



Social media in the planning and conflict: the case of ForBALI movement against Benoa Bay reclamation plan



Master Thesis

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PREFACE

Having an educational background from public policy and management has motivated me to acquire a more specific program for my master study. Indonesia is massively developing its infrastructure in the last five years. Nevertheless, conflicts with local inhabitants are inevitable. Besides, social movements and citizen initiatives usually excluded from the planning process in the planning practices. Concerning the rapid growth of digital society, it is critical to study social movements and social media in the context of the planning world.

First of all, I would like to praise my gratitude to Allah SWT, as His blessings hence I could complete my thesis as well as my study in the Master of Environmental and Infrastructure Planning, University of Groningen. Secondly, I am so thankful for having dr. Emma Puerari as my supportive supervisor. Even though sometimes I am so less confident about my work, but she always flourishes to encourage me. Also, I would like to give my appreciation to the Eric Bleumink Fund for granting me a full scholarship. Last but not least, I want to thank *Ibuk*, *Bapak*, Gita, and all of my families for always being supportive during my master study. Also, to all of my friends in Indonesia and Groningen for being helpful companions.

I do realise this work is far from perfect. However, I hope it still can be useful to the development of planning discourse from theoretical and practical perspectives.

Agung Tri Nugraha

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts are striking in the world of planning practice especially in the current democratic and pluralistic society. Manifold researchers have tried to analyse the relationship between planning and conflict. There are two main streams appeared in both relationships whether planning as the source of conflict or as tools of conflict resolution. In term of planning as the source of conflict, urban social movements often appear as one of the opposing actors in an urban planning project. These movements are usually a form of protest to the governments that fails to accommodate their interests. In the current digital society, social media plays a significant role in the practice of contemporary urban social movement. Besides as a platform to spread its ideas, the social media could be also a stage to gain people power into offline action. The power of social media which can penetrate without time and spatial limitations, makes the spread of urban social movement faster and wider. This study first develops a conceptual model from the analysis of the literature about planning-conflict relationships, urban social movement and the use of social media in movement. By using the constructed conceptual framework, this study analyses the use of social media by ForBali movement in rejecting Benoa Bay reclamation project. The data has been collected through a semi-structured interview, policy documentation and scraping social media data. Subsequently, the social media (Twitter) data has been analysed by using RStudio software. The findings showed that social media plays a significant role in composing people's perspectives on the planning conflict of reclamation as well as the movement itself.

Keywords: urban social movement, social media, planning conflict, reclamation, Bali, Twitter

ABBREVIATIONS

ForBALI	<i>Forum Rakyat Bali Tolak Reklamasi</i> (forum of Balinese people against reclamation)
Musrenbang	<i>Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan</i> (dialogue on development planning)
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
Perpres	<i>Peraturan Presiden</i> (presidential regulation)
PT TWBI	<i>Perseroan Terbatas Tirta Wabana Bali Internasional</i>
Sarbagita	Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan (a national strategic area in Bali)
SBY	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (the 6 th President of Republic of Indonesia)
USM	Urban Social Movements
Walhi	<i>Wabana Lingkungan Hidup</i> (the Indonesian forum for environment)

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Urban planning conflict emerges as the increasing tension of complexity in the urban planning agenda. The sophisticated urban web that consists of various stakeholders with multifaceted interests challenge urban planners to be more creative in addressing planning conflict (Gualini, 2015). At least, there are two different complexities, namely material complexity and social complexity. Material complexity implies the uncertainty within the system itself while social complexity relies on social uncertainties such as power dispersal, interrelatedness and social fragmentation (Zuidema, 2016). Power dispersal refers to the different interests of stakeholders in urban planning, while interrelatedness implicates the relation of urban planning with other policy sectors under the government programme and social fragmentation appears from the increased diversity of groups that attach to different values and beliefs (Zuidema, 2016). These social aspects then started to be recognised by planners or governmental organisations during the lack of implementation of technical approach. This shift is also strengthened by the emerging of sustainable development concepts in the 1980s (Jordan, 2008).

