

The *Adat* Community's Resistance to Marine Grabbing in Benoa Bay, Bali

Slamet Subekti^{1*}, Singgih Tri Sulistiyono¹, and Dedi Adhuri²

¹Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Diponegoro, Indonesia

²Research Center for Social and Cultural, National Research and Innovation Agency, Indonesia

Abstract. This paper presents an environmental history of the successful resistance movement, ForBALI (Forum Rakyat Bali Tolak Reklamasi Teluk Benoa), against the large-scale reclamation of Benoa Bay, Bali. It situates the conflict within the long-standing historical processes of marine grabbing in Indonesia, where state and corporate actors systematically enclose and appropriate coastal commons. The analysis centers on the agency of the *Adat* Community, arguing that its victory was predicated on a strategic, historically-informed pivot from a fragmented, issue-based opposition to a unified mass movement defending Balinese cultural identity and sacred geography. Utilizing Anthony Giddens' Structuration Theory, this study examines the contestation between the state, investors, and the community as a dynamic interplay of agency and structure. It demonstrates how the movement's leaders consciously activated the deep-seated cultural structure of the *desa adat* (customary village) and the religious authority of sacred sites, effectively weaponizing Balinese historical memory and cosmological beliefs. This cultural mobilization created a coalition that was politically potent and culturally unassailable. Concurrently, the movement fortified its moral arguments with a rigorous environmental-historical analysis of the bay's hydro-ecological functions, modeling the catastrophic risks of altered tidal dynamics on water quality, mangrove ecosystems, and urban flooding. The case concludes that ForBALI's success represents a definitive moment of structural transformation in Indonesian environmental politics, where agency, channeled through cultural and environmental historical narratives, successfully altered the legal and political structures governing coastal space. The Benoa Bay case offers a replicable model for anti-dispossession movements worldwide, demonstrating the power of synthesizing cultural resilience with scientific and historical advocacy to achieve environmental justice.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Longue Durée of Coastal Enclosure in the Indonesian Archipelago

As the world's largest archipelagic state, Indonesia's history is fundamentally a maritime history. Its coastal zones have long been arenas of settlement, trade, spiritual life, and resource extraction. An environmental history perspective requires understanding contemporary conflicts like Benoa Bay not as isolated incidents, but as the latest chapter in a protracted historical process of coastal enclosure and contestation. The current phenomenon of **marine grabbing**—defined as "the dispossession, control, or appropriation of use, access to, or ownership of marine resources, space, or related capabilities from prior users, right holders, or inhabitants" [1]—has deep roots. While intensified in the neoliberal era, its logic echoes colonial-era policies that asserted state control over natural resources for revenue extraction, systematically marginalizing local and customary (*adat*) management systems.

* Corresponding author: slamet.subekti@live.undip.ac.id

The post-*Reformasi* period in Indonesia, characterized by decentralization and a boom in investment, created new legal mechanisms for this historical process. The pivotal instrument is the *Rencana Zonasi Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil* (RZWP3K) or Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands, mandated by Law No. 1/2014 [3, 4]. An environmental-historical analysis of these documents reveals a profound continuity with past patterns of dispossession. A study of RZWP3K across 28 provinces shows a staggering allocation of 3.5 million hectares for extractive and development-oriented industries, such as large-scale reclamation and mining, versus a mere 53,000 hectares for the recognition of fishermen settlements and mangrove preservation [5]. This disparity is not an anomaly but evidence of what Ridwanuddin and Saragih term "planned marine grabbing" [5], where modern state policy becomes the primary mechanism for legitimizing the historical dispossession of coastal communities, effectively writing their erasure into the official spatial plan.

The Benoa Bay reclamation project, formalized by Presidential Regulation (Perpres) No. 51/2014 [6, 7], is a quintessential case of this historical continuum. The project, spearheaded by PT Tirta Wahana Bali International (TWBI), envisioned the wholesale transformation of 700 hectares of shallow, ecologically and culturally rich waters into artificial islands for luxury tourism. From an environmental history standpoint, this represents a dramatic acceleration of the human modification of Bali's coastline, a process that began with the development of small-scale aquaculture and intensified with mass tourism in the late 20th century. The project proposed not just a physical change, but a fundamental reordering of the human-environment relationship in the bay, from a communal, spiritually informed space to a privatized, commodified one.

