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**Amidst Mass Tourism:
Tri Hita Karana and Conflict of Valuation Languages**

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M Adityanandana

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Julien-François Gerber

Dr. Oane Visser

The Hague, The Netherlands
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Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

AGN	Artha Graha Network
AGP	Artha Graha Peduli
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah
ForBALI	Forum Rakyat Bali Tolak Reklamasi
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GRP	Gross Regional Product
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIMBY	Not in My Backyard
PT	Perseroan Terbatas
TWBI	Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional
TWNC	Tambling Wildlife Nature Conservation
WALHI	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup

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Abstract

This study looks at an environmental conflict over a tourism development project in Benoa Bay, which has emerged as one of the most contentious issues in Bali, Indonesia. The central question lies in exploring the mobilisation of the *tri hita karana* (hereafter THK) philosophy by different actors who all seek to advance their political goals in the conflict.

Using a case study methodology with an ethnographic orientation, the paper finds that a seemingly similar language of valuation – here the language of THK – can lead to very different consequences and visions of development. Accordingly, the study suggests that what could be referred to as post-growth thinking is not automatically reflected in a specific language of valuation. Ideas beyond growth potentially emanate and flourish only when actors use languages expressing incommensurability of values in their substantive use. These actors band together in environmental justice movement.

Relevance to Development Studies

Post-growth theories were introduced as an alternative to mainstream narratives of development. Amidst the growing literature in the area, few have engaged in developing the thread between post-growth thinking and tourism. Back in 1948, the UN has formally acknowledged the “right to rest and leisure including [...] periodic holidays with pay” as part of human rights. The UNWTO (2017) suggests tourism can facilitate economic growth while simultaneously achieving inclusive development and environmental sustainability. Nonetheless, in the context of the capitalist economy, the practice of tourism has become *en masse* and failed to achieve the latter two.

Some authors suggest from post-capitalist point of view, tourism should become part of “bioregional economics” and contribute to the common (Büscher and Fletcher 2017). Furthermore, Hall (2009) argues that for tourism to be sustainable, it must answer the political economic questions through its “degrowing” toward “steady-state” tourism. By providing an empirical basis to a post-growth alternative stemming from an environmental conflict over tourism development, I hope this research—far from definitively answering—can at least contribute to shed light on the nexus of post-growth and tourism.

Keywords

environmental conflict, environmental justice, languages of valuation, post-growth, tourism development, *tri hita karana*, Bali, Benoa Bay

1 Introduction

“What is happening when accumulation of capital takes place but other things are degraded? What about the quality of life of the human? If nature is degraded, if abrasion is becoming more prevalent [...] what about life expectancy? We only think of GDP!” (interview with Wayan ‘Gendo’ Suardana, Denpasar, 4 August 2017).

Following publications such as Meadow’s (1972) “The Limits to Growth” and Brundtland Commission’s (1987) “Our Common Future”, the notion of growth has emerged as a fundamental question in the development arena. Some ideas beyond growth, such as degrowth, a-growth, steady-state economy, and post-development have been proposed by scholars from both the North and the South (Van den Bergh 2011, Daly 1991, Deb 2009, Escobar 1995, Georgescu-Roegen et al. 1979, D’Alisa et al. 2014). All interrogate, if not challenge, the growth imperative inherent in a capitalist economy.

As a growth and development strategy, tourism has expanded at an unprecedented pace in the Global South and is predicted to play an even more significant role in the future (Brown and Hall 2008). To quote Buscher and Fletcher (2017: 651), “Tourism is not merely a capitalist practice but a central practice through which capitalism sustains itself”. Processes of the commodification of tourism involve material and structural violence inflicted upon society and nature through the production of inequality, waste and “spaces of exclusion” (ibid). That being said, this process of commodification is not always smooth, frequently being hampered by—among other factors—conflict-escalated resistance from local communities (ibid: 664).

In Indonesia, the tourism industry grew 67% between 1995 and 2014, contributing to the country’s economic expansion by 117% during this time (WTTC 2015). Introduced to the Western world since the Dutch colonial times, and propagated by the New Order development agenda, Bali is still the backbone of the country’s tourism sector. Nonetheless, the practice of mass-tourism came with devastating social and environmental cost on the island (Agung 2005, Roth and Sedana 2015, Cole 2012). This research explores a case of environmental conflict over the tourism development plan of Benoa Bay in Bali, Indonesia. It specifically looks at growth and development narratives told by two opposing groups of actors involved in the conflict.

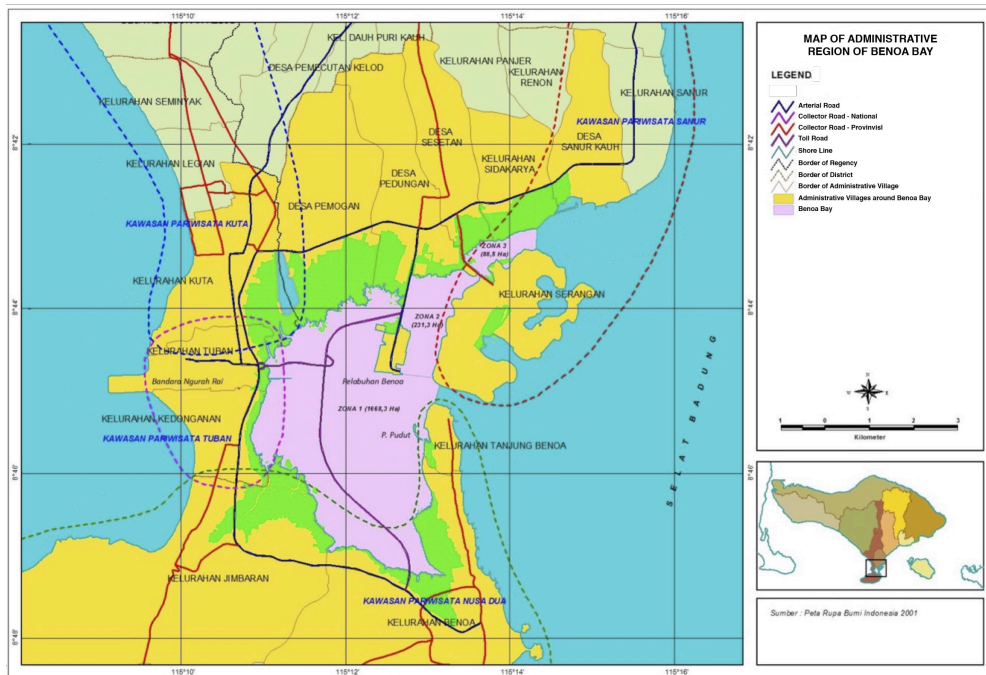
1.1 Background

Setting the Scene: Benoa Bay at The Epicentre of Biodiversity-Rich Ecosystems and Key Tourist-Destinations

Benoa Bay is located in the southern tip of the island of Bali (Map 1). The intertidal zone spans over an area of 1.988,1 hectares, which administratively falls into three districts, namely, South Denpasar, Kuta, and South Kuta (Conserva-

tion International 2013). The bay is relatively flat and shallow with an average depth of 2 metres during high tide. With a tidal range of 2.6 metres, most parts of its seabed are exposed during low tide, which occurs twice daily. The bay's mouth has narrowed by 75% due to a previous reclamation project in Serangan Island. The bay is a reservoir of five sub-drainage basins (Badung, Mati, Tuban, Sama, and Bualu). Two main rivers, Tukad Badung and Tukad Mati, respectively contribute, at minimum, 50 and 103 litres of water per second to the bay.

Map 2
The area of Benoa Bay is marked by light purple



Source: Peta Rupa Bumi Indonesia (2001) with some translation.

The bay is surrounded by 1.394,5 hectares of mangrove forest, amounting to 62.9% of the total 2.215,5 hectare mangrove cover in Bali, making it the largest mangrove ecosystem on the island (Conservation International 2013: 18). The mangrove ecosystem consists of both terrestrial and aquatic faunas, which include insects, reptiles, primates, and 94 different species of birds (Mangrove Information Center in ibid). It is also habitat to 60 types of crustaceans, including edible species, such as shrimps and crabs (*Scylla serrata* and *Portunus spp.*), as well as 22 kinds of mollusks, including commodity species such as scallops and oysters. The bay's biodiversity is also enriched by the seagrass and coral ecosystem. The seagrass ecosystem is a habitat of economically valued rabbitfish (*siganus spp.*) and barramundi (*Lates calcarifer*). Sudiarta and Sudiarta (2011) suggest 10 species of seagrass grow in the bay and nearby coastal areas. The waters of Sanur, Terora, and Nusa Dua are home, respectively, to 133, 126, and 121 types of hermatyphic corals sustaining 290 fish species (Allen and Erdmann 2011).

The ecosystems are a source of livelihood for nearby communities residing around the bay and other areas in south Bali (Conservation International 2013: 22-26). During high tide, the bay becomes fishing ground for several

fishermen groups. Communities living on Serangan Island also come to the bay to gather seaweed (*Gacillaria sp.* and *Hypnea sp.*). The seaweeds are ingredients of traditional delicacies served during special occasions, such as wedding ceremonies. Meanwhile, others make a living from collecting shrimps, which are mostly sold alive as fish bait. Finally, the coral ecosystem is one of the most popular diving sites in Bali and several diving operators have mushroomed in the Benoa peninsula.

The bay and its biodiversity have experienced various ecological problems caused by sedimentation and waste (Figure 1). These materials are carried by river streams flowing from upstream regions in Badung and Denpasar. It was recorded in 1999 that there were 55 million m³ of deposits in the bay (Pelindo in *ibid*: 6). The reclamation process of Serangan Island, harbour activities, and the construction of the Bali Mandara toll road have worsened this sedimentation.

FIGURE 1

The mangrove ecosystem spoiled by garbage



source: author

Tourism development in Bali has strategically put Benoa Bay at the epicentre of the popular destinations of Sanur, Kuta, and Nusa Dua. Its economic value is further augmented by ready infrastructures, i.e., Ngurah Rai airport to the west, Benoa harbour to the east, and the Bali Mandara toll road spanning it – connecting Denpasar, Tuban (where the airport is located) and Nusa Dua, as well as essential utility facilities, i.e., an estuary water treatment plant, power plant, regional waste management, and wastewater treatment (*ibid*: 5). About six developer companies have come up with proposals to develop it into property business and tourism facilities¹. However, they were hindered by the bay's status as a conserved area as regulated by the 2011 President Decree 45 about spatial planning of Denpasar municipality, as well as Badung, Gianyar, and Ta-

¹ Interview with Provincial Secretary of Bali (24 July 2017)

banan regency.

In 2012, Governor Pastika made a controversial decision in passing a decree that gives PT. TWBI the permit and right to “utilize, develop, and manage” 838 hectares of Benoa Bay (Provincial Government of Bali 2012). The decree also stipulates that the company is granted the right for 30 years, which can be extended for an additional 20 years. The passage was followed by resistance from activists and the public, accusing the government of a lack transparency and participatory consideration (Kompas 2013). The 2012 governor’s decree was thus terminated. However, the provincial government passed another decree in 2013 that permitted PT. TWBI to conduct a feasibility study for a revitalization project. Finally, Presidential Decree no. 51 was passed in 2014 regulating the bay to fall into a buffer zone category, open for commercial activities, thus stripping its conservation status (Ministry of Law and Human Rights Republic of Indonesia 2014). Four activists were arrested in March 2014² (Sindonews 2014). The resistance continues until today.

Revitalization, Resistance, and the Representation of Tri Hita Karana

Titled “Nusa Benoa”, the revitalization project of Benoa Bay includes the development of luxury resorts, apartments, a botanical garden, theme park, cultural centre, yacht marina, and other urban-residential facilities across 12 artificial islands (Nusa Benoa 2015). PT. TWBI budgeted 30 trillion rupiah to complete this project (Jakarta Globe 2014). The company is part of Artha Graha Network (AGN), one of the leading business empires in Indonesia owned by tycoon Tomy Winata. Its affiliated businesses thrive in many sectors, inter alia, banking, hospitality, agriculture, retail, mining, telecommunication, and entertainment. The Artha Graha Peduli (AGP) Foundation was founded to organize CSR activities of the affiliated companies. One of its projects is the establishment of the Tambling Wildlife Nature Conservation (TWNC) natural reserve. As of today, the revitalization project is in *status quo* with the environmental impact assessment prepared by the company, and it is still under review by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. If the implementation permit is passed, the reclamation process can commence. Finally, the last bureaucracy the company has to pass through is obtaining the utilization permit issued by the provincial government. This license will secure the company’s legal rights to conduct commercial activities in the area.