The complex urban web in urban planning requires planners to work adequately. Uncertainties in the urban planning constellations need to be addressed by involving all relevant stakeholders. The shift of planning approach from technical rational towards communicative rational; from positivists to post-positivists, asked planners to be more open in executing planning processes. In the recent pluralistic society, planning processes have become more complex that leads to a conflict. As a consequence, there is a need to address conflict issues in planning theory and research. Nevertheless, the idea that planning may deal with conflicts prevails in contrast with the fact that social conflicts are often caused by planning practices (Gualini, 2015). Additionally, the massive usage of social media to create discourse and engage more people to support the movement also will be an added-value to enrich debate in urban social movement practices. This technological disruption then added planning complexity within current planning conditions.

Following the facts above, this study makes use of planning and conflict relationship analysis to identify the conflict between local people and government as planners. Given the fact that planners so far mainly act as mediator and facilitator in conflict resolution, Gualini (2015) proposed that planners should more directly engage within the conflict. There are two different perspectives in viewing conflict in the planning. Firstly, communicative rationalism, as stated by Habermas, tries to seek consensus building to gain a win-win solution among conflicted actors. While another view from pluralist-agonism tends to create differences more visible as a source to enhance democracy (Arpin, 2019), from this point, if the conflict between planners and local people cannot be resolved, there may appear social movement as a form of dissatisfaction from local people. In analysing social movement, three main concepts need to be taken into consideration, namely conflict with opponent parties, dense informal network, and collective identity (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). The current social movement emerged along with the development of society and technological information. Thus, many modern movements utilise the internet and new media as tools for their actions. Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010) divide the new digitised movement into internet-based and internet-supported movement. From this typology, we can identify the social media activism of a movement.

One of the most interesting cases is Benoa Bay reclamation project in Bali, Indonesia. This project belongs to one of the biggest projects in Indonesia in the last decade. Combine with the massive protest from the local people, this case becomes an extreme case in planning conflict in Indonesia. Benoa Bay is a part of the national strategic area declared by the Ministry of Tourism of Indonesia, namely Sarbagita (Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan). The national strategic area is designed to cluster the vital tourism zone consisted of some municipalities (Presidential Regulation No. 45/2011). To begin with, in 2013, the developer PT Tirta Wahana

Bali International (TWBI) was planning an 838-hectare construction on land for villas, hotels, apartments and theme park (Langenheim, 2014). This project at least would take up slightly more than 50% of the bay's area. There are two different interests behind the reclamation project.

On one side, the indigenous Balinese Hindus, and the investors and the governments, on the other side (Suwidjana, 2018). The investments are made possible by the private sector to foster tourism activities in South Bali. Similar to the developer idea, the national government also has the same concern in developing an international tourism destination, as stated in Presidential Regulation number 45/2011. Contrary, the local people Balinese Hindus, firmly believe in life philosophies called *Tri Hita Karana*. These philosophies suggest humans lead a harmonious balance within three relationships: with God, other humans, and the environment (Suwidjana, 2018). Thus, the local people prefer to environmental and cultural aspects rather than economics.

The government believes that the reclamation intended for tourism activities will boost local economic growth, while the local people trust that Benoa Bay becomes sacred due to its function as a religious site declared by the Parisada Hindu Dharma, the highest Hindu council in the country (Suwidjana, 2018). At least, there are more than 60 natural sites as well as 24 temples, some of them located underwater (Langenheim, 2016). This local belief indeed is fundamental from the perspective of religion and worship. Also, from the environmental impact, Conservation International (CI) states that the reclamation will cause flooding on a massive scale (Langenheim, 2016). Hence, the contradiction between local people and the government leads to the conflict between both parties. The Bali forum against reclamation (ForBALI) which consists of various elements of societies, conducted a series of protests. ForBALI unites young people, musicians, academic and religious institutions, environmentalists and 28 villages, including all 14 in the area for reclamation (Langenheim, 2016). Like their name, the movement objective is to revoke the reclamation plan due to the religious values and environmental impacts.

