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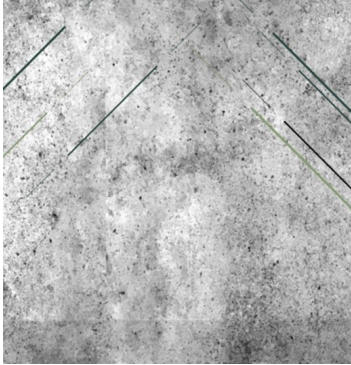


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## Actor Networks and Environmental Conflicts: The Case of Benoa Bay Reclamation (2014-2019)

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### Abstract

This study explores the formation of actor networks in developing conservation areas, specifically focusing on the Benoa Bay conservation area in Bali from 2014 to 2019. This period marks the beginning and temporary cessation of reclamation development permits in the area, instigated by a Presidential Decree. The study examines how actor networks form through material negotiations, categorizing actors into pros (supporting reclamation) and cons (opposing reclamation). It employs the Actor Network Theory (ANT) framework, particularly the moments concept developed by Callon, to analyze these networks and negotiations. The research is qualitative, using case studies and field data collected through interviews with relevant stakeholders. The primary findings reveal that actors on both sides—pro and con—form networks based on the material narratives they promote. For the pros, the need for tourism space justifies reclamation, while the cons focus on conservation values upheld by the Balinese community. The reclamation issue acts as a moment of problematization, bringing these opposing material narratives into conflict within the conservation area. The study follows ANT's stages from problematization to mobilization, highlighting how the conflicting material narratives of both pro and con actors interact and influence the network formation. Ultimately, the research illustrates the dynamics of actor networks in the context of reclamation, showing how material negotiations shape these networks and the contestation over spatial production in Benoa Bay networks.

**Keywords:** Reclamation; Actor Network; Benoa Bay; Material Negotiation

### Introduction

This research paper describes a study on the phenomenon of formation of actor networks in contesting space for development of the Benoa Bay conservation area reclamation area, Badung Regency, Bali Province. The conception of space in this research has meaning of an area that has use value to be produced and reproduced as a tourism space, a medium of social interaction due to definition of space both from the local, national, global levels and has a function as an arena or political commodity (Lefebvre, 1991). The contestation dimension is then described as a scheme that arises as a result of tourism space production activities that also describe the phenomenon of different spatial conceptions based on the basic value orientation of space (Sletto, 2002).

Furthermore, the perspective of actor networks is interpreted to map the formation of power actors who network in different power spaces, especially in process of reclamation development in Benoa Bay which is a central issue in Indonesia. Then in the reclamation plan process also involves several actors such as the state, corporate, and society (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021). By taking a span of time from 2014 as the beginning of government policies related to the revitalization of Benoa Bay protected areas, until 2019 which became the year of temporary halt to reclamation decisions in Benoa Bay. That year became the year where the case study of reclamation in Benoa

Bay was a contestation of space between indigenous communities affiliated with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and investors facilitated by government regulations (Subekti et al., 2020).

Different orientations in understanding spatial perspectives occur in actors from business people, government to local communities in negotiating material value and spatial value of the Benoa Bay conservation area. The first difference come from point of view of business actors who have a space orientation to be used as a medium of economic production, local and central government elites who use space for political commodity purposes which will be explained further in the background of this research. Then from the perspective of local people, see space as a place for social interaction, customs to a place to obtain their livelihood. The difference in perspective between the three actors above in understanding space then produces network-actor dynamics that lead to activities of struggle for access and control over proportionality of space use (Hall et al., 2011).

In the process of writing this research goes through the flow of thinking by placing identification at two stages of writing. *First*, the process to directly identify actors or parties involved in the flow of spatial contestation. The identification process and results obtained are used to contribute an understanding of actors network based on their respective roles in the flow of spatial contestation (Lebel et al., 2005). In order to be able to see more deeply about the contribution of their involvement in reclamation activities in Benoa Bay, Bali, the involvement of business people, central and regional governments, local communities and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are accommodated to the movement against Benoa Bay reclamation.