On 15 August 2013, a crowd identifying themselves as ForBALI (the Balinese forum against reclamation) gathered in front of the DPRD (regional people’s assembly) office (Mongabay 2013). They demanded the government to cancel the development plan of Benoa Bay. Initially, the movement “Bali Against Reclamation” was led by WALHI, the oldest and largest environmental NGO in Indonesia. ForBALI is an alliance of student organizations, NGOs,

² One activist was arrested based on article 336 paragraph 2 of the Indonesian Criminal Code on threats crime on 1 March 2014. Three activists handed themselves to the police two days later. The four activists were released on 28 March 2014.

youth groups, scholars, artists and other groups and individuals who resist revitalization projects. Musicians, including internationally known band Superman Is Dead, also support the movement. ForBALI gained stronger grassroots legitimation after 39 customary villages in Bali pledged allegiance to the cause, where 10 out of 11 villages encircling Benoa Bay are part of the *pasubayan* or the collective agreement (Figure 2). The movement drew more support after it began using the internet and social media as its campaign strategy (Galuh 2016). On 22 May 2014, for instance, an online petition gathering signatures to abort the presidential decree 51/2014 was created (Change.org 2014). Since then, the masses joining the protests have multiplied to thousands (Tribunnews 2014) and tens of thousands (Mongabay 2016). The movement is the first anti-tourism activism in Bali to involve a massive scale of protesters.

FIGURE 2

Thousands of people gathered in white following the declaration of two customary villages (Sumerta and Tanjung Bungkak) in opposition to the Benoa Bay revitalization project on 31 July 2016.



source: <http://www.uwong.co/2016/07/desa-adat-sumerta-dan-tanjung-bungkak-ikut-tolak-reklamasi-teluk-benoa>

Both proponents and opponents of revitalization use the concept of *tri hita karana* in justifying their positions (Berita Bali 2013, TWBI, n.d., WALHI Bali 2016). *Tri hita karana* (“three sources of wellbeing³”) is a philosophy that guides life in Bali. The principle suggests that the self must establish harmonious relationship with their fellow humans, the environment, and the Divine (Roth and Sedana 2015, Agung 2005). Intriguingly, this concept plays a versatile role in the discourses following policy change regulating the conservation status of Benoa Bay. Opposition groups demand the bay to be returned as a conserved area. They argue that the regulation has wronged the principles of *tri*

³ Sometimes referred to as three sources of happiness

bita karana. Government and the developer company claim the revitalization project is the cosmovision in practice. They are adamant that the project will create a trickle-down effect to the poor and will become the cure for various environmental issues overwhelming the bay. Accordingly, the paradox has caused obscurity of whether multiple meanings of the philosophy exist and if so, where it began. This puzzle requires one to question the substance of *tri bita karana* and its interpretations according to different actors in the context of sustainable development.

1.2 Research Question and Objective

How and why do actors use the concept of tri bita karana in defending their positions in the environmental conflict of Benoa Bay?

I break this main question into four sub-questions:

1. What is the *tri bita karana* framework?
1. a. What is “good life” in the *tri bita karana* framework?
2. Who are the actors in the environmental conflict of Benoa Bay?
3. What does *tri bita karana* mean according to the actors?
4. How do actors use *tri bita karana* in the conflict?

Through primary and secondary evidence collected in Bali, the research suggests more scrutiny on how seemingly similar languages, as implied by the use of *tri bita karana* in the conflict, can diverge in their valuation of nature. It aims to shed light on the different uses of *tri bita karana*, which enable its versatility in supporting different actors in the conflict. The research further aims to proclaim that post-growth ideas have more potential to emerge in the languages expressed by environmental justice movements than those used by eco-efficiency proponents.

1.3 Structure of The Research Paper

Chapter 2 of this paper explains the theoretical foundation of the research. By using political ecology as a lens and looking at concepts of varieties of environmentalism, languages of valuation, and post-growth, I analyse the primary and secondary evidence (Chapter 4). Chapter 3 elaborates the epistemological consideration of using case study methodology with an ethnographic orientation and explains the techniques of data generation and analysis used. Chapter 4 presents the narratives of each participant based on their expectation toward the result and impact of the project. It also elucidates the conception of “good life” in *tri bita karana* and juxtaposes it with an integral economics framework. It further elaborates typology of the cosmovision in the context of the Benoa Bay conflict. Chapter 5 concludes the previous chapters and explains the propensity of post-growth thinking to ally with two currents of environmentalism and how this allegiance is reflected in languages of valuation.

2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter contains the theories mentioned in chapter 1, building the framework for analysis (chapter 4). It elaborates the rationale of using political ecology as an approach in conducting the research and reviews previous studies on tourism development. It critically examines currents of environmentalism and broadly describes environmentalism in Indonesia. It covers conceptions of post-growth, which help to examine the use of various languages of valuation.

2.1 Political Ecology and Tourism Industry

According to Neuman (2005: 23) the term “political ecology” was initially introduced in the 1970s, used by journalists and scholars to emphasize nature and the environment as an increasingly politicized object. The first attempt of its conceptualization was made by Blaikie and Brookfield (1987: xxi) who define political ecology as an interdisciplinary approach combining “the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy”. It probes environmental issues through the analysis of power relations and the dominating discourse used in its reproduction (Forsyth 2003: 271-273). Robbins (2012) links it to broader political-economic systems rather than blaming proximate local actors. Furthermore, Martinez-Alier (2002) suggests that the approach is useful to explain “ecological distribution conflict”, which is the struggle over the “social, spatial and intertemporal patterns of access to the benefits obtainable from natural resources”, as well as the “burdens of pollution or over the sacrifices made” for its appropriation (Martinez-Alier et al. 2010: 2).

While studies of political ecology and ecological distribution conflict mainly cover the issue of landscape-use change for mining activities, modern agri/aquaculture, and energy projects, few authors have used the approach to address the tourism industry. Many, though, have entered the terrain with political-economy questions (Britton 1982, 1987, 1989; Brohman 1996; Enloe 1989; Lanfant and Graburn 1992; Pleumarom 1994). Stonich (1998) is perhaps the first to use the political ecology lens in probing the interplay between water management, environmental health, and tourism development in Bay Island, Honduras. Her investigation revealed that while tourism growth has degraded the island’s resources, its impacts are not equally distributed. The economic benefits of tourism are enjoyed by local, national, and international elites at the expense of the islanders. The ladino immigrants in particular must suffer greater risks of exposure to various health problems resulting from polluted freshwater sources and inadequate sanitation facilities. She further concludes the “unbridled tourism development” and its derivatives in Bay Island are identical with those happening in other isles experiencing rapid tourism growth (ibid: 49).

Cole (2012) conducted a similar study in Bali, Indonesia. The geographer uses a political ecology approach to explain the causes and impacts of uncontrolled tourism development on the island’s freshwater supply. Through stakeholder analysis, the author sheds light on the intersection of political and environmental factors resulting in unequal distribution of water. Among those

highlighted are regulatory factors encompassing weak enforcement of policies related to clean water management, e.g., watershed protection and well permit issuance. Sector-centrism and competing interest on project ownership between 11 departments at the national, provincial, and district level have corroborated these issues. Social power also contributes as a cause. Due to the stratified-nature of society, with a caste system and patriarchal culture, the Balinese are often uncritical toward development (ibid: 1231-1232). Authority is unquestioned and government is expected to know best. However, this is not the case. Government, in addition to accommodation owners and tourists, lack of awareness regarding water issues on the island (ibid: 1232). Finally, construction of hotels in protected forests, coupled with surging land conversion from agriculture, have also propelled uneven distribution of water between tourists and locals. These impacts are felt the most by farmers and have triggered conflicts between *pekaseh* (coordinators of communally-managed water systems or *subak*) and villages which allow hotel construction to take place and packaged mineral water company to operate.

While both studies probe the political and environmental factors propagating the unequal distribution of tourism development outcomes, none explore resistance and the discourses that follow. This is partly because inequity has yet to escalate into major conflict, where in many cases power and domination are reproduced through despair. To cite the above work, “people in Bali are often frightened to protest as in some cases protesters have been threatened” (WALHI in Cole 2012: 1232). However, today Bali presents a different case than that which Cole assessed in 2012. Therefore, in this study, I attempt to supplement works on the political ecology of tourism development in relation to Bali by focusing on the conflict and the discourses used by the different actors of Benoa Bay.

2.2 Varieties of Environmentalism and Languages of Valuation

Martinez-Alier (2014) suggests environmental movements are born as a reaction toward economic growth. Some are against it, while many are not. These currents can intermingle, with different levels of likeliness toward each other. He classifies environmentalism into three types: the “cult of wilderness”, the “gospel of eco-efficiency”, and the “mantra of environmental justice”. The first type of environmentalism had its genesis in the 19th century amidst threats toward pristine nature, endangered species, and beautiful sceneries. In the US, it inspired the creation of national parks, such as Yosemite and Yellowstone. It also inspired the establishment of Maasai Mara and the Serengeti of now Kenya and Tanzania by the British colonial rule. Their concern is mainly about aesthetic and ecological values of nature, which according to them must be left unspoiled by all economic and human activities. This includes pre-colonial indigenous settlers whose knowledge and practice have enabled them to coexist with nature since ancient time. The Maasai community, for instance, were displaced from their land and source of livelihood following the reserve creation (Robbins 2012: 12). Although the movement recognized itself as deep ecology

in the beginning, it has shifted closer to the logic of the economist. In an effort to make the loss of biodiversity more visible and appealing to the eye of policymakers and corporates, the ecosystem and its services must be converted into economic valuation.

The second current of environmentalism gained its name from the work of Hay (1959) titled “Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: the Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920”, which elaborated on US policies of waste reduction and forest conservation (by transforming them into tree plantations). It was born from concern over the impacts of industrialization and modern agriculture on the environment and human health. It is not against economic growth, but believes that the economy should be greener or more sustainable. This path toward sustainability is achieved through investment in clean technologies, which leads toward dematerialization of the economy. Hence is seen the argument for applying Kuznet’s curve toward all society, where they must experience the increase of economic growth and environmental impacts until a certain point where these impacts will decline. In other words, all society needs to develop and modernize (and become wealthy) in order to be able to preserve the environment. It is in essence “the search of ‘win-win’ solution, and ‘ecological modernization’” (Martinez-Alier 2002: 6). This current is much explored in the field of environmental economics, whose main message is the internalization of externality. The Gospel of Eco-Efficiency triumphs other currents in the crusade of development discourses. It manifests in schemes, inter alia carbon and habitat trading, payment for environmental services, tradable fishing quotas, and other policies, which emphasize on technical and technological solutions toward environmental problems.

On the other hand, the “mantra of environmental justice” movement questions the distribution of environmental costs and benefits (Martínez-Alier 2002: 10-14). It also problematizes the win-win scenario imagined by the second current. As for its proponents, the increase of economic growth only comes together with intensifying environmental impacts. Martinez-Alier (ibid: 10) puts this current in parallel with “popular environmentalism”, “livelihood ecology”, and “liberation ecology”. The environmental justice movement in the US began to recognize its existence in the 1980s. The notion of “environmentalism of the poor” was introduced in the same period in India to distinguish it from the “cult of wilderness” type of environmentalism. This occurred during a time in India when conservation efforts came about to fulfil the leisure needs of the upper and middle class (i.e., bird watching). The use of the term “poor” here is also intentional to reject the linear idea of development. Notable examples include the Chipko movement in the Himalayas in 1970s and the *seringueiros* in Acre, Brazil in 1980s (Martínez-Alier 2002: 119-125). However, some of the earliest movements can be traced back to the 1880s when local communities protested against mining company Rio Tinto in Andalusia, Spain, as well as protests against Ashio copper mine in the early 1900s in Japan (ibid: 55). None of these movements claimed itself to be environmentalist per se. However, political ecologists argue that the poor, in safeguarding their territorial rights and livelihood, are protecting nature from its commodification and degradation. In this way, ordinary men and women mobilize to defend forests, rivers, oceans, and mountains from the impacts of mining, industrial agriculture, oil extraction, trawling and other environmentally destructive production

activities.

Cribb (2003) suggests modern environmentalism in Indonesia began in 1970s. Amidst mounting international pressure, particularly pushed by the UN, the first Minister for the Environment was appointed in 1978. Environmental considerations began to enter the political sphere with the formulation of the 25-year development agenda, where environmental issues are seen as obstacles to modernization in the long run. Inspired by environmental arguments related to the work of Hardin (1968) the authoritarian government uses environmentalism to suppress public dissent about resource distribution. What followed was the confluence of the first and second current of environmentalism in the policy-making arena. Protection of forests manifested into regulations to exclude forest dwellers in the appropriation of resources. Government also resorted to techno-science expertise in dealing with the issue of biodiversity loss. To quote Cribb (2003: 41), “the first dramatic result of Indonesia’s conversion to environmentalism therefore was the creation of a series of national parks [...] excluded local people from access for hunting and cutting [...]”. This has drawn criticism, and the government responded through the creation of a buffer zone where local communities can still extract resources while also still protecting the core wilderness from human activities.

Nonetheless, various movements protesting against pollution and other environmentally destructive behaviours of corporations, as well as the fights against landscape-use change, were still able to channel their activism under the suppressive regime (Cribb 2003: 43-48). These movements are close to the third current, “mantra of environmental justice”, where actors criticize projects regarding their lack of respects toward human rights, in addition to environmental arguments. Some of the opposition movements can be seen in the case of the World Bank sponsored Kedung Ombo dam in Central Java (Cribb 2003: 47), resistance against shrimp farming along the north coast of Java, and those who battle against Freeport McMorant in West Papua (Martínez-Alier 2002: 65). After the fall of Soeharto, environmental issues lost considerable space in national politics due to the need of governments to recover from economic crisis. Worse, as pointed out by Peluso (2007), decentralization has exacerbated more violence where conflict over resources already exists. For example, legal and illegal logging, gold mining, and palm oil plantations became lucrative sources to boost district revenue. Amidst the powerful discourse and agenda for growth from the elite, resistance against expansion of coal mining and palm oil industry have added the nuance of environmental conflict in the country.