The power imbalance between the local people against the investors, together with the national government led to significant protests from the local people to gain more people power. The ForBALI movement has held regular rallies at the governor office in Bali's capital Denpasar and Benoa Bay, as well as concerts, art events and a well-orchestrated social media campaign (Langenheim, 2014). The local people had done those protests to equalise their power to the investors' and the national government power. The conflict that has not been resolved yet since 2014 indicates that there are still distinct interests between the involved parties. As mentioned by Consortium of Agrarian Reform, there have been ten conflicts in reclamation planning since 2016 in Indonesia. These facts indicate that there is an emergent need to take a look more deeply into theory, specifically in planning and conflict relations to identify this case. However, in the case of ForBALI movement, the usage of social media in their movement is quite massive. Thus, the movement remains steady for almost six years since 2013. The usage of social media in an urban social movement is a new issue to be discussed, especially in the context of planning conflict.

In term of urban social movements, some scholars have published a range of study related to movement against urban planning and renewal project such as the city and the grassroots (Castells, 1983), urban social movements in an era of globalisation (Mayer, 2000), urban squatters in Amsterdam (Uitermark, 2004), urban movements in contemporary Stockholm (Stahre, 2004), urban movements in Germany (Kavoulakos, 2006), urban social movements in Istanbul (Uysal, 2012), and urban contestation in the case of Milan (Pacchi and Pasqui, 2015). However, these studies focus on urban social movements from the perspective of traditional social movement theory. Meanwhile, in the recent practice, several social movements make use of social media to mobilise people and spread their petition to the pointed stakeholders such as Facebook and an online Guatemalan justice movement (Harlow, 2012), Occupy Wall Street movement on Twitter (Gleason, 2013), media practices in the study of social movements (Mattoni and Treré, 2014), political activism online of 15M in Spain (Micó and Casero-Ripollés, 2014), a Twitter-based community centred on a political goal in South

Korea (Choi and Park, 2014), youth collective activism through social media (Velasquez and LaRose, 2015), and Twitter activism and youth in South Africa (Bosch, 2017).

This research elaborates on the practice of ForBALI urban movement against Benoa Bay reclamation plan focusing on its social media activism. Following the previous explanation, activism through social media has been emerged in the last few years specifically youth activism. Nevertheless, the investigation of urban social movement using social media remains limited especially in planning context. The output of this research is expected to add variety of urban social movement in planning practices as well as to offer an integrative view on how to deal with community protests during the planning process for the planning board and government stakeholders. The societal relevance of this research is explaining the dynamics of urban social movements as the effect of planning conflict that often occur in Indonesia. This research adds to the practice of urban social movement as an output of planning-conflict relationships.

1.2. Research objective

This study seeks the relation between social media usage to the planning and conflict relationship. The social dynamic that emerges in the ForBALI movement is the use of social media in a massive way to engage more people in doing the real movement action. This new practice is essential to be analysed to acquire the recent social interaction of the community in a grassroot scale. This thesis explores *how the uses of social media influence the planning and conflict relationship using the case of Benoa Bay reclamation plan*. Operationally, this study will focus on 1) the possible relations between planning and conflict from a theoretical perspective; 2) the involved interests in the Benoa Bay reclamation plan; 3) the contentions developed between the opposing interests; and 4) the mobilisation of social movement's supporters through social media.

Following the above introduction session, in chapter two discusses the theoretical basis of this study, which consists of planning and conflict, a social movement in urban planning and social media in social movement practices. Also, a conceptual framework is drawn based on the connection of discussed theories. The following chapter about methodology of research explains the research design, a brief introduction to the unit of analysis, research framework and data collection framework as well as methods of data analysis. While chapter four concerning research findings and discussions converse the findings of the research and discuss the findings from the basis of the theoretical framework. There are three sections in this chapter, namely planning and conflict behind Benoa Bay reclamation, ForBALI social movement and the power of social media. In the last chapter the conclusion gives final statements on this study. It includes a general conclusion, and reflections of the research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Planning and conflict relationships