*Second*, the identification of network of actors formed in the negotiation of material interests in the development of Benoa Bay reclamation. The importance between actors in responding to reclamation is explained by displaying material negotiations that occur between actors from and to reach consensus. From the two lines of writing, it is expected to become a unified systematic frame of mind to reveal comprehensively how the dynamics of contestation between actors form networks until the material negotiation process occurs in Benoa Bay, Badung Regency, Bali Province. The progressivity of development in Badung Regency and the Benoa Bay area planned for reclamation, indicates spatial conditions that lead to the struggle for access and control over the use of a space (D Hutabarat, 2016). In this case, due to involvement of each actor and parties with an understanding of different spaces, it has not resulted in a few resistance efforts from communities affected by the reclamation project which in this case is carried out by indigenous peoples around Benoa Bay (Destriapani et al., 2021).

The activity of rejecting reclamation plans by community has also become a concern by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) and the Bali People's Forum for Rejecting Reclamation (ForBALI). The wave of rejection by communities affiliated with NGOs also increasingly shows its existence which can be seen in WALHI and ForBALI who are incarnated as community initiators in movement against reclamation, where they have held various demonstrations to voice anti-reclamation (Prihandoko & Sunudyantoro, 2014). In track record of the two major NGOs, namely in 2016, ForBALI held simultaneous demonstrations to reject reclamation under the guise of revitalization in six major cities, namely Bali, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Makassar, Belitung, Palangkaraya (Hutabarat, 2016). This received a response from the government, especially Bali Provincial Government during the era of Bali Governor Made Mangku Pastika who stated that he would review the reclamation policy (Nur Saribulan, 2018). Then, at the same time, the movement against reclamation carried out by the community became populist with participation of the Bali Governor candidate with the Balinese people in rejecting the reclamation of Benoa Bay. The statement to reject reclamation also became a campaign promise during the 2018 Bali Regional Election by the candidate for Bali Governor Candidate, I Wayan Koster, while his rival, the candidate for Governor Candidate Ida Bagus Rai Dharmawijaya Mantra, brought the issue of change to also reject reclamation as a promise during the campaign in the 2018 Bali Regional Election, the two Bali Governor candidates stated firmly to reject reclamation (Gangga & Dewi, n.d.). Rai Mantra expressed a firm stance to reject reclamation with the Denpasar

City DPRD in 2013 when he served as Mayor of Denpasar (Hantoro J, 2018). Meanwhile, Wayan Koster also stated that he rejected reclamation when running in the Bali Governor election, saying that everything that is not in harmony with natural conditions, in this case, reclamation will not be continued or implemented (Aminah, 2017).

Seeing various resistances to space contestation, namely the Benoa Bay area with reclamation and active struggles carried out by actors such as ForBALI, prospective regional heads, to investors and developers such as PT Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional (TWBI). So, in this research processes of forming networks of actors in negotiating plans related to reclamation, which in the discussion has been stated in this research. The perspective on actor networks in seeing differences in views between Government and Society is used in this writing. The big concept of Actor Network Theory (ANT) is more visible in seeing the phenomenon of actor networks in reclamation of Benoa Bay Bali based on author's analysis. Next, the analysis of big concept of space production by Henri Lefebvre and the representation of space from Bjorn Sletto's writing also gives an idea of how space (Place) works in networks between actors in looking at natural resource management, which in this writing is illustrated through the Benoa Bay conservation area with polemics in its development plan through reclamation (Setiawan, n.d.). Actor Network Theory (ANT) is a framework developed primarily by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law in the 1980s as a means to understand and analyze the complex web of interactions between various entities, both human and non-human, that contribute to the formation and sustenance of networks. ANT challenges traditional sociological theories by emphasizing the agency of non-human actors (such as objects, technologies, and texts) in shaping social processes and structures.

A robust framework is provided by ANT for analyzing the complex dynamics involved in the Benoa Bay reclamation project. By considering the roles of both human and non-human actors and focusing on the processes of translation, negotiation, and network formation, ANT provides a comprehensive approach to understanding the contested space. The references provided enrich this theoretical study by offering broader sociocultural and sociological insights, helping to deepen our understanding of the interplay between different actors and forces in shaping development outcomes.