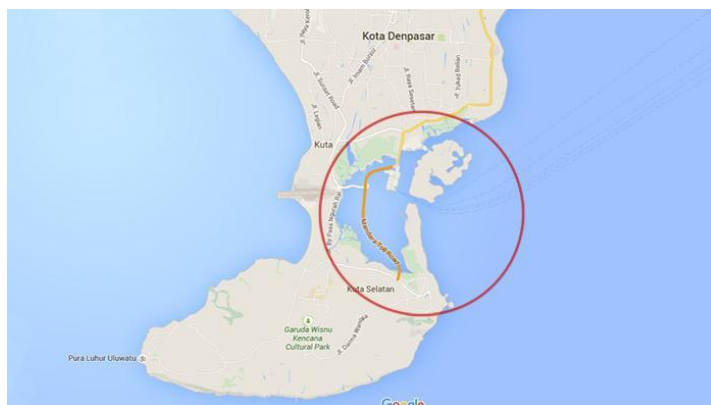


Fig. 1. Benoa Bay is located in the south between Denpasar City and Badung Regency, Bali Province, Indonesia. Source: Google Map.

1.2 Research Gap: The Puzzle of ForBALI's Success

The resistance to this project, crystallized in the ForBALI movement, achieved a rare and decisive victory between 2013 and 2019, culminating in the formal cancellation of the project and the designation of Benoa Bay as a Marine Conservation Area (Kepmen KP No. 46/2019). This outcome presents a critical puzzle for environmental history: **Why did this particular movement succeed in permanently altering the state's development trajectory, where so many other anti-dispossession movements in Indonesia have failed?**

Environmental histories of resistance often chronicle protracted struggles that end in defeat, displacement, or ambiguous outcomes. The successes, when they occur, are rarely so clear-cut. Conventional socio-political theory, when applied to Bali, suggests that in an ethnically homogeneous but economically stratified society, mobilization should fracture along class or regional lines [8]. The initial opposition to the Benoa Bay project indeed reflected this predicted fragmentation. ForBALI's success, therefore, demands an explanation that accounts for its unique agency in overcoming these structural constraints.

This paper argues, through an environmental history lens, that ForBALI’s victory was the result of a sophisticated, historically-grounded strategy. The movement executed a decisive pivot from a fragmented, present-oriented opposition—focused on environmental degradation and livelihood loss—to a unified mass movement centered on the defense of **sacred geography** and Balinese cultural identity, a narrative deeply embedded in the island’s long-term history. This strategy successfully mobilized the powerful, pre-existing traditional governance structure of the *desa adat*, creating a coalition that was culturally legitimate, politically potent, and structurally resistant to co-optation. Furthermore, the movement fortified its moral and historical arguments by grounding them in a rigorous understanding of the bay’s environmental history and hydro-ecological fragility, articulating the long-term consequences of the project in terms of flood risk, ecosystem collapse, and loss of ecological services.

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Anti-Reclamation Movements in Indonesia