Conflicts in urban planning emerge as the shift of economic development from natural resources to urban growth particularly in the developing country (Okyere et al., 2015). Most of the time, the various actors involved in planning have different interests that cause dilemmas in urban planning. There are two different point of views in interpreting conflict in the planning world (Arpin, 2019). The first is communicative rationalism of Habermas: the diverging interests of actors in the planning processes must be addressed by a continued deliberation to reduce conflict (ibid). This communicative rationalism objective is to find a consensus between conflicting stakeholders to gain a win-win solution. Thus, communication and relationships become the main aspects of bridging each actor to understand other interests and goals (Beierle and Konisky, 2000). The planners then have a function of facilitating discourse for community towards strategic consensus-building (Healey, 1996).

The second perspective derives from pluralist agonism which defines consensus-building as a pseudo-democratic way of managing conflict. This viewpoint reinforces actors who have a hegemonic stance at a specific time, hence, causing a type of exclusion (Arpin, 2019) as Mouffe (2005) argues for this approach that recognising conflicts as impossible to overcome through consensual decisions. Differing from communicative rationalism that seeks consensus, this perspective creates differences more visible as a source to enhance democracy (Arpin, 2019).

However, critics are spread over both sides. The communicative rationalism has been criticised for its idealism and its tendency to a status quo while the latter for its lack of empirical input about how to achieve pluralist agonism in practice (Arpin, 2019). The first perspective has been promoting for decades in managing conflict of planning practices and has been more influencing in planning (Lundberg et al., 2018). Nevertheless, the development of society in such a dynamic world has been changed the conflict arrangement in planning practice. A new different approach is needed to address conflict in planning based on uncertain and fluid society.

In response, some planning scholars combine both the perspective mentioned above in dealing with conflict within planning. One of the recent works by Gualini (2015) proposes that planners should engage in the conflict in a direct way rather than acting to mediate or avoid conflicts. Furthermore, 'they should seek to reactivate conflict within planning while recognising the complex relations between the handling of conflict in planning, and the manifestation of conflicts through insurgent practices and movements in society more generally' (Lundberg et al., 2018: p. 2). Hence, planners are not only asked to explicitly identify conflict within planning but also analyse the complexity of the conflict, including any implicit expression of conflict in the society such as protests and urban social movement. According to Pizzo and Di Salvo (2015), there are three points of common understandings related to the planning-conflict relationships that can be used to analyse the case study namely global-local relationships, conflict and participation, and stakeholder relationships.

2.1.1. GLOBAL-LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS

In terms of planning and conflict relationship, the notions of geographical scale cannot be excluded from the discussion. The notion of the scale itself is still debatable among geographers. Nonetheless, in determining such scalar term hierarchies such as global, national, and local, will depend on the historical and contextual matters of any specific places (Brenner, 2001). These scale terms, then, cannot be categorised as an ideal geographic size that fits for all. The rapid growth of globalisation affects all of the places in the world an aspect of political geography. Due to the difference of social-political, economic and cultural circumstances, every

place has their global-local relationships. Two distinguish global-local relationships will be discussed here from the perspective of place as the planning site.

According to the works of Escobar (2001) and Massey (2004), a place defined as not fixed, but constructed through complex interrelations, and changed historically. Nevertheless, both authors have different arguments in articulating global-local relationships in the construction of place. Escobar (2001) that departs from the perspective of political economy defines place as an object of struggle in the strategies of social movements. Based on this point of view, a place becomes contestation between localisation against global power to keep the local value. On the opposite, Massey's (2004) construction of place refers to politics of connectivity and as sites of negotiation. Thus, instead of defending the place from the global constellation, a place must be open up to the politics of place such as connections, relations and practices that construct place. The dynamics of global and local power then being manifested in the politics of scale.