Gerber (2013) suggests two underlying causes of environmental conflict. First, it may escalate due to conflicting interest of various actors. Second, it may arise because of different ways of valuation toward nature. Some value the ecosystem based on its economic potential, some do not. Munda (2008: 23) puts forward “principles of incommensurability” to explain “irreducible value conflict when deciding what common comparative term should be used to rank alternative actions”. Some values do not translate in cardinal scales of measurement. Human rights, livelihood, as well as historical and cultural importance are some of the values embedded in nature, which are impossible to quantify in monetary languages. Also sacredness. To quote Martínez-Alier (2002: 3), “[...] when sacredness intrudes in market society, then conflict is

inevitable [...]”. This is the case in West Papua. One activist described the attitude of Freeport McMorant as not displaying the least bit of guilt when facing criticism for the degradation of mountains considered sacred by the Amungme tribe (ibid: 65). The language of sacredness is also used by actors opposing the development project of Benoa Bay. Furthermore, Martinez-Alier (2009) suggests the outcome of environmental conflict is influenced by political power. It determines the decision being made and through what procedure the decision is taken, or in other words by which “standard of valuation” (ibid: 87).

In this case study, I observe the tension between two approaches in dealing with environmental problems of the bay, i.e., between the “gospel of eco-efficiency” and the “mantra of environmental justice”. I exclude the “cult of wilderness” because none of the opposing groups see the bay as a reserve and plead for its fencing out from human and economic activities. Both groups are on the same page regarding the condition of the bay as source of livelihood for people. Rather, what is contested is how it is governed, provisioned and who has access toward appropriation of its resources. I prefer to stick with “environmental justice” rather than calling it “environmentalism of the poor”, due to the fact that opposing parties of the project consist of individuals and groups, which are more nuanced and should not be reduced into one category of the “poor”. There are indeed individuals who belong to more vulnerable classes and have interests in the material benefits of the bay. However, the movement has drawn support from larger groups consisting of individuals regardless of their class. Although one may argue, in the context of environmentalism, that the term “poor” is more of an identity (implying an “us versus corporate” status) rather than a social category, my hesitation with this terminology persists considering that these supporters are not necessarily claimants of the bay’s resources.

2.3 Post-Growth

Gerber and Raina (2017: 7) define “post-growth” as “a political, social and economic orientation that searches for alternatives to the current global model promoting Western-type growth-driven societies”. The authors suggest six main forms of post-growth thinking: post-GDP, agrowth, steady-state economics, post-extractivism, alternative “good lives”, and degrowth.

Proponents of the post-GDP idea contend that GDP is an obsolete indicator to measure progress. It does not take into account reproductive work, the informal economy, and the distribution of wealth. Scholars (Stiglitz et al. 2009; van den Bergh 2009) have worked on alternative indicators to guide economic policies. While growth is still accepted in this approach, its direction must be reconfigured. Similar to post-GDP, the concept of agrowth is indifferent toward growth itself. It mainly concerns whether social welfare and environmental sustainability is achieved, with or without growth (van den Bergh 2011: 890). Some proposals that belong to this current are the combining of green growth and selective degrowth. The economy may still grow, but differently. On the other hand, those who promote steady-state economics suggest a non-

expanding society and economy. Nations, and eventually the world, should strive toward stable energy and material throughput. The approach is covered in the works of scholars from both the global North (Daly 1991, 2012) and South (Deb 2009).

A fifth form of post-growth thinking aims toward an economy independent from extractive industry (Gerber and Raina 2017: 9). The idea has been proposed by Latin American scholars, such as Alberto Acosta, Eduardo Gudynas and Esperanza Martínez whose work elaborates societal, economic, and environmental derivatives of extractivism. It has inspired the drafting of the Yasuni Initiative and other proposals rejecting investment in the first place, which differ from mechanisms such as carbon and habitat trading. A fifth form of post-growth is the envisioning of a “good-life” alternative to modernity. This approach is similar to post-development where its proponents (Escobar 1995) aim to “unmake” the idea of development imposed by the West toward other nations to reassert its cultural superiority (Escobar 1995: 3-20). This alternative “good life” is intrinsic in concepts and cosmologies existing in the South. Examples are *Buen Vivir* or “living well” in Latin America, Ubuntu or “human mutuality” in South Africa, Gross National Happiness in Bhutan, and *tri hita karana* or “three sources of well-being” in Bali (Gerber and Raina, 2017: 9). Finally, degrowth promotes the shrinking of social metabolism through different ways of organizing the economy and society (D’Alisa et al. 2014: 3-6). While it arguably fits more in the context of developed economies (hence the need to make the economy smaller), a more radical degrowth proponent (Latouche 2004) suggests the developing world must not be excluded from its application. To quote Latouche (ibid: 5), “degrowth must apply to the South as much as to the North if there is to be any chance to stop Southern societies from rushing up the blind alley of growth economics”.

In this research, I decided to use post-growth as a framework instead of referring to its particular manifestation. Indeed, Gerber and Raina include *tri hita karana* in the fifth form of post-growth. However, I attempt to avoid forcing theory into reality by rather letting the data (and each of my participants) speak for itself while still keeping in mind the provided concepts in the analysis. Later on, in sub-chapter 4.3ii, I argue the use of *tri hita karana* by some actors reflects more than one element of post-growth.

Concluding Remarks: I have illustrated the theoretical framework of this research. I use political ecology, considering it as a valuable apparatus in studying environmental conflict. I have identified two currents of environmentalism in the case study and described the use of languages of valuation in environmental conflict. I have also mentioned *tri hita karana* as a form of “alternative good-life” which is part of six forms of post-growth thinking.

3 Methodology

This chapter starts with the epistemological foundation of using the case study methodology, with an ethnographic orientation. The methodology further guides techniques for data collection and analysis. It also contains reflection on how my own positionality as the researcher has shaped the knowledge production.⁴

3.1 Ethnographic Case Study

Haraway (1988: 581-590) calls for a more “situated” knowledge and criticizes mainstream science, with its over emphasis on visions. In her words, vision is “used to signify a leap out of the marked body and into a conquering gaze from nowhere” (ibid: 581). Departing from this epistemology, I seek to avoid the danger of enforcing my gaze and rupturing the link between theory and empirics. I am following the principles of ethnography in doing this research, in the hope that the knowledge will truthfully speak for particular subjects (table 1) in a particular situation (the environmental conflict of Benoa Bay).

However, this research is not ethnography. It does not involve year-long observation of day-to-day interactions of the subjects being researched. Rather, it is a single case study with an ethnographic orientation. I decided to follow the case study methodology considering the types of research questions I sought to ask, which mainly consist of the how and why of contemporary social phenomenon. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 3) suggest that in-depth study can be done when cases being observed are few and small in terms of scale. This research is a single-case study (Benoa Bay) with embedded units of analysis (actors in the conflict) (Yin 2013: 53-56). Yin (ibid: 52) suggests, that there are five rationales in deciding to study a single case. The second rationale where the phenomenon is “unusual” applies in this case study. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the case of Benoa Bay is unusual in terms of how actors use the same concept (*tri hita karana*) in various languages of valuation in advancing their political goals. I expect to generalize the findings only to cases of environmental conflict involving different actors using similar languages of valuation in defending their positions.

Basic principles underpinning ethnography were applied in the research preparation, data collection, and its interpretation. Specifically, an ethnographic approach is needed in answering research sub-question three (chapter 1). This question requires me to capture beyond what is told orally and what appears on documents by understanding “members’ meanings” (Emerson et al. 2011: 129-169) through interpretation of subjects’ feelings and perceptions. This can only be done when I incorporate my other senses through participant observation, in addition to interview. I need to carefully attend to what is important

⁴ I developed this chapter based on two essays I submitted as requirements for completing research methods courses during my graduate study (ISS 3303 and ISS 3305). A large part of it is precisely taken from those previous works, with some adjustment and addition written based on my field experience.

and meaningful according to them in my writing. This is not to say that the degree of observation being done to each subject did not vary due to challenges that I encountered in the field.

Quantification and statistical analysis play a very modest role in this research. This is especially the case in the analysis, which will be focusing primarily on meanings given by subjects and their accounts in the form of verbal explanations of the conflict and *tri hita karana*. However, this study is arguably less ethnographic in the sense that participant observation is not the main source of evidence. That being said, evidence from sub-units of analysis, especially those from NGO and community activists, water sport owner, fisherman, and shrimp collectors were gathered through informal conversations. The interviews were conducted in an unstructured manner with questions being asked open-endedly. Participants were expected to explain without any restriction substantively and temporally.

The study is by no means a form of positivist research because it is not aimed to confirm or reject hypotheses. Additionally, it is not conducted as an experiment where the researcher has already identified variables and has full control over the setting. On the other hand, it studies a contemporary phenomenon with variables that are impossible to control. This research requires me, as the researcher, to repeatedly revisit explanations and concepts within various perceptions of reality. My initial explanation of the phenomenon was constantly challenged and adjusted along the process of research. Therefore, this research is exploratory in nature because causal explanations of how and why actors use *tri hita karana* in justifying their different—rather opposing—positions in a conflict has not previously existed in theory. The methodology of using a single case study with an ethnographic orientation has allowed me to really explore possibilities and venture into the depth of the phenomenon, which would otherwise be unlikely in cross-case analysis.

3.2 Data Generation Techniques

The use of multiple sources of evidence is essential in case study methodology to develop “converging lines of inquiry,” which strengthens the construct validity of research (Yin 2013: 120, 121). Following Cole (1998), I created a mind map of the stakeholders of Benoa Bay’s resources and development plan (figure 3) based on preliminary investigation and snowball sampling. This chart is a simplification of reality, serving as a model to help me map the actors and their interest in order to further analyse their use of discourses. While my sample does not include all groups of stakeholders⁵, and this certainly is a limitation of my research, I interviewed key actors in the conflict presenting dissenting opinions regarding the project (table 1). I decided to conduct in-depth interviews instead of FGD due to the sensitivity of the issue, which meant that some participants may not have spoken openly in the presence of others. Sev-

⁵ It is important to recognize that there is nuance within stakeholder groups. For example, in the government, senators Pasek Suardika and Weda Karna strongly object the revitalization plan. However, none of them have direct law-making power to change the regulations provisioning revitalization. In addition, a number of fishermen featured on the YouTube page of PT. TWBI testified supporting the project, yet this is not the case I encountered during my fieldwork.

eral bodies of literature discussing the concept *tri hita karana* were selected and used to answer specifically sub-question one (chapter 1). Finally, I also looked into secondary evidence, namely the interview of Governor Pastika on “In-sight” talk show (CNN Indonesia 2016), the *Sabba Pandita* text (recommendation from high priests) (PHDI 2016), environmental and social impact assessment prepared by PT. TWBI. These documents were needed to triangulate the primary data I gathered from the interviews.