Feature	Benoa Bay (ForBALI)	Jakarta Bay & Makassar	Supporting Sources
Primary Framing of Resistance	Cultural and Religious Identity. Strategically shifted from purely environmental/livelihood issues to a potent defense of Balinese Hindu identity, culminating in the official religious declaration of Benoa Bay as a sacred site (<i>situs suci</i>).	Social Justice and Livelihood. Primarily focused on material dispossession, eviction, poverty alleviation, and the environmental degradation impacting marginalized, often migrant, fishing communities. The framing remains within a socio-economic and legal rights discourse.	[11], [12], [15]
Institutional Basis for Mobilization	Leveraged the <i>Desa Adat</i>. Effectively mobilized Bali’s unique, pre-existing, and culturally authoritative traditional governance structure. The <i>desa adat</i> provided a ready-made, legitimate, and comprehensive organizational network spanning the island, granting the movement unparalleled grassroots reach and moral authority.	Lacked Island-Wide Authority. Resistance relied on building ad-hoc coalitions of NGOs, community unions (e.g., <i>Persatuan Nelayan</i>), and affected groups. These coalitions are often vulnerable to internal fragmentation, elite co-optation, and lack a unifying, cross-cutting institutional base with deep cultural legitimacy.	[9], [15]
Policy Outcome	Decisive and Formal Policy Victory. Achieved a formal, legal revocation of the project’s basis through the Ministerial Decree No. 46/KEPMEN-KP/2019, designating the bay as a Maritime Conservation Area. This provided a permanent legal barrier to reclamation.	Protracted and Ambiguous. Conflicts have stalled projects but largely failed to achieve definitive, permanent conservation status. In Makassar, reclamation has proceeded significantly despite opposition. In Jakarta, legal battles continue without a clear, formal victory for the communities.	[15]

Conventional socio-political theory, particularly work on Balinese society, suggests that in economically stratified but ethnically homogeneous societies like Bali—where a large majority shares Balinese Hinduism, language, and many cultural practices—political mobilization should logically fragment along class, generational, or sub-regional lines [8]. The initial opposition to the Benoa Bay project indeed reflected this predicted fragmentation, comprising a loose coalition of environmental NGOs (like WALHI Bali), small-scale fishers from Tanjung Benoa, local tourism businesses in Sanur, and academics, each with their own parochial concerns. This inherent fragmentation typically makes such

movements vulnerable to state and corporate counter-strategies, such as the co-optation of community elites, the creation of "shadow" pro-development coalitions, and the strategic distribution of selective benefits.

This article argues that ForBALI's key achievement was its sophisticated agency in transcending these traditional sociological fault lines. Its success was not preordained by Balinese culture but was the result of a deliberate and brilliant strategic pivot: shifting the overarching discourse of the conflict from a collection of negotiable environmental and class-based concerns to a unified, non-negotiable defense of collective Balinese cultural and religious identity, centered on the concept of sacred geography (*kosmologi*). This reframing transformed the struggle from a protest into a modern *puputan* (a fight to the finish), resonating with deep historical memories of Balinese resistance and creating a coalition that was culturally unassailable.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: Structuration Theory as an Analytical Tool for Environmental History

To analyze this dynamic, this study employs Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, a framework particularly suited to environmental history as it bridges the gap between human agency and the enduring structures that shape social and ecological life. Structuration theory posits a duality of structure: social structures (rules, norms, resources) both constrain and enable human agency, while agency, in turn, reproduces or transforms those very structures [Giddens, 1984].

In the environmental history of Benoa Bay, we identify three primary sets of agents operating within and leveraging competing structures:

1. **The State/Government:** Wielding legal-bureaucratic structures (Perpres, AMDAL) and the political structure of "national strategic projects."
2. **The Investor/PT TWBI:** Leveraging economic structures of neoliberal capital and the political structure of state-corporate alliances.
3. **The Community Coalition/ForBALI:** Initially constrained by fragmented social structures, but later empowered by activating cultural structures (*adat*, **sacred geography**, historical narratives) and scientific/environmental knowledge structures.

The core of our analysis is how these agents interacted with these structures over time. Initially, the state and corporation effectively wielded the powerful legal and economic structures. ForBALI's breakthrough was an act of sophisticated historical agency: it consciously activated the latent, deep-seated cultural and environmental structures. This collective agency, sustained over years, generated a political and moral force that ultimately transformed the legal structure—compelling the state to issue a new rule (the conservation decree) that overrode the previous presidential regulation. The Benoa Bay case thus serves as a powerful illustration of how human agency, by leveraging historical-cultural and environmental structures, can successfully alter the course of state-led development and achieve a significant environmental outcome.