The notion of politics of scales refers to the contestation between the different socio-spatial entity in a specific geographical arena which then labelled as local, national, regional and global (Brenner, 2001). Furthermore, in the most of globalisation literature, there is an argument that global is linked to space, capital, history while local is associated with place, labour, tradition, poor, minorities and local cultures (Escobar, 2011). Even though these both terms of scale are often intertwined in some places, nevertheless, there is continuous development regarding politics of scale. As the work of Smith, in 1984, he identified geographical scales as the arena for capital circulation. However, after the 1990s, he has broadened the role of geographical scales as a platform to broad social activities and struggles not only limited to capital circulation activities (Brenner, 2001). This extension of geographical scales term then enables the discussion about social struggles and movement within a place broadly, including conflict in today's democratic world. One of essential elements in democracy is participation. In some cases, conflict and participation are interrelated, as discussed in the following section.

2.1.2. CONFLICT AND PARTICIPATION

The notion of democratic society leads planning to face various interests from different stakeholders. Often, this diversification caused disagreement or even conflict. Planning activities could be a source of conflict due to the following reasons: (1) the competition of different uses within the same land, (2) the connection between social and spatial control, which 'planning manifests itself as an asymmetrical relationship of strengths between one party that has the power to decide and parties or groups that defend particular interests' (Mazza, 2009: p. 132), and (3) the externalities of planning decisions affect not only local scale but also a non-local level (Pacchi and Pasqui, 2015). From these reasons, following the work of Gualini (2015), two different sides in managing conflict and participation are discussed.

On the one hand, from the perspective of communicative planning approach, a form of disagreement could be beneficial for urban discourse as long as planners can provide a participatory approach (Gualini, 2015). As a consequence, the planners have to act as facilitator or mediator. Furthermore, here are some specific skills that needed to be mastered by planners in the mediation process: '(a) assessing stakeholders' options and initial interests, (b) convening representatives of those parties to present their views and data, questions, and proposals, (c) enabling parties to engage in joint inquiry and learning, and (d) enabling a process of inventing options and formulating agreements that satisfy all stakeholders' (Forester, 2009: p. 14). Thus, in this perspective, a participatory approach has a function to mediate conflict in planning.

On the other hand, the understanding of dissent will cause the rise of social movement or struggle, as the critical perspective from the stakeholders arises concerning asymmetrical power in the urban political planning (Gualini, 2015). In other words, this second perspective departs from the failure of the planners to create a deliberative process as mentioned in the previous point of view. Critically, a participatory dialogue should meet the following criteria: '(1) inclusiveness (including representatives, e.g., of environmental quality concerns,

among others), (2) maximizing mutual gains efficiency (rather than lose-lose outcomes), (3) stability, and (4) being technically well informed' (Forester, 2009: p. 14). Nevertheless, social dissent in this context will only occur if there is an awareness in an individual level about injustice power in an urban political domain (Gualini, 2015).

To sum up, in communicative rational planning, planners should act as a mediator to embrace conflict within planning to gain a consensus. To meet this consensus, some specific skills have to be acquired. On the other hand, if the planners cannot provide a participatory process, then, an imbalance power will arise. Due to the increasing of society understanding towards injustice power in planning leads to the ascent of an urban social movement. In this complex and uncertain social conditions, planners as mediators face not only neighbourhood contention or land use rights but also the legacy of racial and ethnic conflict as well as the meaning and identity-shaping of place and space (Forester, 2009). Forester has been listed several challenges in conducting a deliberative dialogue namely: '(1) how planners recognize and may respect our differences, (2) how we design participatory processes, (3) how rational our democratic deliberations may be, (4) how non-neutral or activist planner-mediators can be, and, finally, (5) how we can protect space for real acknowledgement of loss and inequality, even for traumatic memory, in our real deliberative conversations, dialogues, or negotiations in civil society' (Forester, 2009: p. 19-20).