## Method

This research uses the concept of qualitative research methods that emphasize descriptive research and use in-depth analysis. The method considered relevant to explain phenomenon of forming a network of actors in a case study of reclamation in Benoa Bay, Bali. This research uses qualitative methods with the focus of study in this paper related to dialectic patterns between actors / parties that occur in the region, especially in context of formation actor networks in the Benoa Bay conservation area space contested due to reclamation. Furthermore, data collection techniques are carried out by triangulation (combined), data analysis is inductive / qualitative and the results of qualitative writing emphasize meaning rather than generalization (Sugiono, 2013).

Then in understanding perspectives that emphasize systematic analysis of actions and dialectical processes occur, it can be understood through observation of individuals and group involvement in the midst of spatial contestation dynamics. It aims to gain an understanding and interpretation of how individuals and groups create and maintain their perspectives in the social world. Interpretive glasses become needed in providing an understanding of the relationship of causality in the mechanism of space production with the phenomenon of space contestation. With an inductive writing style and with qualitative research methods produce descriptive data (describing with explanations) in the form of writing from the points of analysis studied (Marsh & Stoker, 2022).

In terms of data collection, the techniques used in research writing are interview techniques, literature studies and Non-Participant Observation. Interviewing in this case is one of several existing techniques of data collection process by meeting directly with informants that have been specified in this research. With the hope that through interview techniques, authors can obtain information that may not be found from various documents or other literacy available (Harisson,

2009). Then Non-Participant Observation according to (Sarantakos, 2013) focused on obtaining data through field observations without participating in action. The author deepens this step by examining regulatory texts that have synchronous value in the rules of utilization, arrangement and control of regional space.

This research uses Non-Participant Observation, to see the condition of community around Benoa Bay but does not directly follow the process of rejecting or supporting reclamation and examined the policy of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who changed the status of conservation to production which was further understood by the policy of the Governor of Bali at that time, namely Made Mangku Pastika in seeing reclamation in Benoa Bay (Silka et al., 2012). Focus in the review of the regulation is used to see the extent of reclamation policy is interpreted by communities affected by reclamation plan in Benoa Bay. Regarding method of data collection through primary interviews conducted directly in the field and primers obtained from several predetermined resource persons.

Non-participant observation involves observing a social phenomenon without directly engaging or participating in the activities being studied. In the context of this research, the method is utilized to observe the community conditions around Benoa Bay without directly involving the researchers in the activities related to the reclamation project—whether in supporting or opposing it. This approach allows the researchers to maintain an objective stance and gather unbiased data about the community's responses, interactions, and the overall atmosphere without influencing the events. This method is particularly valuable for understanding how communities perceive and interpret the reclamation policy changes. It provides insights into the socio-cultural context, local dynamics, community sentiments, and everyday practices, which are crucial for understanding the broader impact of the reclamation project on the affected communities.

Finally, for data collection method in this research, this research took several secondary data references and then analyzed results of analysis through one of which was analyzing the results of Desi Anwar's interviews with several important actors in Benoa Bay reclamation policy at that time, namely Bali Governor Made Mangku Pastika and staff. Desi Anwar's dialogue entitled Insight with Desi Anwar – Benoa Bay Reclamation Polemic aired on CNN Indonesia's Youtube page (01/09/2016). Another source of reference from secondary data is in form of analysis of mass media news from mid-2014 to 2019 which provides information from upstream to downstream about the phenomenon of actor networks in the contestation of Benoa Bay reclamation space.

The research analysis process from secondary data that became author's reference was from a book entitled, "Local Wisdom and the Movement to Reject Benoa Bay Reclamation" with the author Prof. Henny Warsilah (Warsilah, 2021). Analysis and findings in the book are used as a reference to see more about how the Benoa Bay conservation area became an area contested by the interests of various actors. These actors are examined in this study through the framework of Actor Network Theory. To complement the author's findings from the secondary data reference above, the author conducted interviews with affected community actors (cons) to reclamation supporters (pro) to then become further findings and analysis in this research.

Lastly, for the location and data collection techniques that this research uses in this writing research is located in Badung Regency and Denpasar City, Bali Province as the location of this reclamation project was triggered. The thing that underlies author takes in these two regions is because the basis of the movement against reclamation is in these two regions, namely Denpasar and Badung.