FIGURE 3
Benoa Bay’s resources and development plan nexus

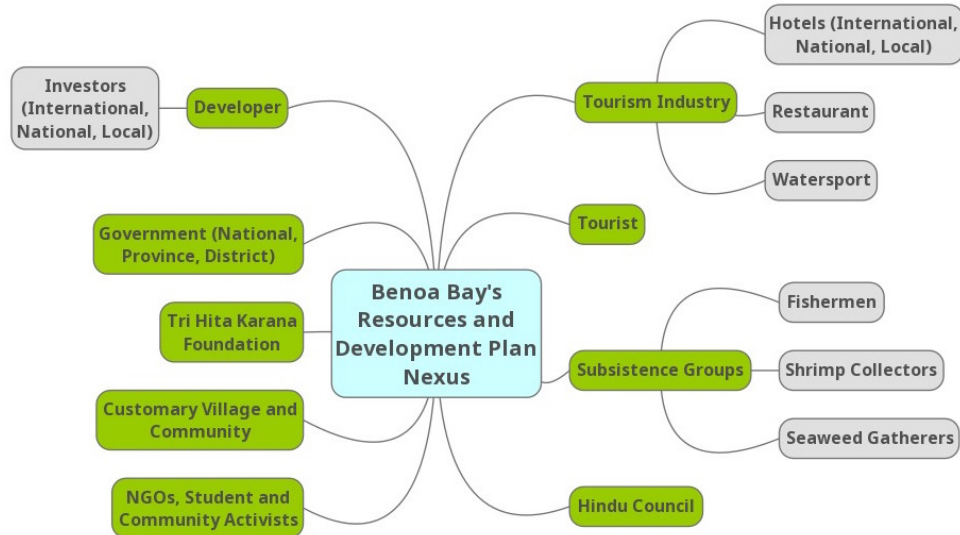


TABLE 2
List of Participants

	Participant Name ⁶	Capacity	Position toward Revitalization	Date	Interview Location
1	Tromat	Watersport Owner	Oppose	19-Jul	Apolo Watersport
2	Wayan	Fisherman	Oppose	19-Jul	Fisherman Post
3	Luh	Shrimp Collector	Oppose	19-Jul	Participant's house
4	Heru Wasesa	Executive Director of PT. TWBI	Support	21-Jul	Jakarta (via phone call)
5	I Wayan Swarsa	Coordinator of <i>Pasubayan</i> of Customary Villages against Reclamation, Customary Village leader of Kuta.	Oppose	22-Jul	Food stall in Segara beach
6	Gede	Shrimp Collector	Oppose	22-Jul	Participant's house
7	Cokorda Ngurah Pемыayun	Provincial Secretary	Support	24-Jul	Provincial government office
8	I Gusti Ngu-	Head of Hindu Council	Oppose	27-Jul	PHDI office

⁶ I did not use the real names of the fisherman and the shrimp collectors to protect respondents' confidentiality.

	rah Sudiana				
9	Mpu Daksa Charya Manuaba	High Priest	Oppose	1-Aug	Udayana University
10	Wisnu Wardana	Head of Tri Hita Karana Foundation	Support ⁷	2-Aug	Bali Travel Newspaper office
11	Wayan 'Gendo' Suardana	Coordinator, ForBALI	Oppose	4-Aug	WALHI secretariat
12	Suriadi Darmoko	Coordinator, WALHI Bali	Oppose	5-Aug	WALHI secretariat

3.3 Techniques for Data Analysis

The general analytic strategy of the case study methodology is to work with the data from the “ground up” (Yin 2013: 136-138). As mentioned earlier, instead of having a particular theoretical proposition to be tested, the case study examines the information provided by the data and then builds a theoretical explanation out of it. That being said, several concepts (see chapter 2) were already identified to help me make sense of the phenomenon and eventually come up with relevant theory to explain this case. Considering this general analytic strategy, the case was further analysed by using Yin’s (ibid: 147-150) explanation building technique. My initial explanation of the environmental conflict of Benoa Bay, as a conflict over the valuation of nature, is subsequently compared with the evidence I found. I created a table to identify key issues based on the narrative of each participant. I classified their main response into several categories, i.e., their positions in the conflict; expectation of the result and/or impact of the project on the environment, livelihood, as well as culture and spiritual life; perspective if the project is reflecting *tri hita karana* values, as well as their view regarding the cosmovision. Observation and secondary evidence further corroborate what I infer from the table. The process helped me to draw patterns and classify the different uses of *tri hita karana*, which transcend my initial explanation of the conflict.

3.4 Reflexivity

I share the same view and political aim of Rose (1997: 318) regarding the importance of “situating” academic work. This aim is achieved when the knowledge produced is “nongeneralizing” and “can learn from other kinds of knowledges”. She further explains Haraway’s (1991: 193) suggestion of how “positioning” is a key practice in “grounding” knowledge. I ground the knowledge that will be produced through my research by being reflexive about my positionality. My multiple identities as Balinese, a young male, Hindu, foreign educated, and student researcher have placed me in different positions during my research.

⁷ The participant declared his position was neutral regarding the project during the interview, but this is not what I inferred from the overall conversation.

Being born and raised in Bali, I have witnessed how the island is not merely, nor has really ever been, an ordinary tourist destination. The explosive tourism economy has practically commodified all of Bali into mass-tourism. I have experienced the steadily intensifying traffic congestion along the main road connecting Denpasar and the airport. I had to commute for two hours back and forth to my office, even by scooter. I have witnessed how the teak forest and farms close to my home were transformed into villas, arts storages, and workers' housings. I therefore carry my historical baggage amidst my research, and I see Bali, tourism, tourism development, and its derivatives with a particular lens. In fact, this particular lens did not only shape one form of my positionality. Rather, it adds another layer of positionality, which comes from my decision to pursue graduate study at an institute offering a critical social studies education. As a student of political-ecology, I see nature as socially constructed and inherently political. Also, I judge environmental issues through a distributional lens, and I ask critical questions of who benefits and loses from landscape-use change. My positionality is also influenced by my identity as a Hindu. To be born and raised in a Hindu family and having enrolled in public schools in Bali, I was introduced to *tri hita karana* philosophy early in life. I have prior knowledge regarding the concept and noticed how it has evolved into a catch-all-phrase, easily found in hotel pamphlets and constantly said in candidates' speeches during the periods of regional election campaigns. My subjectivity is inevitable throughout the development of the research. It is reflected in the research design, data collection, analysis, and toward the conclusion. By acknowledging this subjectivity, I attempt to make my research more objective.

Like Crossa (2012: 116) I repeatedly contemplated on which element of my identities I should emphasize during fieldwork. For instance, as much as I am aware of my position in the development plan, I tried to not show it even to the respondents I share the side with. I expected to gain more respect as a novice researcher if I showed neutrality. For example, I went to observe the protest not wearing the dress code, trying to distinguish myself from the body of protesters. While I attempted to be reflexive from the beginning of the research design, I unfolded the malleable aspect of my positionality, which placed me in different situations in the field. My background of coming from a family working in academia has helped me to approach some "gatekeepers" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 49-53). For example, I was able to dodge lengthy bureaucracy and built rapport with high profile informants. However, the same position simultaneously almost barred me from interviewing other respondents (such as activists), which I first identified as the gatekeeper for subsistence groups. As time went by, I had to approach my participants from subsistence groups by myself. I finally could interview the activists in the last week of fieldwork before I left Indonesia. Through this I learned two important lessons. First, when the stake is high, activists want to know the positionality of researcher. Second, they expect the researcher to follow procedures, instead of finding shortcuts. In ForBALI for example, all decisions, including acceptance or refusal of research proposals, must be collectively agreed upon. All of this led me to deeply understand how as a researcher, I did not only apply my gaze towards others, but I became an object of their gaze as well. To quote Crossa (2012: 116):

“Thinking about positionality relationally allowed me to recognize other people’s agency in my positionality, and the agency of those I had perceived as marginalized and at the receiving end of power.”

Concluding Remarks: In this chapter, I have explained my endeavour in situating my research by following principles of ethnography and case study methodology. I have also described how practicing reflexivity has allowed me to see the gaze of others toward me as a researcher, and to recognize its influence on the course of my research as well as the outcome.

4 Findings and Discussion

This chapter is comprised of an analysis of both primary and secondary evidence. The different narratives told by various actors to describe the development plan of Benoa Bay are examined in subchapter 4.1. Literature on *tri hita karana* and integral economics are reviewed in subchapter 4.2 to answer research sub-question 1 and 1.a (chapter 1). Finally, the three uses of *tri hita karana* in the conflict are elaborated upon in subchapter 4.3 to address sub-questions 3 and 4.

4.1 Conflict of Valuation Languages

In many environmental conflicts, the elite value nature based on its economic potential. On the other hand, local communities, indigenous groups, and activists conceive other ways of valuing the ecosystem. The latter reject a singular parameter of valuation and turn instead to value expressions of sacredness, local livelihood, and territorial and human rights, among others.

However, in the case of Benoa Bay, the elite, in addition to expressing economic language (pertaining to the so-called “multiplier effect”), also throw ‘local livelihood improvement’ and ‘cultural and spiritual restoration’ cards in to justify landscape-use change. Officials and developer also claim that the development project is necessary to revitalize the already damaged ecosystem. In doing so, they include language spoken by their opposition who demand biodiversity conservation, distributive justice, and adherence to sacredness. Such incorporation does not only blur the boundaries between supposedly different valuations of nature, but also complicates the essence of the conflict itself.

I attempt to shed light on this issue by presenting the expected result and impact of the development plan according to various actors in the conflict. The narratives will be divided into the three following categories, namely, languages of environmental management, livelihood, and cultural preservation and sacredness. The analysis shows that while the elite use various languages of valuation in addition to monetary languages, their intention in the usage is still primarily the justification of chrematistic growth. This may seem simplistic, yet, by taking into account the teleological aspect of language-use, one can see the divergence of nature valuation even when it is concealed in similar semantics.

Language of Environmental Management

“Everywhere, we cannot stop economic development”, said Wasesa during our conversation via a phone call (interview, 21 July 2017). I sensed pride in his voice, explaining how PT.TWBI will set an example of environmentally sustainable tourism in Bali. Proponents of revitalization suggest that the development of Benoa Bay is necessary for ecological ends. First, revitalization is

needed to save the deteriorated bay's ecosystem, especially its surrounding mangrove covers⁸. As mentioned earlier (chapter 1), sediments and waste overwhelm parts of the bay. As an estuary of several rivers, the bay receives all the soils, sands, and garbage brought by the river stream, especially during the rainy season. In dealing with the garbage issue, the provincial government deploys a cleaning team to scoop out 5 to 7 tonnes of garbage every day⁹. They also set several nets in places where the litter predominantly enters from. The administration spends 10 billion rupiah annually on this, but it is a futile effort. In 2013, the provincial government launched the Bali Clean and Green program where part of the agenda is mangrove replantation. However, none of the young mangroves survived. As expressed by the Provincial Secretary:

It is important to note that Benoa Bay is not a properly conserved area, as a result of human activities where all garbage goes to there. Henceforth, government has the duty to solve or manage it [...] 1,000 mangrove saplings are provided by the provincial government annually [...] All dead. It has been going on for 4 years [...] We concluded it needs revitalization. Thus, we hand it over to Mangrove Care Forum (Interview 24 July 2017).

The Mangrove Care Forum is affiliated with Artha Graha Foundation. On 26 June 2013, the NGO appointed football star Cristiano Ronaldo as Mangrove Ambassador (Figure 4). The ceremony was blessed by former President Yudhoyono who also attended the event. The NGO has arranged programs to pick up trash around the mangrove ecosystem involving students and communities. It is also involved in cleaning up Tukad Mati, one of the rivers feeding into Benoa Bay. In dealing with stilting, revitalization will involve deposit excavation. To dredge such a vast area will require more government expenditure¹⁰. Giving investment opportunity to the private sector, along with the 'responsibility' to 'preserve' the mangrove ecosystem while taxing the economic benefits, would be a win-win solution.

Second, packaged in a green development concept¹¹, revitalization reconciles economic growth and environmental preservation. The argument follows that development and commercial activities can take place in the bay, a previously conserved area, because of its already deteriorated ecological conditions. Even so, development will be done in an environmentally sustainable manner. As requested by investors who are financing the project, PT. TWBI employs consultants with a grade A in sustainability. This is done in order to ensure that sustainability principles will be met in all aspects, including water and energy sources, waste management, and urban design, all of which will minimize the carbon footprint (Nusa Benoa 2015). Also, the developer intends to leave two-thirds of reclaimed lands as open-green spaces. Moreover, land reclamation—the core of revitalization—is seen as a breakthrough for immense land-use change. More than 400 hectares of agricultural lands on the island are being converted into accommodation facilities each year (Sriartha and Windia 2015: 329). In the words of Wasesa:

⁸ Interview with PT.TWBI Executive Director and Provincial Secretary

⁹ Interview with Provincial Secretary

¹⁰ Television interview of Provincial Governor (CNN Indonesia 2016)

¹¹ Interview with PT.TWBI Executive Director and Provincial Secretary

Balinese farmers cry out “why are our lands being transformed into hotels?” [...] Because of tourism development and there is no more land. What we are doing is generating new lands without converting agricultural land. [...] We generate new lands in coastal areas [...] Every development has positive and negative impacts [...] we explain in the AMDAL. Let’s discuss what the negative impacts are. Environmental degradation? Now it is more degraded! (Interview 21 July 2017).

FIGURE 4
Football star Cristiano Ronaldo smiles for a photo. Former President Yudhoyono claps his hands at the far right.



source: <http://nusabenoa.com>

Nonetheless, opponents of the development plan disagree if revitalization will become a solution for both land-use change and the bay’s ecological problems. Their opposition is based on two arguments. First, the project itself is not merely land-use change; it is essentially *landscape*-use change, where almost half of the intertidal zone will turn into permanent lands. The physical alteration is expected to cause floods and tsunami in the hinterland, in addition to increasing the severity of abrasion in other coastal areas in Bali¹². Second, the whole revitalization process, which will include dredging and infilling, will eventually result in biodiversity loss. The Benoa peninsula has been experiencing regular flooding every tenth full moon, or *purnama kedasa*, in the Balinese calendar, where the water level significantly rises. One of the shrimp collectors I interviewed, Gede, lives approximately 50 meters away from the western tip of the peninsula. Some densely populated nearby areas, e.g., Sanur Kauh, Suwung Kangin, Pesanggaran, and Pemogan, have relatively low topography. Considering land reclamation will reduce the bay’s capacity as a reservoir, with the same volume of water entering the bay, many are afraid the spill over will

¹² Interview with watersport owner, shrimp collectors, *pasubayan* coordinator, and ForBALI coordinator

go to these lower regions. Finally, participants believe the development project will affect other coastal areas in Bali, which have been experiencing abrasion following the previous reclamation project of Serangan Island.