2. The Neoliberal Onslaught: Deconstructing the Benoa Bay Reclamation

The Benoa Bay project is a contemporary manifestation of the long historical pattern of ocean grabbing, now enabled by a specific flaw in modern resource governance: the persistence of an "open access" paradigm. This paradigm, philosophically rooted in the *Mare Liberum* (Free Sea) doctrine, treats marine resources as *res nullius*—belonging to no one and therefore open to exploitation. This leads to the "tragedy of the commons," where actors, driven by individual rationality, collectively over-exploit a shared resource [1].

In Teluk Benoa, the "tragedy" was not one of unregulated commoners but of a powerful corporation leveraging a fragmented state structure and neoliberal policies. PT TWBI, backed by the state's own Perpres 51/2014 [6, 7], sought to privatize a communal resource. The corporation's strategy involved a public relations campaign that presented a "humanitarian" and "conservationist" facade, a common tactic in the history of corporate enclosure. This included utilizing Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) funds to build community centers (*wantilan*) in Tanjung Benoa, strategically blurring the lines between charity and accumulation—a modern form of the historical "gift" used to secure access and legitimacy.

The state's role was pivotal. It acted not as a neutral regulator but as a direct facilitator, a pattern consistent with the historical role of the state in resource extraction in Indonesia. This was evidenced by the controversial decrees, the fast-tracking of the project, and the attempts to criminalize activists. The

overarching legal architecture, as seen in the RZWP3K, confirms the systemic, planned nature of this **marine grabbing** [5], representing a 21st-century legal-financial enclosure movement.

3. The Dynamics of Resistance: Weaving History, Ecology, and Culture

3.1 The Initial Crisis of Fragmentation

The initial phase of opposition (2013-2014) conformed to the patterns of many failed environmental movements. Mobilized by NGOs like WALHI Bali, the resistance was a coalition of disparate groups with varied interests: environmentalists, fishers, and local tourism businesses. The project proponents effectively countered by mobilizing their own "shadow coalitions" like Forum Bali Harmoni, which presented itself as a community group supporting development. Proponents successfully characterized the opposition as representing only "parochial interests." As predicted for stratified societies [8], this fragmented, issue-based opposition struggled to build a hegemonic consensus and was vulnerable to divide-and-rule tactics.

3.2 The Strategic Pivot: Mobilizing the Deep Cultural Structure

The movement's decisive turning point came when ForBALI's strategists, including intellectuals and cultural leaders, executed a crucial pivot. They consciously shifted the primary discourse from a negotiable socio-environmental conflict to a non-negotiable defense of Balinese cultural history and **sacred geography**. This activation of latent structures proved to be the masterstroke.

Cultural Reframing and Historical Analogy: Academics and cultural figures played a pivotal role in reinterpreting traditional concepts for the modern struggle. Scholars delved into traditional Balinese law to unearth concepts like *hak tawanan karang*, a community's right to salvage shipwrecks, reinterpreted as symbolizing traditional communal sovereignty over the sea. Crucially, they explicitly framed the fight as a modern *puputan* [10], directly invoking the spirit of the 1906 and 1908 Balinese royal suicides against Dutch colonial forces. This powerful historical analogy situated the reclamation as an existential threat to Balinese sovereignty akin to colonialism, a narrative that resonated deeply across Balinese society and transcended class divisions.



Fig. 2. Actors involved in the Bena Bay reclamation contest. Source: Newspaper

The Weaponization of Sacred Geography: The most potent tactical move was the meticulous identification, mapping, and publicizing of sacred sites (*situs suci*) within Bena Bay. This was an act of environmental-historical documentation, reclaiming the spiritual landscape from being perceived as mere "muddy water." These sites included submerged sea temples (*Pura Segara*), spiritual junctions (*perempatan agung*), and portals to the spiritual world. This mapping was validated using strict criteria

from the official Hindu council, Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI). In a landmark decision in October 2015, the PHDI formally declared Benoa Bay a sacred area (*wilayah suci*) [11, 12]. This declaration was transformative, providing an incontrovertible religious and historical justification for opposition. It made protection of the bay a matter of religious duty, rooted in a cosmology that sees nature and the divine as inseparable.