## Results

Findings by the authors is provide an overview context of the focus on development of tourism and marine space capitalization in Bali Province, which in the end problematic policies such as reclamation are present in the Benoa Bay conservation area. This research also saw and found that aspects of cosmology from the development of marine space, such as Benoa Bay mangrove conservation area in Bali Province. Following the explanation above, the first results in this study also explain the socio-economic picture of community around Benoa Bay.

An argument built in the findings about the problematization is about marine space as a Benoa Bay marine protected area in Bali Province is able to become an object for reclamation policies and give birth to a moment of problematization between actors in fighting for their respective economic interests. Actors such as the Central Government, Bali Province, investors, NGOs and communities voiced their problems in reclamation of Benoa Bay conservation area, Bali. Furthermore, this finding also dissects the supporting factors why reclamation can be an object for actors who are pro and con to the policy.

The emergence of actors in fighting for Benoa Bay mangrove conservation area actually starts from the existence of government policies both at the central and regional levels that support each other for the arrival of investors. This starts from Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 45 of 2011 which states that the Urban Spatial Plan of Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan (*Sarbagita*). In article 55 paragraph 5, the Presidential Regulation states that Benoa Bay is a conservation area. The 2011 Presidential Decree was later amended by the same President, namely President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono into Presidential Regulation No. 51 of 2014 concerning changes to change the conservation status of Benoa Bay into a buffer zone or public use area.

Various community actors who are members of the reclamation rejection network questioned the contents of the 2014 Presidential Regulation because it was considered issued only to accommodate the 700-hectare Benoa Bay reclamation plan (Andika, Kusmana, & Nurjaya, 2018). This makes non-government actors or investors PT Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional (TWBI) pocket a reclamation location permit numbered 445/MEN-KP/VIII/2014 from the Minister of Marine Affairs and fisheries in the Benoa Bay water area covering Badung Regency and Denpasar City, Bali Province, covering an area of 700 hectares (Adlansyah & Amir, 2020).

The case of a reclamation project in Benoa Bay arose when conservation area was capitalized through reclamation as a step to increase people's living space. This reclamation megaproject is planned to be built a tourism area with various supporting facilities such as apartments to hotels. Capitalization of mangrove area space by investors based on reclamation policies by the government is feared to displace marine tourism to the lives of the people of Benoa Bay in utilizing mangrove areas (ForBALI, 2017). This led to material negotiations between actors on the capitalization of marine and coastal spaces that went hard due to the lack of consensus at that time.

## Discussion

The capitalization of Benoa Bay through reclamation received massive rejection from all elements of Balinese society, showing that this illustrates the development of conflicts between actors, which are the government (central and provincial), entrepreneurs, and the community. The network of actors formed in viewing reclamation makes the definition of reclamation contradictory. Concept or definition of reclamation is actually the process of making new land on land covered by water, namely river banks or coasts and the sea to be used as a center of new economic growth. However, the community's perspective on Benoa Bay reclamation will change benefits and designation of the Benoa Bay area from a conservation area to a cultivation zone and economic zone (Warsilah, 2021). The concept of reclamation by private actors outside the government is facilitated by the existence of central and provincial government regulations related to the reclamation of Benoa Bay protected areas, used to benefit individuals or groups and enrich themselves, not to help the welfare of the community around Benoa Bay marine protected area, Bali.

Process of forming a network of actors in looking at capitalization of the sea space of Benoa Bay, Bali is one of focuses in research's writing. Capitalization of marine space as a result of the interest between actors in achieving their goals began to surface when in 2012 where the Governor of Bali at that time, I Made Mangku Pastika granted reclamation permits to investor Tommy Winata through his company, PT Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional. Granting permits by the Governor to the private sector is something that other actors, namely the Balinese community and NGOs For Bali and WALHI, should not do in conservation areas. The clash of cosmologies that occurred in this case illustrates how the escalation of the conflict formed a network of actors in understanding the development of Benoa Bay reclamation. The conflict that was originally only bet-

ween the local community and the Badung Regency Government became more widespread with the involvement of Regency and Provincial Governments of Bali with the Balinese people. The issuance of a decree Governor of Bali in response to the conflict that occurred a year later, namely on August 16, 2013 through Decree of the Governor of Bali Number 1727/01-B/HK/2013 concerning the Feasibility Study Permit for the Utilization, Development and Management of Benoa Bay Water Area of Bali Province (Wardana, n.d.).