While proponents of revitalization argue that the project will save the threatened mangrove ecosystem, opposition groups do not buy this idea on the grounds that the project will harm the overall biodiversity within and around the bay. Land reclamation processes and the construction of hotels and other facilities are expected to generate significant amount of debris in the water. The polluted water body will harm the coral ecosystem around the bay. “I planted those corals... Reclamation will destroy them”, expressed Tromat (interview 19 July 2017). There are four diving spots to the east of the Benoa peninsula. Local communities, along with diving operators, have engaged in activities to preserve the coral in these areas. In January 2017, for instance, seven turtle sculptures, made out of materials to support coral growth, were sunk in one of the diving points, Batu Gede.

Moreover, the bay is a stopover point for migratory birds. The birds fly through the East Asian-Australasian Flyway (EAAF), a flight path stretching through 22 countries from the Arctic Circle through East and Southeast Asia to Australia and New Zealand (EAAFP 2017). Landscape alteration will disrupt the birds’ migratory route¹³. Ultimately, activists are not satisfied with claims to preserve mangrove ecosystems. If revitalization is meant for conservation, efforts should focus on returning the bay’s physical conditions to perform its ecological function. Gendo, who leads the ForBALI movement, critically questioned the need to reclaim lands. In his words:

If it experiences sedimentation, then why is it filled? It should have been dredged instead. If the mangrove is disrupted, then some management must be done. If the rivers are disrupted, then control the river flow [...] It should have been returned to its function as a conserved area (interview 4 August 2017).

Language of Livelihood

The languages of growth, employment, and productivity are recurring patterns in the discourses on the development of Benoa Bay. As Governor Pastika puts it:

Development in Bali is based on philosophy. At the national level, there are probably only three: pro growth, pro job, and pro poor. Bali adds two: pro environment and pro culture. If one is not fulfilled, we would say no. Environment and culture are a must. And bringing welfare to the people. Pro job, they have to get employed... and grow, shouldn’t it? Our populations increase, our needs increase, hence growth (CNN Indonesia 2016).

Development in the province has often been criticized as being unequal, where economic growth and infrastructure improvement have mostly taken place in the south. Basic sanitary and education facilities are still an issue in

¹³ Interview with *pasubayan* coordinator and ForBALI coordinator

many other regions, especially in the northern and eastern parts of the island. The development of Benoa Bay and its so-called 300 trillion “multiplier effect”¹⁴ are expected to become the saving grace for the vulnerable and impoverished. Tourism and other economic activities are said to generate 100 billion rupiah daily, of which one-tenth of the money must be paid in restaurant and hotel tax. Thus, with 10 billion rupiah entering the government’s bank account every day, a more ambitious development agenda can be achieved. Furthermore, the language of growth is reinforced by a competition discourse. Proponents of revitalization contend that new attractions are needed if Bali is going to stay in the national and international spotlight of the tourism industry. Revitalization, along with its theme park, golf course, mangrove eco-chalets, and botanical garden, will offer a fresh set of menu options to compliment the exotic charm of the outdated Bali. To quote Pastika:

Ten billion rupiah can be obtained. What can’t we do to improve other regions, to eradicate poverty? And this is a new tourism destination. We compete with other countries. Bali also competes with other provinces (CNN Indonesia 2016).

In addition to boosting economic growth, revitalization is expected to tackle unemployment. About 25,000 university graduates are produced annually by the 53 academic institutions in the province¹⁵. The tourism economy is projected to generate 250,000 jobs¹⁶ where 70 percent¹⁷ of the positions will be reserved for the Balinese. PT. TWBI (2015) promises first-class accommodation and public services as its key value proposition. The hotels will be built and managed to outperform the existing 5-star hotels in Bali. The developer will ensure knowledge and skill transfer for the Balinese, in order to have high levels of labour aptitude¹⁸. This will guarantee that the needs of the global upper class, coming to consume high-end hospitality services, will be satisfied.

Proponents of revitalization also converse on how local communities will also enjoy the benefits from the project. They argue that landscape alteration will result in increases of productivity. First, the design of Nusa Benoa leaves about a 150-meter distance between the reclaimed lands. This is adequate not only for fishermen and water sport boats, but also for cruise ships to pass through. Second, transforming the intertidal zone into permanent water cover will allow fishermen to access the bay at all times. Today, their activities are limited by the tidal cycle occurring twice a day. Government and developer believe the new attractions and facilities will not over-compete businesses run by the locals. Moreover, the project includes the establishment of fishermen wharfs in one of the reclaimed lands. During the interview, Wasesa illustrated how transactions between the residents of Nusa Benoa and the fishermen is only one phone call away. In the future, the fishermen can go home with more

¹⁴ Interview with PT.TWBI executive director and Provincial Secretary

¹⁵ Television interview of Provincial Governor (CNN Indonesia 2016)

¹⁶ Interview with PT.TWBI executive director

¹⁷ Interview with Provincial Secretary

¹⁸ Interview with PT.TWBI executive director

cash, as the new market is willing to pay more. This, according to him, is the embodiment of *pawongan*¹⁹. In his words:

It is a false accusation if you say we will kill water sports. We bring market. Hotel competition? [...] We will not compete with the existing class. We will never close the access. We are part of the Artha Graha Network. Look at SCBD²⁰. That is our private space. But we open it. Public can access 24 hours. [...] We will establish fishermen's wharfs. Fishermen can take advantage from this [...] The residents will surely not buy the fish cheap. They can phone the post at the fishermen's wharf so they can transact. That is relationship between humans (Interview 21 July 2017).

However, many are not convinced by these proposals. Other participants doubt whether the development project will result in economic and livelihood improvements for local communities, or rather for large tourism stakeholders in Bali. First, opponents of revitalization argue the project will exacerbate the existing price war of accommodation services in Bali²¹. Back in 2010, Governor Pastika himself issued a letter addressed to heads of three regencies in Bali to suspend registration for investment in accommodation services. The decision was made following a survey by the Ministry of Tourism published in 2010, which suggested that there are already 9,800 oversupplied accommodation rooms on the island (The Jakarta Post 2013).

Second, opposition groups believe the intensifying tourism economy will put more environmental, social and psychological pressure on south Bali and its society. The 250,000 workers coming from all over the island, and beyond, will eventually need housing. Surging demand for boarding houses will trigger more land-use change in the already densely populated regions of south Bali. As said by Gendo:

The logic that is presented by investors—that by reclaiming lands in the sea this will reduce land-use change in the mainland—is unreasonable. It instead propels because of urbanization (Interview 4 August 2017).

This sheer number of newcomers, in addition to the residents of Nusa Benoa and visitors, will expand the island's metabolism. More input (electricity, freshwater, fossil fuel, and so on) will be needed and more waste will be generated²². Commuting travel buses, cars, and motorbikes of tourists and workers between shifts will exacerbate the already congested traffic on Sunset Road, Sesetan, and Benoa²³. In a world where benefits and costs of environmental change are distributed by the market, many worry that the whole spectacle will eventually lead to the “marginalization of Balinese in their own land”²⁴. This

¹⁹ The human realm in the *tri hita karana* framework

²⁰ An abbreviation of Sudirman Central Business District. A business district developed by PT. Danayasa Arthatama Tbk, a company affiliated with AGN

²¹ Interview with *pasubayan* coordinator and ForBALI coordinator

²² Interview with *pasubayan* coordinator

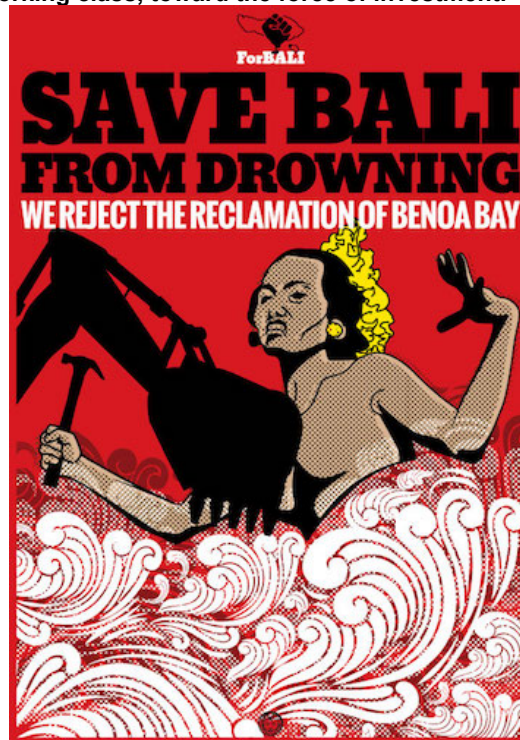
²³ Interview with watersport owner, Hindu Council head, *pasubayan* coordinator and ForBALI coordinator

²⁴ Interview with *pasubayan* coordinator

concern is depicted in some of the posters used in the campaign of ForBALI illustrating the Balinese's struggle against revitalization (figure 5).

FIGURE 5

A poster depicting a woman wearing a Balinese headpiece and holding a hammer next to an excavator. It represents the battle between ordinary citizen, perhaps the working class, toward the force of investment.



source: <https://nobodycorp.org>

Third, subsistence groups and activists fear privatization of the bay will lead to enclosures. My participant, Wayan, has been fishing since 1993. He normally sails to the open sea of the Indian Ocean, ten miles away from the southeastern tip of Bali. When the wind is too strong, Wayan and other fishermen turn to Benoa Bay. The fish are relatively smaller than those in the open seas, yet more than enough to feed his family and to be sold in the market. There are approximately 150 individuals who still fish in the bay. In addition to traditional fishing boats, or *jukung*, most of them own glass bottom boats to transport tourists for coral reef sightseeing. Wayan doubt whether or not he will be able to access the area if the revitalization takes place. Hence, he marched along with other protesters in some of the demonstrations.

Two shrimp collectors who I met separately shared the same concern. “Where am I supposed to look for shrimp? If hotels are built there, how am I supposed to make money to give my grandchildren?”, my participant Luh remarked, expressing her disapproval toward the project (interview 19 July 2017). Equipped with a pair of boots, a net, and a torch, this lady in her late 60s goes to the shore each night from 19:00 to 23:00. The shrimps are worth more alive, sold at 1000-1500 rupiah each. People buy it for fish bait. She keeps the shrimp in 1 x 0.5 meter containers filled with sea sands with a small pump to circulate the water. The dead ones are sold to the market at Rp.100.000,- per kilogram. Like Luh, my other participant Gede is also worried over his livelihood, “Just like in Serangan. The edge of the island will become too deep. Now people

from Serangan also come here. Sometimes they collect seaweed” (interview 22 July 2017). He and his wife always collect shrimp together. There are particular days every month the couple cannot miss. It starts every four days before the full moon until two days after. During this time, they can collect 150 shrimps in one go. The condition lasts for about 2.5 hours. On the contrary with what the government and developer think as being limited and unproductive, shrimp collectors are dependant on the fall of sea level.

I inferred from my interviews with Wayan, Luh, and Gede that the issue is more than what is reduced by the government and developer into “access” in its literal sense, in terms of entrance. Such discourse overlooks the fact that the project will turn almost half of the intertidal zone—the fishing ground—into permanent lands. This was confirmed during my conversation with a WALHI activist. He problematized the claims of proponents of revitalization, saying that local communities will not be denied entrance to the bay. To quote Darmoko, “if there are waterways between the reclaimed lands, those are not *provided* but are *leftover*” (interview 5 August 2017).

Language of Cultural Preservation and Sacredness

The *tri hita karana* philosophy has been constantly conveyed by developer and the government in communicating the cultural and spiritual features of revitalization. Culture and spirituality are mainly promoted through restoration of Pudut Island. The island has been experiencing severe abrasion following the reclamation project of nearby Serangan Island. With now only one hectare left from the previous eight, the island is a site of religious activities and worship. The locals regularly come and pay homage to *Sang Hyang Baruna*, a manifestation of the Supreme Being as the protector of the ocean. The Deity is worshipped at the Segara temple which is located on the island. The proposed name “Pudut Cultural Island” is self-explanatory. The island will be restored to become Bali’s next top art and cultural centre, hence being the main pillar holding the cultural and spiritual aspects of *tri hita karana* in the development project. The *tri hita karana* framework is part of the company’s vision and mission statements, where three out of five missions are related to culture, value, and traditions (TWBI 2015):

Vision

“To be a leading developer and estate management company in Bali, thriving for world-class excellence, while continuously and actively preserving the environment and honoring the local customs and traditions”

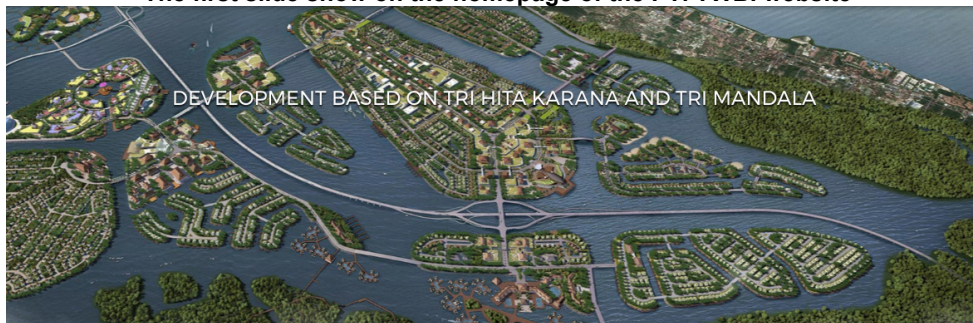
Mission

*To preserve and honor Bali’s local value of “Tri Hita Karana”
To contribute in the development of Bali’s cultural tourism
To contribute towards local economic growth whilst maintaining environment sustainability
To nurture professional and qualified human resources with extensive range of knowledge
To form a culture conscious community that respect the traditional value*

When I bluntly asked during our interview on how the company uses *tri hita karana* philosophy in its marketing strategies, Wasesa maintained that marketing activities are yet to start because the company is “obedient” toward

laws, regulations and procedures. The marketing team will wait until the decision of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry comes out. However, a quick tour on the company's website gives one an idea of how central the *tri hita karana* framework is in PT. TWBI's marketing and communications. Cyber visitors are welcomed by several moving images and texts. The slide show starts with a picture of the spatial plan, followed by the sentence "Introducing: development based on *tri hita karana* and *tri mandala*" (figure 6). The next two slides subsequently display a photograph of a Balinese offering, or *canang sari*, sitting on a washed shore line. The moment is perfectly captured, presenting the tranquil side of Bali that is embedded in its nature and culture. The display changes every six seconds. The *tri hita karana* philosophy can also be found in the company profile sub-section on the website where PT. TWBI (2015) describes itself as "proud" to "aim to become a pioneer in developing and managing an upcoming new tourism area in Bali while respecting Balinese philosophy of 'Tri Hita Karana'".