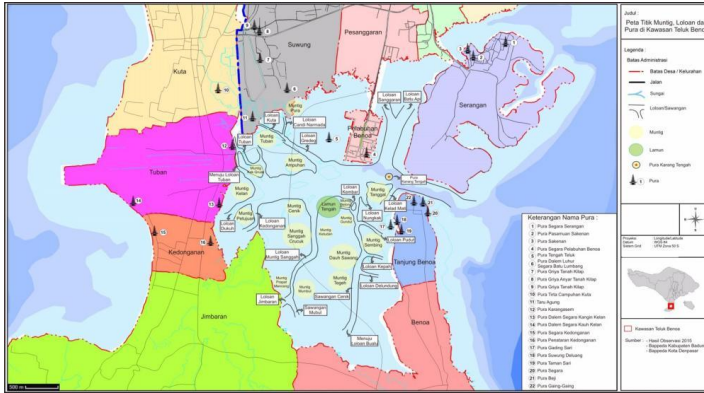


Fig. 3. Map of sacred areas in Benoa Bay created by the ForBALI team. Source: ForBALI.

Mobilizing the *Desa Adat* as the Vanguard: The declaration of sacredness activated the most powerful indigenous institution in Bali: the *desa adat*. The primary mandate of a *desa adat* is to maintain spiritual and cosmic harmony (*Tri Hita Karana*) within its territory, which includes the protection of all sacred sites. Therefore, once Benoa Bay was declared sacred, the *desa adat* across Bali were morally and institutionally compelled to oppose its desecration. ForBALI successfully mobilized a supramajority of 39 *desa adat* [8, 15]—a historically rare unified front. This provided an extensive, legitimate, and deeply rooted organizational network that no ad-hoc NGO coalition could match. The *desa adat* became the movement's backbone, organizing massive rituals, demonstrations, and exerting immense political pressure, effectively becoming the guardians of both cultural and environmental integrity.



Fig. 4. A coalition of indigenous villagers rejects Benoa Bay reclamation project. Source: Istimewa.

4. Fortifying the Cause: The Environmental-Historical Evidence

While the cultural and historical framing was the movement's soul, its arguments were given formidable strength by a rigorous, scientific understanding of Benoa Bay's specific ecological history and functions. ForBALI moved beyond generic slogans to articulate a precise, evidence-based case grounded in the environmental history of the site.

4.1 Hydrodynamics and Escalated Flood Risk

Benoa Bay is a semi-enclosed tidal water body, functioning as the crucial estuary for seven major rivers draining a vast urban watershed. Scientific studies, including oceanographic modeling, provided critical data revealing that the bay's hydrodynamics were already compromised by prior developments, such as the Serangan Island reclamation. The proposed addition of 700 hectares of artificial islands would push the system past a critical tipping point.

Modeling indicated the reclamation would drastically reduce tidal current speeds by up to 50-60%, severely crippling the bay's natural flushing mechanism [13, 14]. Furthermore, the bay acts as a natural reservoir for surface runoff. The reclamation would significantly reduce this vital water retention capacity. The consequence, as argued by ForBALI using this environmental data, would be a dramatic increase in the risk and severity of flooding in South Denpasar, Sanur, and the Ngurah Rai International Airport. This argument connected the project's impact directly to the economic and security interests of the urban middle class and the state itself, framing it as a threat to modern infrastructure and stability.

4.2 Water Quality Degradation and Ecosystem Collapse

The predicted reduction in current speed would have a direct and severe impact on water quality, continuing a negative trend observed in the area. Without adequate flushing, pollutants from the seven rivers would accumulate, leading to eutrophication and "dead zones." The accelerated sedimentation would smother benthic organisms and seagrass beds [13, 14].

A centerpiece of the ecological argument was the fate of the Tahura Ngurah Rai mangrove forest, one of the largest urban mangrove ecosystems in Indonesia. The stability of this mangrove ecosystem is delicately dependent on the bay's specific oceanographic processes. The altered hydrodynamics posed a direct existential threat; increased sedimentation could clog the mangroves' roots, and changes in salinity would stress and kill the trees. The loss of this "green belt" would not only destroy critical fisheries habitat—a direct livelihood loss with historical precedent—but also expose the coast to greater wave energy and sea-level rise, undermining the island's climate resilience. This argument presented the reclamation as an accelerator of historical environmental decline.