The decision of the Governor of Bali in 2013 then received a pessimistic response by the Balinese people due to the lack of revision in its designation to eliminate reclamation in Benoa Bay. The materiality value of Benoa Bay which is in a strategic area makes private actors remain adamant to carry out reclamation in the area based on the regulation of the Governor of Bali. Political interests and capitalization of community space in the Benoa Bay conservation area also emerged and were in the minds of the community. Changes to Presidential Regulation Number 45 of 2011 contained in Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2014 by President SBY towards the end of office are another strong factor that reclamation will still run (ForBALI, 2017). Turning the Benoa Bay conservation area into a buffer area or public use area is a kind of turning point for community resistance in the development of Bali Benoa Bay reclamation. Balinese communities represented by NGOs WALHI and ForBali formed their alliance in resisting reclamation on the assumption that the Government had promoted by saying that reclamation was the only way to revitalize the Benoa Bay conservation area due to silting and sedimentation in Benoa Bay.

In looking at the capitalization of coastal and marine space due to reclamation plans in Benoa Bay, the author tries to reflect this through the theory of powers of exclusion by (Hall et al., 2011) The term "exclusion" can be connected by Hall with the concept of access, where access is defined as an ability to benefit from something. Process of achieving market interests through control of access to land shows that conditions and processes are created by interaction of the following four forces such as Policy, Power, Market and Legitimacy (Syahputra et al., 2019).

Hall interpreted the policy on several occasions as one with the legal instruments of the state that have rules to determine access to land and conditions of use. While the power built is by violence and threats by and from state and non-state actors. Furthermore, the market in Hall's sense is an exclusionary force that restricts access through the form of prices and incentives, while the last is legitimacy described by validating prices and creating incentives with land values. Various forms of powers of exclusion by Hall often color agrarian transformation in Indonesia, including looking at how actors form their networks in the development of reclamation in Benoa Bay, Bali.

In looking at actors forming their networks in the capitalization of the marine and coastal space of Benoa Bay, these forces include regulation, institutions, markets, security forces, legitimacy, to social relations The power of exclusion over marine and coastal resources is manifested by power of market through land prices. The value of coastal soil material tends to increase considering the position of the Benoa Bay marine protected area in the golden triangle area of Bali tourism, namely between Nusa Dua, Kuta, and Jimbaran. The desire to capitalize due to its strategic position and land scarcity makes private and state actors reclaim in order to gain capital benefits through the megaprojects they plan. On the other hand, but in the same corridor, the dynamics of land prices make actors pull back the problem of reclamation where the point is when they are play economic motives in form of control and management of seas and coasts as world tourism areas.

According to (Hall et al., 2011), the power to use force is within the State. If the explanation above describes the power of market, then in explanation of this paragraph describes the power of force between the Balinese people and actors who have the ability to find legal loopholes to imprison the opposite party. Strength between the two actors in viewing space capitalization in Bali's reclamation development succeeded in imprisoning figures of activists against reclamation, community traditional leaders, and members of the PDIP faction DPRD from Tanjung Benoa District (R Hasan, 2016). The forms of resistance of community actors to the development of reclamation are at least an illustration of how violent mechanisms become the dominant force to achieve successful reclamation efforts. But this does not mean that there is no resistance because

the Balinese people at that time were not afraid to fight the criminalization of fellow actors in resisting reclamation.

This defense process is often depicted with speeches and massive demonstrations to free detained people. Although Balinese people affiliated with the social movement against reclamation do not have weapons, this has led to the assumption that the state is not present in various conflicts related to reclamation. The main problem with reclamation is that access to sea and coast is closely related to the power by. The process of regulation, markets, power and legitimacy is illustrated through actors forming their networks in seeing the development of Benoa Bay reclamation, Bali (Murdoch, 1998). On the other hand, power of force is a companion in the implications for forces whose emergence is not always present in the midst of the process of resisting reclamation.