Figure 6
The first slide show on the homepage of the PT. TWBI website



Source: <http://twbi.co.id>

Often being accused of violating *tri hita karana* principles, government and developer turn the criticism back to opposing parties. They are adamant that the project is crucial to save the nature and culture of Bali. For them, it is those who resist development who are ignoring the values and practices of *tri hita karana*. As written in the socio-culture chapter of the feasibility study²⁵ (2014: 223), "precisely if reclamation and revitalization are not done, that is an attitude that contradicts teachings of Hinduism, whether the 'pure Vedic' or the Bali-rooted". Derogatory expressions, such as ugly, dirty, and filthy are often used in describing how the bay is not proper to be called a sacred place—a claim that is used by the resistance movement. Looking at the words chosen by officials and developer in legitimizing the development project of Benoa Bay, the need to revitalize is also framed by discourses of ignominy:

Those who oppose and suggest to leave the bay as it is now is not *tri hita karana*. The relationship between human and nature? [...] There are condoms, underwears. It is filthy. Carcasses of dogs and chickens. Now Artha Graha has taken over [...] It is cleaned just like Tambling in Sumatera. That is what we want in south Bali. Instead of killing and cutting the mangrove (interview with Provincial Secretary 24 July 2017).

²⁵ The environmental and social impact assessment is not available online. I borrowed the document from WALHI Bali.

However, opposing groups did not stop. Student researchers of ForBALI conducted an investigation to document knowledges, histories, and narratives about the bay's sacredness. The team also looked into the existing spatial plan of the province to map places of worship. They were able to locate 70 sacred points that are scattered within and around Benoa Bay (map 2). These spots include temples, the *loloan* or mixture of freshwater streams and sea tides, seabed heaps or *muntig*, and seagrass bed. For the Balinese, sacred places are not only shrines and temples; they can also be any objects that are believed to resonate energy. Among the narratives spoken by them is one, which pertains to the Karang Tengah temple, a shrine said to exist in the spiritual realm imperceptible to the vision of humans. Folklore says God Baruna and mythological creatures, i.e., the dragons Basuki and Nagendra, reside in it. The temple has its anniversary, or *pujawali*, on the same day with *Tumpek Landep*²⁶ according to the Balinese calendar. The local community performs the *mulang pekelem* ritual annually at the spot (point 31 in map 2) (PHDI 2016). They dedicate offerings and prayers to the deities in hope of assistance to neutralize negativity and impurity. As both a Hindu and Balinese, I see other individuals sharing the same identities to have strong respect, if not fear, toward seas and coastal areas. In addition to our adherence to the deities residing within the ocean, many other rituals, or *yadnya*, such as *pemelastian*²⁷ and *penganyutan*²⁸, have to be done in aquatic environments (PHDI 2016). Under this framework of belief, calamity awaits those who disrespect and pollute water sources.

Beside violating the bay's sacredness²⁹, the development project is also said to disregard cultural values for two reasons. First, land reclamation and permanent water cover will erase the *makekarang* custom. Not only birds, but men and women too come to the bay to collect edible species, e.g., shrimps, crabs, oysters, seaweeds and many more. The tradition depends on the physical characteristic of the bay as an intertidal zone, which exposes the seabed during low tide. Land reclamation will turn the seabed heaps into permanent lands along with the concrete. The seabed heaps, often referred to as sedimentation by proponents of revitalization, have existed since long ago and 19 of them actually have names (map 2), orally passed down over generations. As Gendo puts it, this knowledge indicates "heritage processes", rather than "sedimentation processes, which only comes recently" (interview 4 August 2017). He further argued, "even if an investor is determined to call it sedimentation or deposit, the solution is not land-filling. That would be permanent sedimentation" (interview 4 August 2017).

Second, the bay is historically related to the influence of the Shivaism-Buddhism religion in Bali back in the 10th century. The fusion of the two are said to be the foundation of the 'religion of Bali', with worship of Shiva taking place at the Besakih temple, nine kilometres from Mount Agung. Similarly, homage to Buddha is held at Sakenan temple located on Serangan Island.

²⁶ A holiday where the Balinese worship Sang Hyang Siwa Pasupati, a manifestation of the Divine as the source of *taksu* or energy. Ancestral relics and objects are cleansed and purified on this day

²⁷ A ceremony of purifying one's self as well as sacred objects, which takes place a few days prior to *Nyepi* or silence day, the Balinese new year

²⁸ A ritual of releasing ashes from cremation process to the ocean

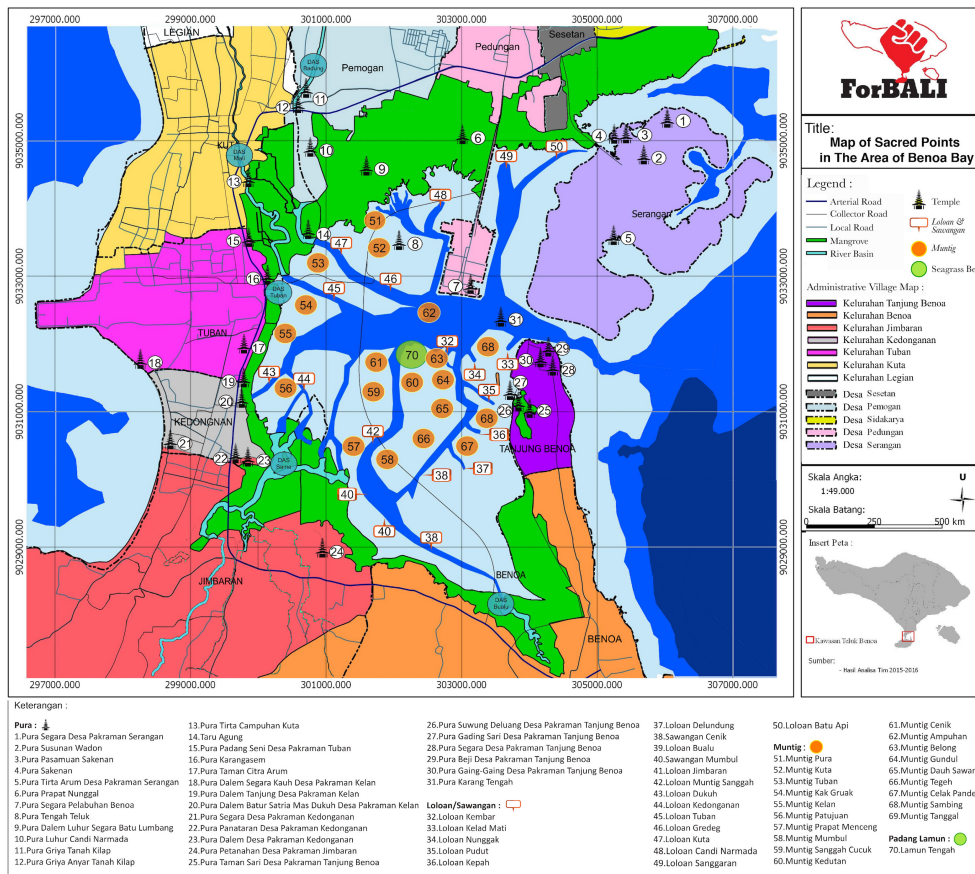
²⁹ Interview with high priest, Hindu Council head, *pasubayan* coordinator, and ForBALI coordinator

Hence the *Segara-Gunung*, or ocean-mount concept, where it is said that in his/her spiritual pursuit, the human strives to climb the highest peak of the mount and dive to the depth of the ocean. The increasingly forgotten history of Sakenan temple, coupled with the revitalization project and the annihilation of sacred points in the bay, are thought to bring Tantric Buddhism teaching in Bali toward its end. As expressed by Swarsa:

Benoa Bay was the bridge for Javanese civilization to enter Bali, which remains until today. Serangan Island is the hub of Hinduism-Buddhism expansion in the land of Bali. It is our moral duty as customary humans of Bali to guard this... They do not understand... only seeing one thing: capitalism (interview 22 July 2017).

MAP 2

70 SACRED POINTS IN THE AREA OF BENOA BAY



source: courtesy of ForBALI with some translation

4.2 The *Tri Hita Karana* Framework

Roth and Sedana (2015: 157) suggest *tri hita karana* is not merely “local wisdom”, “culture”, and “tradition” but call for “scientific scrutiny” regarding its role in processes of social dynamics in Bali. Today, Hinduism is among five constitutionally recognized religions in the country. This legitimation was possible only after the Balinese revitalized their identity as both Balinese and Hin-

du, justifying their “indigenous” claims by showing the extent of divergence from the Indian-origins of Hinduism, but at the same time compromising this indigeneity as they had to befit their cosmological beliefs and rituals, seen by others as animist, into the monotheistic framework. However, the concept of *tri hita karana* enables this theological unity. While the roots of *tri hita karana* can be traced back to scriptures, such as Vedic texts and the Bhagavad Gita, the genesis of its conceptualization as what we know today only commenced in the 1960’s when it was first coined by the Prajaniti Hindu Indonesia organization (ibid: 164). The concept gained recognition as the basis of development in Bali following president Soeharto’s *repelita* (5 year development plan) policy, which demanded all provincial governments in Indonesia to draft their economic development plan. The philosophy is specifically mentioned in the regional law stipulating spatial planning of the island (Provincial Government of Bali 2009).

Tri hita karana literally translates into “three sources of wellbeing”, which lie in the establishment of harmonious relationship between the self and the three realms: the human world or *pawongan*, the environment or *palemahan*, and the spiritual world or *parahyangan* (Agung 2005). Almost all the participants I interviewed during fieldwork mentioned this basic definition of *tri hita karana*, with the exception being the lady who collects shrimp. I was not anticipating everyone to be well informed regarding the concept, considering it as “reinvented”. What I found was that the high priest demonstrated the deepest understanding of the philosophy. According to him, sacred balance is achieved when one implements it beyond prayers and rituals, but by reflecting the characters of the Divine. He linked the *tri hita karana* philosophy with other ethics, i.e., the *tri kaya parisudha* (three sacred deed) and the *sad ripu* (seven enemies in one’s self). I attempt to explain some of the most fundamental elements of each of the realms of *tri hita karana* in the next paragraphs.

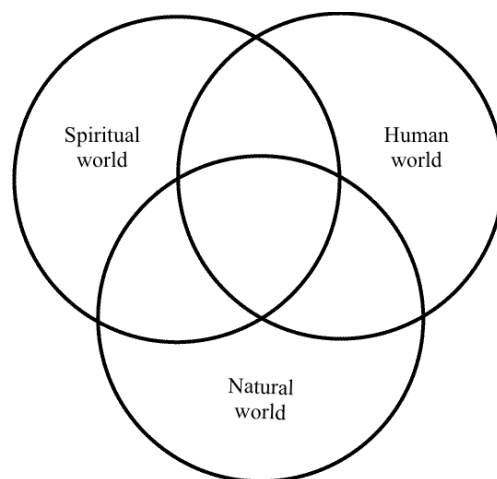
Perhaps the most effective way to understand *pawongan* is by looking at two social institutions, namely, customary community or *banjar* and their irrigation system *subak*. Both *banjar* and *subak* have elements of membership, are associated with local temples, and possess physical boundaries and regulations or *awig-awig* (Agung 2005: 297). The *awig-awig* governs interactions between individuals, and in the case of *subak*, rules its appropriation and provision as a commonly owned resource. No single farmer privately owns the irrigation system and the water source. Instead, water runs through *subak* temples, where the water Goddess is worshipped, to the each rice field. Every canal is connected with another as well as with the *banjar*, other communities, and with villages where every member of *subak* must pay attention to the sustainability of water sources and its supportive environment. Sanctions are passed against selfish behaviors of individuals harming the common good. Thus, *subak* as an element of *pawongan* also reflects the values of *tri hita karana* where the bonds between Balinese and their community, the environment, and the Divine are inherent in its complex practice. Interventions aimed at altering the ancient knowledge and practice, i.e., the Green Revolution in 1960s, caused a devastating impact whereby crop yields declined by half (Santos 2007: 73).