2.1.3. STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS

The literature on stakeholder configurations especially in the 1980s and 1990s has focused on the concept and classification of stakeholders (Kujala et al, 2012). Stakeholder term relies on social literature such as corporate planning, systems theory, corporate social responsibility and organisational studies (Wagner Mainardes et al, 2012). From this range of social literature, many scholars emphasise communication as a critical point in stakeholder relationships (Foster and Jonker, 2005). Stakeholder has an essential role in determining the dynamics of planning conflict. To get a comprehensive view on stakeholder relationships in planning conflicts, these following aspects are essential to be highlighted: the interests of each actor, the dimension of related interest, the spatial roots of each interest, the capacity of each actor to change its position, the capacity of each actor to construct its discourse, and the role it had in decision process (Pizzo and Di Salvo, 2015). The analysis of stakeholders should be based on their relationships in the various contexts in which they function (Kujala et al, 2012). Nonetheless, through the dynamics of the planning process, the interests of each actor tend to remain the same from the beginning to the end of planning processes (Pizzo and Di Salvo, 2015). Hence, stakeholders and their interest will be the main discussion in this section.

In the case of conservation conflict, there are several drivers such as wildfire impacts, resource-use and restrictions, land-use decisions, conservation governance, development and economics as well as the clashing of values (Baynham-Herd et al., 2018). From these multiple drivers, there will vary possibilities on the stakeholder relationships. However, in many cases, stakeholder relationships are often dismissed by the government or planners, specifically when these groups have different interests with the government (Madden and McQuinn, 2014). Thus, after defining the root of the conflict causes, identifying stakeholder interests and their relationships are two essential steps to be taken. So far, the practice of planning tends to exclude marginalised actors such as social movements and NGOs (Lemos and Agrawal, 2006). From the stakeholder relationships configuration, the following section discusses the dynamics of social movement in urban planning conflicts. Whereas the conflict might emerge as the consequence of different interests of stakeholders.

2.2. Social movements in urban planning conflicts

Social movement emerges as an expression of dissatisfaction of society towards current policy and condition (Melucci, 1996). The challenging conditions vary from human rights, environmental issues, education, politics

and institutions as well as urban development. In this section, the concept of social movement and its life cycle will be discussed from the general perspective of social science. In the last part of this section, a discussion about urban social movements is specified to distinguish the characteristics of urban social movements from the one of the other social movements. However, the urban social movement still shares similar elements with the popular social movement in general.

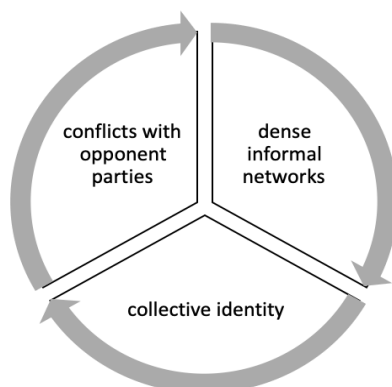
2.2.1. THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The study of social movements that emerged for the first time in the 1960s becomes more popular in the last decade due to the spread of globalisation. They even have become a perpetual element of Western democracies (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). The rise of social movement itself usually advances from a collective action which appears as the response to threatening of norms or shared values as well as an imbalance form or crisis (Melucci, 1996). Furthermore, collective action can be described as a set of social practices, namely '(i) involving simultaneously a number of individuals or groups, (ii) exhibiting similar morphological characteristics in contiguity of time and space, (iii) implying a social field of relationships and (iv) the capacity of the people involved in making sense of what they are doing' (Melucci, 1996: p. 20).

Collective action can become a social movement through a framing activity. The collective action frame inspires and legitimates activities of social movement organisations (Benford and Snow, 2000). Besides, social movements can also be seen as 'social processes in which actors engaged in collective actions consisting of conflictual relations with identified opponents, dense informal networks, and a distinct collective identity' (Della Porta and Diani, 2006: p. 20). Similarly, Melucci's work in social movements is also emphasising the analysis of specific solidarities: a conflict with an adversary as well as an action which tries to contravene the current system (Melucci, 1996). Thus, according to both scholars, three critical aspects in analysing social movement are conflicts with adversary parties, collective solidarity and informal networks to challenge the current power and system (see figure 1).