Regarding the power of exclusion by Hall, in his writing on Actor Network Theory (ANT) also describes how the moment of a person or group of actors forms their network where in the sense that the first moment is a moment of problematization. The moment of problematization according to Callon is a moment when an issue or problem is presented by actors to the attention of other actors and transformed into problems defined by other actors. In the context of this writing, especially in findings that discuss the Benoa Bay area as an attractive area for actors to be the object of their interest, then the thought arises to reclaim conservation areas contained in Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 51 of 2014 issued by state actors, namely the central government of President SBY's era, which became an initial moment of the presence of the reclamation issue. This according to the author is in line and in accordance with the understanding of Actor Network Theory (ANT) by Callon, namely the moment of problematization (Callon, 1999).

The momentum when Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 became the starting point for the rejection of capitalization in reclamation in the Benoa Bay conservation area, Bali. According to the author, this is a trigger so that there is a moment of problematization present, especially the strategic position of the Benoa Bay conservation area, Bali is a magnet for investors to develop their business wings. In looking at capitalization efforts in the Benoa Bay conservation area through Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014, the moment of problematization according to Callon arises and is present when an issue or problem is presented by an actor (action initiator) to be the attention of other actors, then transformed into problems defined by other actors. This is in line with what has been reported from the Tempo edition (01/12/2014) entitled "Tommy Winata Company, Business and Benoa Bay", in the article said that from perspective of private actors, namely PT TWBI through Hendi Lukman as Director of PT TWBI, stated that they did not damage conservation areas, but helped to revitalize the Benoa Bay area that had been damaged by sedimentation of the estuaries of major rivers in Bali through reclamation.

Statements from private actors, namely PT TWBI, in voicing their interests also received reactions from other actors such as from NGOs WALHI and ForBali who joined the Balinese community in rejecting reclamation. The actors who initiated the actions against reclamation tried to translate other actors (Callon, 1999). This research sees that the study of the problematization of actions and reactions in Benoa Bay Reclamation is again in a position when the Central Government issued Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 which was later translated into various Bali Governor's Decrees which also triggered reactions from other actors including ForBali and WALHI as well as the Balinese people who mostly rejected reclamation in the Benoa Bay conservation area, Bali.

Benoa Bay as a spatial object that undergoes urban processes as proposed by Lefebvre, then the power of exclusion by Hall has a correlation with the moment of problematization, as stated by Callon (1999) shows the initial moment in looking at Actor Network Theory (ANT). The initial problem of reclamation in Benoa Bay according to the author was due to the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 at the end of the era of President SBY's leadership which gave permission to revitalize the Benoa Bay conservation area, Bali. The revitalization contained in the Presidential Decree points is translated by various groups of society as an effort to damage the order of conservation areas that have been maintained by the Balinese people. This then became



the starting point for the chaos of reclamation problems which was then accompanied by actions, protest reactions and massive rejection of the Balinese people. Again, the moment of problematization comes in context of spatial capitalization of the Benoa Bay conservation area, which undergoes an urban process through capitalistic transactions between the government and reclamation developer investors.

#### *"Tug-of-War" of Interest Between Actors*

Callon (1999) divide actors moments in forming their networks into four parts. One of them is the moment of interestment. At this moment, a group of people or actors show their interest in the frame of their respective interests after passing first moment, namely the moment of problematization. In the event of Benoa Bay reclamation, the state of relations between Pro and Con actors showed their voices and interests after the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 (Baiquni & Rijanta, n.d.). According to this research, this is a moment of integration for actors to start pulling their coalitions to support each other.

The moment when pro-government actors such as the President, Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, President SBY's Government Cabinet, to the regional level, namely Bali Governor Made Mangku Pastika and ranks in viewing Benoa Bay that should be revitalized due to bad sedimentation conditions, at least became a pattern of early withdrawal moments to the community in giving an illustration, that the only way to revitalize is to reclaim the Benoa Bay conservation area. However, on the other hand, community movements accompanied by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as WALHI and ForBALI held a moment of withdrawal to voice that the material narrative conveyed by pro-government and non-government actors such as PT TWBI investors is contrary to the purpose of revitalization itself.