The concept of *palemahan* is more than its exterior aspects of how culture and nature are embedded in rituals and offerings. Sacred days such as *Tumpek Udub* and *Tumpek Kandang* are dedicated to worship God manifesting as the protector of trees and animals. However, the core of *palemahan* is com-

posed of the Balinese understanding of nature, seeing it as being inseparable from human beings. This inextricable link between nature and humans is rooted in the philosophy of *bhuvana alit* (microcosm) and *bhuvana agung* (macrocosm) (Agung 2005: 298). Both the self and the universe consist of the same elements, inter alia *akasa* or space, *bayu* or air, *agni* or fire, *apah* or water, and *pertivi* or earth. Furthermore, in Hinduism, nature and its elements are said to be expressions of the Supreme Being, in which He/She also resides. As written in Svetasvataropanisad II, 17, “Bow to God for he/she is inside the fire, inside the air, inside the whole universe, inside the plants that are on trees” (Agung 2005: 298). Both living beings and non-living elements of the planet must be respected for they are made by and will return to the same creator.

The *parahyangan*, as the spiritual aspect in the cosmology, can be understood by looking at key religious writings, i.e., the four Vedas (*Rig Veda*, *Sama Veda*, *Yajur Veda*, and *Atharva Veda*), the *Upanisad*, *Darsana*, *Dharmasastra*, and *Itihasa* (ibid: 303). These scriptures converge in each of their explanations of the self and in their pursuit of an ultimate end in life. In Hinduism, the ultimate fulfillment of life is called *moksha*, the state of liberation from suffering that is inherent in the wheel of rebirth. Thus, all beings ultimately aim for *moksha*, to not be born again but rather to reunite with the creator. The path to the eternal liberation will unfold depending on one’s deed, or *karma*, and if the soul, or *atman*, during its life can disentangle itself from worldly ties. Accordingly, one can say a post-materialist conception of “good life” is intrinsic in *tri hita karana* as a means to achieve the ultimate fulfillment of life. This is not to say that material and immaterial needs are not equally important, as I think they are, but rather that none of those are the ultimate end in itself.

FIGURE 7
Schematic representation of *tri hita karana*: the interrelated human, natural and spiritual world



Source: Haverkort et al. in Agung 2005: 71

Gerber and Steppacher (2014) end up with a similar framework. The two suggest the comprehensive integration of economics, as knowledge should take into account humanities and psychology, in addition to its current integra-

tion with social and natural science. In their words, “an integral economics will have to include a subjective, interior dimension—as well as ‘*ultimate ends*’ questionings” (ibid: 443). Inspired by the works of K. W. Kapp, C. G. Jung, and others, the authors develop a preliminary framework of three key integrative concepts, namely social metabolism, the institutional structure, and the inner world. The three concepts help to integrate economics with the environment, the collective, the self, and with spirituality.

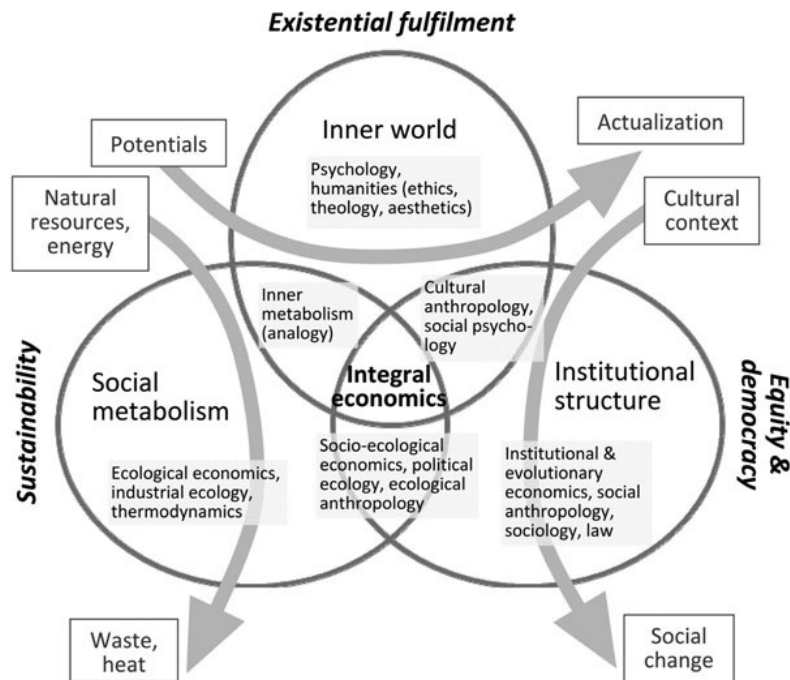
First, by looking into ownership as a form of social institution governing the economy, the authors contend that the economy can be better integrated within society and culture. They highlight the work of Heinsohn and Steiger (in ibid: 450) who classify ownership into two institutional regimes, namely possession and property. Possession, often confused as property, regulates appropriation and provision of resources. On the other hand, property is mere entitlement, which allows a credit-based economy to flourish—a prominent characteristic of the capitalist system. This “historical oddity” indeed has unleashed the economic potential of resources by separating it from its biophysical limitations and through reproducing hierarchical relationships between economic actors, i.e., the debtor and creditor (ibid: 449). However, this driving force for economic growth comes with a price on nature as indicated by intensifying anthropogenic disasters. It also puts humanity at stake where in many cases indebtedness has led to more impoverishment, slavery, and suicide (Gerber 2014). Here, the concept of *pawongan* converges with possession-based institutional regimes to remind us of alternative forms of resource governance, which perhaps rely more on solidarity rather than power inequality.

Second, the concept of social metabolism, initially coined by Marx, was later on developed by environmental scientists to re-establish the link between sociology and environmental science (Gerber and Steppacher 2014: 448). Broadly speaking, social metabolism involves forms of exchange between society and nature at different levels. Society takes energy and material input from the environment. These inputs are further transformed into desired outputs as well as its byproducts, including waste and pollution, which are eventually excreted back into the environment. Ways of organizing exchanges between humans and nature must go in cycles and are inherent for society to keep functioning. An important thesis from which the concept emanates is that systems can be different, yet have the same structure (de Molina and Toledo 2014: 45). Humans and society, as part of nature, go through the same law of natural evolution. Both *palemahan* and social metabolism acknowledge humans and nature as inseparable, where the first cannot exist without the later. *Bhumana alit* is a mere particle of *bhumana agung*. Rupture in the cyclical flow of energy and material, especially occurring in an industrialized society, will result in a metabolic rift, immobilizing the social system to function and reproduce.

Finally, the writers suggest the notion of the “inner-world” in order to integrate economics with psychology and humanity (Gerber and Steppacher 2014: 452). In addition to cognitive aspects, which are becoming subjects of enquiry in the field of behavioural economics, the unconscious too needs to be taken into account for the economy to address humans’ existential pursuit. The authors contend that both consciousness and behaviour change during one’s life through six moral developmental stages. These stages are grouped into

three levels, namely pre-conventional, conventional, and post-conventional with each of them consecutively occurring during childhood, late childhood until early adolescent, and adulthood (ibid: 453). In the first stage, an individual builds moral reasoning based on reward and punishment, while in the second stage one creates this basis through the comprehension of existing social norms of a particular society. Finally, in the last stage, one perceives social norms as relative and subjective. At this level, humans' moral reasoning is based on universal ethical principles and perhaps emanates from deep spiritual awareness. Hereafter, the inner world makes a complete embodiment of the human being. It sheds light on the complexity of psycho-spiritual elements of individuals, rather than arbitrarily reducing them into one category *homo economicus*. To mind the conscious and unconscious aspects of human beings brings the question of ultimate-end and perhaps can help to find the answer of existential fulfilment in life, be it the absolute liberation as offered in the concept of *parahyangan* or otherwise.

FIGURE 8
Schematic representation of basic framework for an integrative study of the economy



Source: Gerber and Steppacher 2014: 455

4.3 Typology of Tri Hita Karana

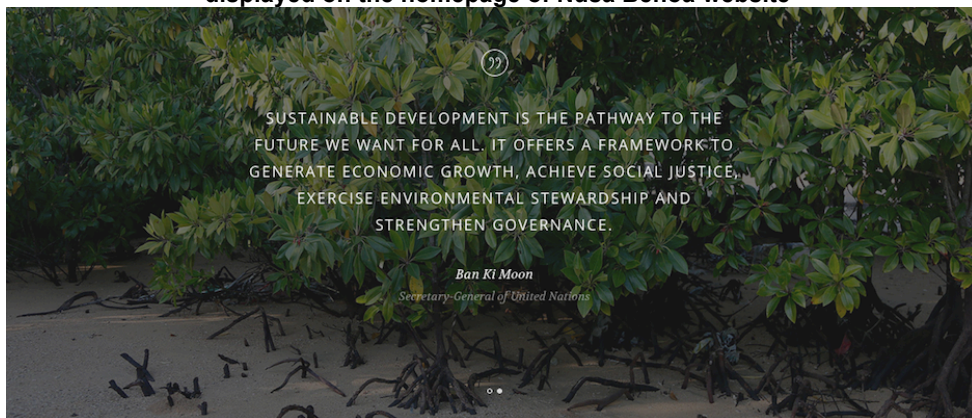
I have illustrated and distinguished how different actors see the development project *vis-a-vis* the three realms, i.e., environment, livelihood, and spirituality. Through this comparison and the review of literatures on *tri hita karana*, as well as integral economics, I learned that there are three different uses of *tri hita karana* in the context of Benoa Bay environmental conflict. The first one is “mainstream”-use of *tri hita karana*, resembling the concept of green growth. The second one is “social justice”-use of the cosmovision, questioning distrib-

utive justice. Finally, the third one is “post growth”-use of the philosophy, containing ideas beyond growth, which call for alternatives to development.

Mainstream-use

The mainstream-use of *tri hita karana* is identical with green growth and its two normative strategies, i.e., ecologization of economy and economization of nature (Wichterich 2015: 72). In this form, the *tri hita karana* framework is loosely defined and merely becomes a catch-all phrase, rather than questioning fundamental ideas of development. It is essentially a development alternative, looking for ways to make growth more sustainable without challenging power structures through the deployment of labels, certifications, and awards. It hegemonizes development discourse by enforcing only one ultimate-end for all. Social justice and environmental stewardship are among the elements which are compromised, only being achieved after the fulfilment of its ultimate objective—economic growth (figure 9).

FIGURE 9
A quotation from UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon about sustainable development displayed on the homepage of Nusa Benoa website



source: <http://nusabenoa.com>

Within the first strategy, the economic and environmental issues of the island are thought to emanate from gross misallocation of capital (ibid: 71). Henceforth, capital, labour, and development should shift from the brown to green tourism sector. The logic is that amidst the already saturated market, if Bali’s tourism sector still wants to grow, it needs to grab market share from other competitors in the global tourism industry. In the case of development project of Benoa Bay, the target market is, inter alia, the global upper-class who can afford to stay in ultra-luxurious accommodation services and/or who identify themselves as environmentally-conscious consumers. Ultimately, the *tri hita karana* philosophy in its generic-use does not only attract a niche market, it also revitalizes conditions for business and propels more capital:

This is not a handicap for us. Rather, it is a benefit for us in explaining to investors and whoever wants to invest there. They are interested. There is a development concept with *tri hita*

karana and *tri mandala*. They get more excited. This is different. It has additional value (Interview with PT.TWBI executive director 22 July 2017).

As mentioned earlier, accommodation rooms in Bali are already oversupplied and resulting in a price war. Other tourism stakeholders also struggle to stay afloat in the competition. Seen as increasingly becoming “cheap tourism”, penetration to untapped markets is expected to rejuvenate the sluggish growth of the tourism industry in Bali.

Along with this logic, techno-science innovation will help to lessen the negative impact of economic growth toward the environment. The tourism industry is the single biggest contributor of environmental degradation, e.g., waste and land-use change on the island. Amidst the scarcity of agricultural lands and green spaces that can be transformed into tourism purposes, land reclamations in coastal areas becomes the cure for what limits the growth of the industry. In the context of reclamation and revitalization, the use of *tri hita karana* philosophy recycles the problem (tourism industry–induced land-use change) into a solution (more land-use change for tourism industry, but offshore). Moreover, land reclamation is considered as the panacea of what ails the environment. Instead of finding the root cause of the waste issue, engineering and machinery offer an apolitical way out of the situation. As expressed by Wardana, head of *tri hita karana* foundation, “I even suggested the investor [...] We get rid of all the waste in Suwung³⁰. It become an island made of garbage. We learn the technology from the Netherlands” (interview 2 August 2017).