Conflicts with opponent parties imply that social movements have targets for their collective actions and efforts. This characteristic distinguishes social movements from other collective actions. The form of collective actions such as addressing common problems, supporting some values and producing public goods cannot be categorised as a social movement if they do not have any specific targets of their actions (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). In the case of social movements in planning conflict, the adversary parties of the movement could be a municipality or other governmental bodies as well as private sectors who have authority and responsibility in the planning projects. Thus, in the planning constellation, movements set their own non-negotiable goals to challenge the legitimacy of power and the rules of the game in which the current authorities operate (Melucci, 1996).

Figure 1. Three main characteristics of social movements



(adapted from Della Porta and Diani, 2006)

The second aspect that differentiates social movements with other collective actions is dense informal networks. Everyday collective actions tend to only manage actions or crowd instantly without an extended network. While in social movement practices, dense informal networks entail sustained communication between individual and organised actors to exchange resources in perceiving common goals (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). In these informal networks, the communication and exchange from different units in the movement keep in connection to bring a homogeneity as a whole (Melucci, 1996). The continuous networks then will be resulting in a negotiated agreement such as movement strategies, coordination plans, as well as regulation of individual actors' conduct (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). In complex societies, movements work in hidden networks and meeting points which distinguish from political or formal organisations (Melucci, 1996).

One of the essential movement aspects is people power. Social movements need to accumulate their resources in order to ensure their power endurance during the conflict. However, there must be a tie that bonds different people under a specific movement. Hence, a collective identity is essential to create bonds within the social movement's members. The bond is required to make sense of what they are doing under the movement (Melucci, 1996). Afterwards, the collective identity will enable every single activist to bond to each other inseparably in a like-minded way (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). In a higher degree, the personal and collective identity of a social movement will be intertwined and engaged together (Melucci, 1996). These processes enable individual actors and organisation to the affiliate in a more significant movement exceed spatial boundary as long as they share the same collective identity.

2.2.2. THE LIFE CYCLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Similar to other standard organisations, social movements also evolve during its development in achieving the intended goals. The life cycle of social movement shows its dynamics in mobilising its resources and power to challenge the current system. Herbert Blumer, a social movement scholar, differentiated four stages of social movement namely social ferment, widespread excitement, formalisation, and institutionalisation (Della Porta and Diani, 2006) (see figure 2). In the social ferment phase, the movement remains to unfocused regarding its concern. The movement starts to find its clear objectives in the second stage, the widespread excitement. After finding its objectives, the movement formalises its organisation through formalisation steps in order to regulate participation and coordination. In the last stage, the movement ingrain its values as an organic part of society through an institutionalisation stage.

Figure 2. Social movement stages

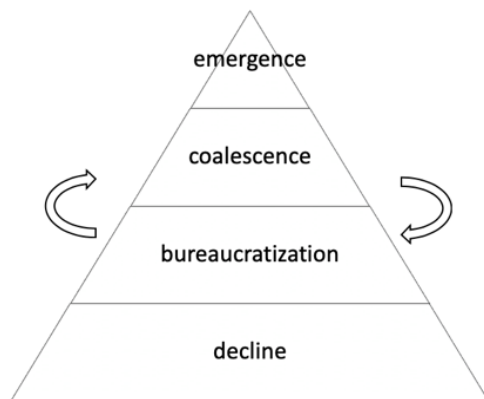


(adapted from Blumer, 1951)

Inspired by the work Herbert Blumer (1951) above, scholars in the social movement have modified the term of each stage based on the current social discourse without reducing its substantial contents. The four stages of social movements are emergence, coalescence, bureaucratisation, and decline (Christiansen, 2009) (see figure 3). In the emergence stage, a widespread dissatisfaction occurred (Macionis, 2001). The people possibly unhappy with the current policy or social conditions; however, any specific actions have not taken yet in a personal or collective way (Christiansen, 2009). Thus, it can be seen that in the emergence stage, a discontent of current policy and social condition is there, but there is still no further mobilisation action.