The two different views of actors from the pro and con bloc in viewing the revitalization of Benoa Bay become an illustration in how the moment of integration in the frame of Actor Network Theory (ANT) works. Withdrawal, according to Callon, is interpreted as the moment when the phenomenon of problematization at the beginning succeeded in sticking out to the public. So simply, there is an action - reaction from the moment of problematization which continues to the moment of withdrawal in order to voice the interests of each actor in the phenomenon of forming a network of actors in the reclamation of Benoa Bay, Bali.

#### *Material Negotiation Between Actors*

Material negotiations between networks of actors in the development of Benoa Bay reclamation, Bali, have a significant impact on the living space of the Balinese people. This conflict concerns not only the environment, but also the social, economic, and cultural interests of the Balinese people. One of the negative impacts that occur is the loss of valuable natural resources and environments, such as coral reefs, mangroves, and fish habitat. This is has an impact on the traditional livelihoods of Balinese people who mostly depend on natural resources, such as fishermen and farmers (Dwi et al., n.d.). The existence of reclamation also threatens economic and cultural sustainability of the Balinese people related to tourism, because reclamation can reduce tourist attraction and damage Bali's image as an environmentally friendly tourist destination (Andika et al., 2019). Conflict and negotiation between these actors show the inequality of power, differences in interests and visions of development, and the lack of community participation in decision-making that has an impact on their living space.

*First*, the reclamation of Benoa Bay has the potential to threaten the environment and valuable natural resources, such as coral reefs and marine ecosystems, which are the main source of livelihood for Bali's coastal communities and fishermen. The negative impact of Benoa Bay reclamation on the environment can threaten survival and livelihood of the Balinese people who depend on these natural resources.

*Second*, the reclamation of Benoa Bay can also affect the social and economic conditions of the Balinese people, especially those who have livelihoods that depend on the tourism and fishermen sectors. In this case, tourism development through Benoa Bay reclamation can create

new jobs for the people of Bali, but it can also create injustice and socioeconomic inequality for people who do not benefit from the development.

*Third*, material negotiations in the development of Benoa Bay reclamation also reveal the lack of community participation in the decision-making process that has an impact on their living space. This has become a public dissatisfaction and distrust of government policies and emerged a perception about who are considered not paying attention to the interests of community and environment. Overall, the impact of material negotiations between networks among actors on the living space of Balinese people demonstrates, the need for community involvement in decision-making processes that impact their living space, as well as the need for more sustainable development policies that take into account the interests of society and the environment (Triana & Saefudin, 2019).

In addition, conflicts in the development of Benoa Bay reclamation also reveal injustices in decision-making processes that pay little attention to community participation and local interests. Some observers say that the reclamation of Benoa Bay reflects a larger problem in Bali's development that lacks regard for the interests of local communities and the environment (Kerr & Wardana, 2020). However, although the conflict has had significant negative impacts, the success of Balinese environmental and community activists in fighting for environmental protection and their rights can serve as an example and inspiration for environmental movements and civil society in Indonesia and around the world.

#### *Understanding the Mobilization Moment*

According to Callon, the mobilization moment occurs when the actor network reaches a stage where it has a clear form and is capable of exerting influence. It has both a temporal existence (existing over a period) and a spatial existence (occupying and influencing a specific space). This moment signifies the point at which the network of actors has sufficiently organized and consolidated its resources, strategies, and supporters to effectively push forward its agenda or resist opposing forces. In the context of the Benoa Bay reclamation, the mobilization moment for both pro and con actors reflect a critical juncture where each side has consolidated its efforts, resources, and support to either advance or oppose the reclamation plans. Pro Actors' Mobilization also become a key role. The pro-reclamation actors include the Bali Provincial Government under Governor Made Mangku Pastika and the Central Government during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's tenure, as well as corporate interests such as PT Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional. These actors have mobilized by creating and propagating narratives that frame the reclamation as a necessary revitalization effort to address environmental issues like downstream sedimentation. This mobilization also involves securing legal, financial, and material support to legitimize and advance the reclamation agenda (Adityanandana & Gerber, 2019).