5. Achieving Structural Transformation and Broader Implications

5.1 The Duality of Structure in Victory

ForBALI's sustained collective agency, channeled through the powerful cultural and historical structure of the *desa adat*, generated a political force that could not be ignored. Anti-reclamation sentiment became a litmus test in local elections. In the 2015 Denpasar mayoral election and the 2018 Bali gubernatorial election, candidates were forced to publicly declare their opposition to the reclamation to have any hope of electoral success [15], demonstrating the movement's ability to set the political agenda by leveraging cultural authority.

The ultimate success was a clear structural transformation. The sustained pressure, backed by unassailable cultural, historical, and environmental legitimacy, compelled the state to act against its own prior legal commitment. The issuance of the Ministerial Decree No. 46/KEPMEN-KP/2019 transformed the legal status of the bay from an area designated for corporate "revitalization" under Perpres 51/2014 to a state-protected Marine Conservation Area. This was a profound act of agency that successfully introduced a new, more powerful legal structure to overturn a previous one. The duality of structure was complete: agency, using cultural and environmental historical rules, had changed the formal rules of the state.

5.2 Broader Implications for Environmental History and Justice

The Benoa Bay case is a microcosm of critical global debates and offers key lessons for environmental history.

Challenging the Neoliberal "Blue Economy": The conflict laid bare the stark tension between two competing visions of the "blue economy." PT TWBI and the state promoted a capital-intensive, resource-extractive model where the marine environment is viewed primarily as a frontier for capital accumulation. In contrast, ForBALI, empowered by the *desa adat*, successfully advocated for a conservation-based, community-centric model. This alternative vision prioritizes the intrinsic, life-supporting services of marine ecosystems, their profound cultural and spiritual significance, and their role in sustaining traditional, small-scale economies. ForBALI's victory thus serves as a potent, real-world challenge to the pervasive global neoliberal paradigm that routinely sacrifices long-term ecological and communal health for short-term corporate profit [1, 9].

The Imperative for Historical and Participatory Governance: The conflict exposed the failures of top-down, technocratic governance that ignores local history and knowledge. ForBALI's victory is a powerful argument for a paradigm shift in marine resource management. It underscores the need to move from an "open access" model to a governance system that legally enshrines the rights of coastal communities and *adat* institutions as primary rights-holders and stewards [5]. The case demanded and achieved a form of procedural justice, ensuring that the voices of the *desa adat* were recognized as legitimate authorities. It also advanced distributional justice, ensuring that ecological costs are not borne by the most vulnerable.

Sustainability as Cultural-Ecological Integrity: By securing conservation status, the movement helped preserve the natural functions of the coastline, thereby enhancing Bali's resilience to climate change. This outcome powerfully demonstrates that true sustainability is inextricably linked to social equity and cultural justice, a lesson that resonates through environmental history

6. Conclusion

The resistance mounted by the *Adat Community* against the **marine grabbing** of Benoa Bay represents a seminal case in the environmental history of Indonesia and beyond. Its significance lies not merely in its success, but in the sophisticated, historically-informed methodology of its resistance.

This paper has argued that ForBALI's victory was a product of strategic agency that masterfully engaged with deep-seated social and environmental structures. The movement's leaders understood that to overcome the powerful state-corporate alliance, they needed a narrative that transcended parochial and contemporary grievances. They found this narrative in the long-term environmental and cultural history of Bali itself. By strategically mapping and weaponizing **sacred geography**, and by invoking powerful historical analogies like the *puputan*, they transformed a modern planning dispute into a non-negotiable defense of civilizational values. This successfully mobilized the formidable structure of the *desa adat*, creating a unified front that was culturally unassailable.

Concurrently, the movement fortified its cultural and moral arguments with a rigorous environmental-historical case, detailing the specific hydro-ecological functions of the bay and the catastrophic, long-term consequences of their disruption. This synthesis of the sacred and the scientific, the historical and the ecological, created an irrefutable and multifaceted justification for conservation.

