including village officials from one place to the same destination. This program moved the entire population to several different areas, namely: Sawahluto/Sijunjung Regency in West Sumatra Province, Tebo Regency in Jambi Province and North Bengkulu Regency and in Bengkulu Province. This happens because the destination area is insufficient to accommodate residents in the same area so it needs to be spread to several areas (Afrianto, 2015).

The total population displaced due to the Gajah Mungkur reservoir construction project was 12,567 families or as many as 67,517 people (Kompas: September 23, 1976). The relocation shows that large-scale infrastructure development not only generates economic changes, but also creates significant social consequences. In the context of the development of the New Order, population relocation can be understood as part of the process of reorganizing social space carried out by the state to support the national development agenda. The *village bedol* policy shows how the importance of economic development is placed as a top priority, although on the other hand it

brings about changes in the social structure, community networks, and life patterns of local communities.

The relocated population came from 6 sub-districts in Wonogiri with details: Wonogiri District with a total of 945 families with a total of 5,105 people, Nguntoronadi with 3,527 families with a total of 19,521 people, Wuryantoro a total of 2,679 families with a total of 14,122 people, Giriwoyo a total of 404 families with a total of 2,280 people, Eromoko a total of 1,197 families with a total of 6,265 people and the most is Baturetno district with 3,815 families with a total of 20,224 people (Wonogiri Reservoir Flooded Population Data Report, 1976). As a commemoration of the Bedol Village event, a monument was built in the form of a statue of a child, a farmer and a mother holding her child by waving her hand backwards as if to tell them that they were going to leave their hometown. This monument is located in Pokoh Kidul Village, Wonogiri District which is called the Bedol Village Monument.

The implementation of reservoir construction was between 1976 and the initial stage of soil excavation and transportation of dam materials. Furthermore, the main construction of the dam was carried out in 1978 starting from the dam body, *spillway* and *waterway* as well as road relocation until 1980. After the dam body was completed and the relocation of the population was completed, the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir began to be filled with water by closing the dam. The construction process was officially completed in 1981 and inaugurated by President Soeharto on November 17, 1981 at the Bedol Village Monument Plaza (Report on the Implementation of the Wonogiri Dam, ANRI).

Socio-Economic Impact of the Construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir

The Mungkur elephant reservoir provides water availability for agriculture in Wonogiri and its surroundings. This is shown by agricultural products experiencing an increase in productivity. From 1975 to 1981 agricultural products were only stagnant in the range of 100 thousand tons per year, a maximum of only 184,076 tons in 1981. Starting in 1984 with the operation of 100% of the reservoir and its irrigation, rice agricultural yields increased to 200 thousand tons per year. The increase in post-operational agricultural yields of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir shows that water infrastructure has an important role in encouraging regional economic transformation. The increase in production is not only due to the availability of irrigation water, but also to the change in community production patterns from a season-based farming system to a more intensive farming system. This finding strengthens the view that infrastructure development during the New Order period became an instrument of the state to increase productivity while integrating local communities into a more modern economic system (BPS Central Java, 1982).

In addition to the agricultural sector, reservoirs also have an impact on the fisheries sector. Before there was the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir based on data from the central statistics agency, there were no people working in the fisheries sector. BPS data shows that from 1979 to 1984 fishermen in Wonogiri district were still nil, only 34 people were found to work in the fisheries sector in 1985. The reservoir is an ideal location for the cultivation of freshwater fish such as tilapia, mujair, catfish and shrimp with the karamba system (BPS Wonogiri, 1979).

The Gajah Mungkur Reservoir is a multipurpose reservoir because in addition to having an agricultural function, it is also for fisheries, hydropower, tourism and sports objects. Based on reports recorded from January 15, 1982 to January 21, 1982, speedboat passengers were 1,336 adult passengers and 363 child passengers. A total of 1,699 people traveled by speedboat in a week. This shows the very high enthusiasm of visitors for tourist attractions that were still new at that time. In addition to being a recreational place, the Mungkur Elephant Reservoir is also used to hold national sports events, one of which is the Wonogiri marathon national championship (Weekly Report on Passenger Transportation Density at the Kedung Areng Tourism Object, Wonogiri Dam, Directorate General of Land Transportation, 1982).



Figure 2: Photo of the prize giving ceremony at the Plaza (Source: Ngadijo, 1986)

The Third National Marathon Championship was held on December 28, 1983. This marathon is national in nature whose participants come from various regions in Indonesia. The start of the marathon started from the Sambiroto field, Pracimantoro and finished at the Plaza with a distance of about 43 km and was attended by 351 participants. The plaza is one of the icons in the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir, which is located to the east of the dam where there is a statue of Bedol Desa and a large courtyard and is also the location of the inauguration of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir by President Soeharto on November 17, 1981. In the third edition of the marathon, it was won by the first winner Yacob Attaruri from Irian Jaya with a time of 2 hours 32 minutes 36 seconds, followed by the second place Obaja Rumpedai from Irian Jaya with a time of 2 hours 34 minutes 34 seconds, and in third place was Bambang Istiawan from Salatiga with a time of 2 hours 36 minutes 56 seconds (Ngadijo, 1986).

Another sports championship held at the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir is a bicycle race which is also held every year by competing for the trophy of the Minister of Public Works. This bicycle championship covers a distance of about 100 km with the route starting Plaza and finishing also at the Plaza. The route taken is: start Palza then go west towards Wuryantoro, Eromoko, Pracimantoro, Giritontro, Giriwoyo, Baturetno, Nguntoronadi, Ngadirojo and enter Wonogiri City and finish at the Plaza. The majority of participants in this bicycle race come from outside the city such as Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. Not to be missed are national racers such as Sutiyo, Eceng, and Yusuf (Ngadijo, 1986).

The poverty rate in Wonogiri Regency has also decreased because the existence of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir contributes to increasing agricultural irrigation, crop yields, job opportunities in the fisheries and tourism sectors which indirectly increases the income of the local community. This is shown by the per capita income that increased again before the existence of the reservoir was only around Rp. 24,036.00 to Rp. 48,371.62. The Mungkur Elephant Reservoir has an important role in people's lives. Reservoirs as flood control are also a means of agricultural irrigation that bring changes in agricultural products and are used as fishery areas and tourist attractions in Wonogiri (Saputra, 2016).

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir during the New Order period was not only driven by the technical needs of water resource management and flood control, but also part of a state-led development-based development strategy that places infrastructure as an instrument of socio-economic transformation. Before the construction of the reservoir, Wonogiri Regency faced various structural problems, such as limited water resources, low agricultural productivity, high poverty rates, and labor migration. In this context, the construction of the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir is a form of state intervention to encourage agricultural modernization and regional economic development.

The results of the study show that the existence of the reservoir has a significant impact on the lives of the people of Wonogiri. From an economic aspect, reservoirs increase agricultural productivity through a more stable irrigation system and open up new economic opportunities in the fisheries, tourism, and service sectors. From the social aspect, the construction of reservoirs

encourages changes in the structure of society through population relocation, increased social mobility, and the emergence of new livelihood patterns. This finding confirms that infrastructure development during the New Order period not only resulted in physical changes in the region, but also shaped the socio-economic dynamics of the community in a sustainable manner. The contribution of this research lies in an effort to expand the study of the history of development by placing the Gajah Mungkur Reservoir in the relationship between state development policies and the socio-economic transformation of local communities. However, this research is still limited to the use of historical sources and focuses on the early post-construction period. Therefore, further research needs to utilize an oral history approach and broader studies to understand the long-term impacts of reservoir development more comprehensively.

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