On the opposing side, the anti-reclamation actors have also mobilized effectively. This group includes entities such as Komnas HAM (the National Commission on Human Rights), the newly elected Governor of Bali who campaigned against the reclamation, and various local and international community entities, including the NGO ForBALI. This counter-mobilization is characterized by a significant gathering of support through public campaigns, demonstrations, and legal advocacy, all aimed at resisting the reclamation plans and highlighting the potential environmental and social harms (Ardhana & Farhaeni, 2017). The mobilization by counter-actors demonstrates a well-organized effort to challenge the pro-reclamation network. This includes gathering evidence, fostering alliances, and creating alternative narratives that emphasize the cultural and environmental significance of Benoa Bay, thereby contesting the economic-driven narratives put forth by pro-reclamation actors.

#### **Conclusion**

Seeing the phenomenon of forming a network of actors in the development of Benoa Bay reclamation, it cannot be separated from the material negotiations between actors. Also, the argument in this research can be seen from formation of a network actors that are closely related

in an effort to achieve the interests of each actor in it. The interest between actors in forming networks was followed by steps to form blocks pro and con against the reclamation of Benoa Bay. Pro actors consist of actors who support the implementation of reclamation policies such as communities supporting reclamation, the central government and Bali Province, investors PT TWBI. On the other hand, other actors are the emergence of a block of counter-actors with reclamation, such as counter-actors from the government, namely the elected Governor of Bali, accompanied by other counter actors, namely ForBALI and its supporters.

Furthermore, according to the author's perspective, accompanied by analysis based on the results of primary and secondary data, process of material negotiation by pro and con actors in network formation has passed four moments that are closely related to Actor Network Theory by (Callon, 1999). Findings in writing show an implied emergence when actors' moments form networks through these four moments. Four actor moments occur from the beginning to the end of reclamation plan through a plot of four actor networking moments. This research also sees that actors have an interest in voicing material matters, especially the series of Benoa Bay reclamation events reaching and passing four moments of actor involvement. The findings and relevance to this research are implied in the process of forming a network of actors who come from those who reject reclamation who have received "facilities" and accommodating their interests, namely from ForBALI and WALHI who have never been afraid to retreat in the line of reclamation rejectionists.

Then from other actors, namely pro actors from government elements such as the Central and Regional Governments of Bali Province during the era of Bali Governor Made Mangku Pastika saw revitalization steps based on reclamation in the Benoa Bay conservation area, it is important to be implemented immediately in order to prevent and improve sedimentation in the Benoa Bay area expanding. The two processes of forming a network of actors above, got turbulence in the material narrative to be achieved by the contra actors, namely the people affiliated with ForBALI and WALHI still want the reclamation in Benoa Bay to be canceled through a request to the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Ir. Joko Widodo to revoke Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 concerning the reclamation of Benoa Bay in which coastal areas are prone to conflict, cultural and sacred sites, and areas prone to ecological disasters. On the same side, community entities incorporated in ForBALI also demand the relevant Ministries/Institutions and the Bali Provincial Bappeda, to review the development plan and development of urban areas, coastal villages in one coastal spatial layout and synchronized with marine spatial planning, with an inclusive development approach.

Last in looking at the great concept of Actor Network Theory. The process of forming a network of actors, according to this research is relevant to the existence of counter and pro actors who play in issue of Benoa Bay reclamation. They are step by step give and voice material narratives in order to achieve interest or consensus through four moments of formation of actor networks from (Callon, 1999). The phenomenon of the formation of actor networks in the contestation of reclamation space in Bali is one example of the implementation of the Actor Network Theory (ANT) theory which the author uses as an analysis knife in this paper. In harmony but different corridors, this research also finds that there is relevance between the understanding of Production of Space from Lefebvre and having a definition as a space that will experience an urban political process. The research also found in the phenomenon of forming a network of actors in the development of reclamation in Bali with the object of Benoa Bay marine protected area which experienced urban process from the need for tourism space in Bali Province.

On the other hand, the momentum of regional elections in Bali during the reclamation issue made material negotiations more colorful and tough, especially from counter actors such as ForBALI as a party against reclamation and AMPPB which became a party supporting reclamation. These two actor entities also make the political process in the formation of actor networks warmer. The existence of communities around Benoa Bay that the author met also illustrates how the process of forming actor networks in the early to late material negotiations becomes very interesting to see from the perspective of four moments of actor networks from (Callon, 1999).

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