Here one can see how the ecologization of the economy reciprocates with the economization of nature. *Tri hita karana* in its mainstream-use resorts to privatization as the solution to the environmental problems of the bay. Waste and sedimentation are forms of externality. Like other types of externality, one only needs to adjust conditions in order to internalize this missing market, meaning it must be privatized. The bay, along with its resources and environmental problems, is the object of property entitlements of the investing party. PT. TWBI will become the sole appropriator and the provisioning party of the bay and its environmental benefits. The privilege is justified because the company will excavate the sediments ailing the bay’s ecosystem. Along with some additional materials from other places, the company can turn it into several islands. It is also justified because the Mangrove Care Forum will take care of the bay’s mangrove ecosystem. If the structure of the mangrove population has to change because of the impacts of reclamation processes, this should not be an issue. The indigenous *sonetaria spp.* can be replaced by other species, which can adapt to the changed habitat. Also, one should not worry if the seagrass and coral ecosystem have to vanish. Nature and endangered species are protected elsewhere, e.g., in Tambling National Park.

Finally, the mainstream-use of the cosmivision sought to use labels, certifications, and awards to stimulate more sustainable practices by tourism stakeholders in Bali. The *tri hita karana* award was established by a group of journalists and intellectuals in Bali in 2000. Although its establishment started from the intention to tame mass tourism by promoting the Balinese cosmology

³⁰ A landfill in south Bali

within the industry, the program has become mere spectacle. It is appropriated by tourism businesses into their marketing strategy and CSR. This is no surprise because as was clearly written in the book co-authored by one of its founder, the *tri hita karana* program is meant “to prevent hard confrontation between the haves and have-nots” (Peters and Wardana 2013: 92). It never seeks to address neither the questions of distributive justice nor the non-utilitarian conception of nature. However, label is political. One only needs to ask who has the power to certify and to get certified. The budget of 1 billion rupiah was agreed by PT. TWBI and the *tri hita karana* foundation for future assessment and certification³¹. That generous amount is not for every hotel to afford. Here the mainstream-use of *tri hita karana* suggests that an institution’s adherence to the principles and values of the cosmovision is determined by its ownership of capital. When I asked Wasesa about the company’s perception toward *tri hita karana*, he replied that PT. TWBI works together with the *tri hita karana* foundation where the later plays the role of advisor. Therefore, understandings of the philosophy as the fundamental guidance of development in Bali are reduced into “ticking the box” mechanisms through categories that are arbitrarily defined by ecolabel.

Social Justice-use

The social justice-use of *tri hita karana* does not necessarily question growth, but seeks for alternatives in organizing society and resources through different political-economic structures. With 30% of the GRP coming from tourism and yet 85% of the total capital in the sector is not in the hand of Balinese (Cole 2012: 1224), the second type of *tri hita karana* puts resource ownership as its subject of enquiry. It is not selfish for the Balinese when long after mass-tourism takes its toll toward their nature and culture, still a significant number of communities are living in impoverished conditions. The resistance against revitalization is not merely a NIMBY attitude toward development. Rather, it calls for reflexivity of policymakers and development practitioners if benefits and costs acquired from landscape-use change are to be justly distributed. Subsistence groups cannot afford to lose their only source of livelihood and bear the environmental risk of landscape-use change for the benefits of few. As said by Wayan:

The community over here do not want it [...] It is not good because people make a livelihood there. [...] it might be good, but only for a handful of individuals (interview 19 July 2017)

Furthermore, among the questions are other viable options of resource appropriations and provisions. The social justice-use of *tri hita karana* suggests rehabilitations of the bay’s ecosystem can be done without privatization of its resources and externalities. The bay, as source of livelihood for local communities, must be defended from its enclosures. Management and protection of the

³¹ This was mentioned during interview with Tri Hita Karana Foundation Head. However he also expressed that the assessment possibly will not be carried out due to the *status quo* of the project

mangrove ecosystem can be communally run by members of surrounding customary villages³².

Post Growth-use

Similar with the second type, the post growth-use of *tri hita karana* also contains elements of distributive justice. But it goes further. As a shared platform of criticism, it also questions the distribution of environmental benefits and costs of landscape-use change, as well as recognizes the intrinsic value of nature. It simultaneously probes the who-gets-what of Benoa Bay revitalization project and re-centres the Balinese cosmovision on its original formulation. It is an evolving concept in the pursuit of other kinds of desirable development through deep ultimate-end questioning. As such, the post growth-use of the philosophy inspired the drafting of regional policy guiding development in Bali.

First, the post growth-use of *tri hita karana* refuses to acknowledge GDP, or in the case of Benoa Bay, gross regional product (GRP), as the only indicator to measure progress. It problematizes the price of social and environmental disasters of revitalization projects unaccounted in this calculation. The costs of backwater, lost bio-cultural diversity and irreverence toward sacred areas are overlooked when the elite speak about development only in the language of GRP. In this sense, the post growth-use of the cosmovision makes visible the varied aspects of life, which valuation is incommensurable in monetary terms:

What is happening when accumulation of capital takes place but other things are degraded? What about the quality of life of the human? If nature is degraded, if abrasion is becoming more prevalent [...] what about life expectancy? We only think of GDP! (interview with ForBALI coordinator 4 August 2017)

Second, the post growth-use of the cosmovision demands the limitation Bali's tourism industry. It contends that more growth of the tourism economy will require extra energy and material throughput, inevitably putting more pressure on the current socio-environmental conditions of the island. Here, the cosmovision suggests that development policies regulating the total number of visitors, as well as the addition of accommodation units and hospitality facilities, should pay more attention to ecological and social capacity of the island³³. If official says Bali is not overcapacity by comparing its population density to Singapore, the post growth-use of *tri hita karana* rejects the reasoning of comparison between markedly different societies, each with their distinct cosmovision. Zero growth is not a peculiar idea if balance between the three realms is maintained.

Third, the post growth-use of the philosophy is similar with the notion of post-development. It does not see linearity and modernity as the only path toward the ultimate fulfilment of life. Happiness is not always parallel with having more material possession. Rather, a good life is achieved when the self

³² Interview with WALHI Bali coordinator

³³ Interview with *pasubayan* coordinator and ForBALI coordinator

can establish a harmonious relationship with nature, other human beings, and the Divine. Here, users probe to the depth of the philosophy. Adherence to divinity and spirits is not simply about repositioning Karang Tengah temple that is believed to exist under the sea onto one of the reclaimed lands when the whole project is essentially “stepping on” sacred places³⁴. Relationship between the self and other human beings is not mundanely established through the operationalization of the fisherman’s wharf to better connect fishermen and buyers. This link is indeed unquestioned in the mainstream-use of the philosophy, which reduces the manifold of human interactions into producer-consumer roles. Instead, the sincere practice of *pawongan* lies in the old values of honesty and trustworthiness, manifesting in transparent governance and participatory policy-making processes that neither “deceive society” nor “manipulate facts”³⁵.

Finally, if a form of post-growth is post-extractivism, the third type of *tri hita karana* embraces post-mass tourism. Both extractivism and mass tourism are parallel in engrossing resources and in excreting its by-product back to the planet. They require massive energy and material input, create landscape transformation, and depend on the subsidy from nature (and society) in the cleaning up processes (tailing in the case of mining and polluted land, river, and ocean in the case of mass-tourism). To quote Gendo, “the practice of mass tourism has the analogy with mining. Dredge all, sell cheap” (interview 4 August 2017). *Tri hita karana* in its post growth-use imagines disentanglement of the island from mass tourism and perhaps from tourism itself, which history is intertwined with colonization and the wound it inflicted to the Balinese.

This convergence of different narratives aiming toward distributive justice, non-utilitarian valuation of nature, and alternative good life is echoed through the anthem sung by men and women marching through the street in their resistance (ForBALI 2013):

*“We are tired compromising with conspiracy
Our land needs subsidy for farmers, not reclamation
What is disrupted is the conserved land
We stand up, refuse toward deception
We don’t need mega-project or supermall
What we need is social justice
We stand here against reclamation.”*

Concluding Remarks: In this chapter, I have addressed how the three different use of *tri hita karana* diverge and converge in the way they see growth *vis-à-vis* development. While the first still sets chrematistic growth as an indicator of progress, the second insists more scrutiny on its distribution, and the third sees it as peril. The third type of the cosmovision includes the social justice elements of the second one, but goes further in throwing radical critique toward conventional development through recognition of the intrinsic values of nature and the ultimate-end questioning.

³⁴ Interview with ForBALI coordinator

³⁵ Interview with WALHI Bali coordinator

5 Conclusion

In this paper I argue that taking *tri hita karana* at face value is problematic (chapter 1). By using political ecology as a lens, and by looking at the concepts of varieties of environmentalism, languages of valuation, and post-growth, I build a theoretical framework to analyse the narratives of each participant (chapter 2). Using a single case study with an ethnographic orientation has allowed me to venture into the depth of the phenomenon and situate the knowledge that is generated in my research (chapter 3). Following Cole (1998) who conducted earlier investigation on tourism development, I first mapped the stakeholders of Benoa Bay. Based on the narratives of the participants, I analysed that while opposing groups speak similar languages of valuation, the *telos* of these languages are different. Through reviewing literature on *tri hita karana* and integral economics, I discovered that there are three different uses of the cosmivision in the conflict of Benoa Bay (chapter 4). Actors use *tri hita karana* to advance their different political goals because the cosmivision can be imbued with multiple elements. In this chapter, I attempt to explain the tendency of alliance between post-growth thinking and two currents of environmentalism, as well as how this is reflected in languages of valuation in the case of Benoa Bay.

As mentioned in chapter 2, I identify two currents of environmentalism in the conflict over the tourism development of Benoa Bay, one resembles “gospel of eco-efficiency” (officials, corporation, and ecolabel) and the other is identical with “mantra of environmental justice” (NGO and community activists, subsistence group, spiritual leaders, and also business!). To my surprise, the case of Benoa Bay has shown potential alliance between (local) businesses and an environmental justice movement. I identified several conditions that enable this union. First, businesses may join the resistance movement against landscape alteration when it detects corporation as threats to its survival. Second, they do so when their business activities directly depend on the aesthetic value of the ecosystem. Third, this coalition is possible if the business owner is part of a resisting customary community. My participant, Tromat, explicitly mentioned the commercial motives underlying his activism, “I have made a written statement opposing reclamation [...] as a local businessman and an indigenous person. All-inclusive facilities will be built over there [...] we will be outcompeted” (interview 19 July 2017). The water sport owner is a member of one of the customary communities in Tanjung Benoa. He was once trusted as the *keliban*, or customary leader. In addition to water sport facilities, his business also offers snorkelling and diving services, which depend on the existence of the coral ecosystem. His multiple positionalities have placed him at the same side with revitalization opponents.

Like in many environmental conflicts, in this case study the elites also use the language of growth in justifying landscape-use change. However, in addition to monetary languages, officials, corporation, and ecolabel also speak in environmental, livelihood, and cultural idioms in advancing their political goals. This has blurred the boundaries between supposedly different valuations of nature given by other actors in opposition to the conflict. Based on my analysis, I propose perimeters can be reclaimed through the defetishization of language. The first step is by identifying keywords used within these languages.

While the use of some concepts is not mutually exclusive between the two currents (like the use of *tri hita karana*), there are several terms that are preferred by one group and avoided by the other. For example, proponents of revitalization favour popular terms, such as “sustainability”, “productivity”, and “cultural promotion” in advancing their political goals. They avoid expressions, such as, “social and ecological disaster”, “marginalization” as well as “sacredness” used by NGO and community activists, subsistence group, spiritual leaders, and also businesses in their plea for divestment. Furthermore, they use discourses of expertise, entrance, and ignominy to counter those expressions. Identifying the keywords can help one to keep track of the interplay and changes of language that are expressed in an environmental conflict. The second step is by taking into account the teleological aspects of the language use. While the elite sometimes use various languages of valuation in addition to monetary languages, their intention in the usage of the former is to support the later. Environmental, livelihood, and cultural idioms are appropriated to justify environmental change intended for chrematistic growth. This sheds light on what standard of valuation the powerful use in determining the measurement of action-based consequences.

Thus, post-growth thinking is not automatically reflected in “other” languages of valuation. The environmental, livelihood, and cultural utterances expressed by those who preach the gospel of eco-efficiency is inherently *chrematistike*, disguised by loosely defined sustainable development and green growth. As such, appropriation of languages expressing ecological and socio-cultural ends effectively depoliticizes environmental conflict and weakens its transforming power to unmake conventional development that excuses exploitation of nature for capital accumulation in the hands of few. Rather, ideas beyond growth potentially emanate and flourish only when actors use language expressing incommensurability of values in its substantive use. These actors are ordinary men and women, NGO and community activists, spiritual leaders, and other individuals who band together in the environmental justice movement. In doing so, they build and strengthen the existing alliance of cosmologies that do not recognize development theory, practice, and the agendas that justify the erasure of local livelihoods, spiritual and cultural practices, as well as the ecological function of nature for economic growth.

Ultimately, the case of *tri hita karana* in Bali also shows that post-growth thinking is not only a contribution of the North. More research is needed in the compatibility between modern post-growth theory (global North) and philosophies of the good life from the global South.

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