Through the lens of **Structuration Theory**, we see how this sustained agency ultimately forced a structural transformation in governance, compelling the state to replace a legal structure permitting reclamation with one mandating conservation. The case thus stands as a powerful testament to the potential for communities, armed with cultural resilience, historical knowledge, and scientific evidence, to alter the course of environmentally destructive development.

A final, cautionary note from history must be sounded. The victory, while decisive, is not yet absolutely permanent in a legal sense. The original permit, Perpres No. 51/2014, remains on the statute books. This legal ambiguity is a reminder of the enduring power of the structures of dispossession and the need for eternal vigilance. The environmental history of Benoa Bay is both a celebration of a remarkable victory and an ongoing story of custodianship, demonstrating that the defense of the commons is a perpetual project, deeply woven into the cultural and ecological fabric of a place.

References

1. Bennett, N. J., Govan, H., & Satterfield, T. (2015). "Ocean grabbing". *Marine Policy*, 57, 61–68.
2. Pedersen, C., et al. (2014). *The Global Ocean Grab: A Primer*. The Transnational Institute.
3. Undang-Undang (UU) 27 Tahun 2007 tentang Pengelolaan Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil.
4. Undang-Undang (UU) No. 1 Tahun 2014 tentang Perubahan atas Undang-Undang Nomor 27 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pengelolaan Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil.
5. Ridwanuddin, P., & Saragih, F. (2025). "Perampasan Ruang Laut yang Direncanakan di Indonesia". In D. S. Adhuri (Ed.), *Merampas Laut, Merampas Hidup Nelayan*. Palmerah Syndicate.
6. Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia. (2014). Peraturan Presiden No. 51/2014 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Presiden Nomor 45 Tahun 2011 tentang Rencana Tata Ruang Kawasan Perkotaan Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, dan Tabanan.
7. Padawangi, Rita. (2019). "Urban Development, Vulnerabilities, and Disasters in Indonesia's Coastal Land Reclamations: Does Social Justice Matter?". In L. R. Mason & J. Rigg (Eds.), *People and Climate Change: Vulnerability, Adaptation, and Social Justice*. Oxford University Press.
8. Nordholt, H. S. (2007). "Bali: An open fortress". In H. Schulte Nordholt & G. van Klinken (Eds.), *Renegotiating boundaries: Local politics in post-Suharto Indonesia* (pp. 387-416). KITLV Press.
9. Wardana, A. (2019). *Contemporary Bali: Contested Space and Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan.
10. Suwitha, I. P. G. (2017). "Teluk Benoa dan Laut Serangan sebagai 'laut Peradaban' di Bali". *Jurnal Kajian Bali*, 07(02).
11. Tans, R. (2021). "Coastal reclamation and Balinese identity". *Asian Politics & Policy*, 13(1), 128–149.
12. Wiranata, I. M. A., & Siahaan, H. (2019). "Konstruksi Identitas Kolektif Warga Desa Adat dalam Gerakan Tolak Reklamasi Benoa Bay di Bali". *Jurnal Kajian Bali*, 9(2), 407–428.
13. Conservation International Indonesia. (2013). *Kajian Modeling Dampak Perubahan Fungsi Benoa Bay untuk Sistem Pendukung Keputusan dalam Jejaring KKP Bali*.
14. Wisna, U. J., Al Tanto, T., Pranowo, W. S., & Husrin, S. (2017). "Current movement in Benoa Bay water, Bali, Indonesia: Pattern of tidal current changes simulated for the condition before, during, and after reclamation". *Regional Studies in Marine Science*, 16, 199-207.
15. Subekti, S., Sulistiyono, S. T., & Adhuri, D. S. (2025). "ForBALI: Memahami Aktor, Strategi, dan Dinamika Gerakan Massa terhadap Perampasan Pesisir di Bali". In D. S. Adhuri (Ed.), *Merampas Laut, Merampas Hidup Nelayan*. Palmerah Syndicate.