In the second stage, an initiative of organising public dissatisfaction into actions begins to emerge. Nevertheless, there is an obstacle in this coalescence phase, when the unsatisfied actors do not come together into an act, then the movement will not move forward to the next level (Christiansen, 2009). Thus, the role of leadership is significant to mobilise power into collective action. Also, a big mass demonstration may take place to indicate the existence of the movement's power and also their desire for change as well as its objectives (Christiansen, 2009). To conclude, in the coalescence stage, a form of mobilisation has begun systematically to show the social movement's power and its demands.

Figure 3. The modified version of social movement stages



(adapted from Christiansen, 2009)

The bureaucratisation phase requires a higher degree of formalisation within a social movement organisation. In this phase, social movement organisation not only arrange a rally of protests in a massive way but also taking care of day to day activities to realise organisation functions (Christiansen, 2009). To do the daily activities, the social movement organisation can even hire a professional officer if there are no volunteers available (Macionis, 2001). Due to its higher degree of formalisation, social movement can obtain greater power and even regular communication with the political elites (Christiansen, 2009). However, the most challenging things in this stage are how to maintain the enthusiastic emotion of the participants because continuous mobilisation comes to be demanding for them (ibid). Hence, in this stage, the organisation of social movement becomes more complicated due to its duty to create not only a rally of the demonstration but also a day to day organisation to meet its functions. Also, financial matters could be a new instrument that needs to be considered to fulfil its daily functions.

Finally, the last phase is decline. In this phase, Herbert Blumer indicated as institutionalisation stage that social movement had been internalised itself into an organic part of society (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Although, there is a further elaboration on the possibility of social movement establishment in this phase. As stated by Miller (1991), in the decline phase, there are four possibilities which are repression, co-optation, success and failure. Furthermore, Macionis (2001) adds the fifth possibility as an establishment with the mainstream. The following points explain each characteristic in brief:

1. Repression
Repression comes from the agent of authorities in order to pull down the movement. Yet, this repression can result in a different perception between both sides. As stated by Miller (1999), 'repressive actions may be defined as legitimate by the state...but they are never legitimate from the perspective of the movement' (p. 305).
2. Co-optation

Co-optation tries to weaken the social movement as well through hijacking the leaders to be recruited into the adversary organisation (Christiansen, 2009). By joining the opposition team, it will offer a delusive chance to change the system from the inside. Also, the authorities or targeted groups can also make a pay-off to the leaders to redirect their movement actions (Christiansen, 2009).

3. Success

The decline step here cannot only be interpreted as a negative one. A social movement which can conquer from repression or co-optation will stay steady until its objectives achieved. Nonetheless, a localised movement which has more specific goals been potentially more successful in running its movements (Miller, 1999). Hence, a movement with less clear goals and ideologies seems to be unsuccessful especially when repression and co-optation turn more massive.

4. Failure

Expansion of a successful social movement organisation may lead to failure due to factionalism and encapsulation. When a movement becomes more open, then everybody can be involved in the decision-making processes (Miller, 1999). Thus, it possibly causes a faction within a social movement organisation. A faction that becomes worse could lead to an encapsulation. The encapsulation is 'the process wherein a cadre of activists become isolated from the broader movement because they come to share many of the same habits and culture and their ideology becomes more similar to one another's and at the same time more rigid' (Christiansen, 2009; p. 4).

5. Establishment with mainstream

The last possibility of decline phase is establishment with the mainstream. This happens when the societal mainstream adopts the ideologies and goals of the movement. Thus, there is no longer social movement needed (Christiansen, 2009). This adoption indeed could be elucidated as a positive move. In most cases, the collective bargaining demands are fulfilled by the government and the movement is well instituted in the political system (Macionis, 2001).

From this social movements' life cycle, it is essential to analyse a more specific movement in urban and planning contexts to acquire contextual background from theoretical perspective. The term of urban social movements firstly introduced by Castells (1983). The subsequent section will discuss urban social movements thoroughly.

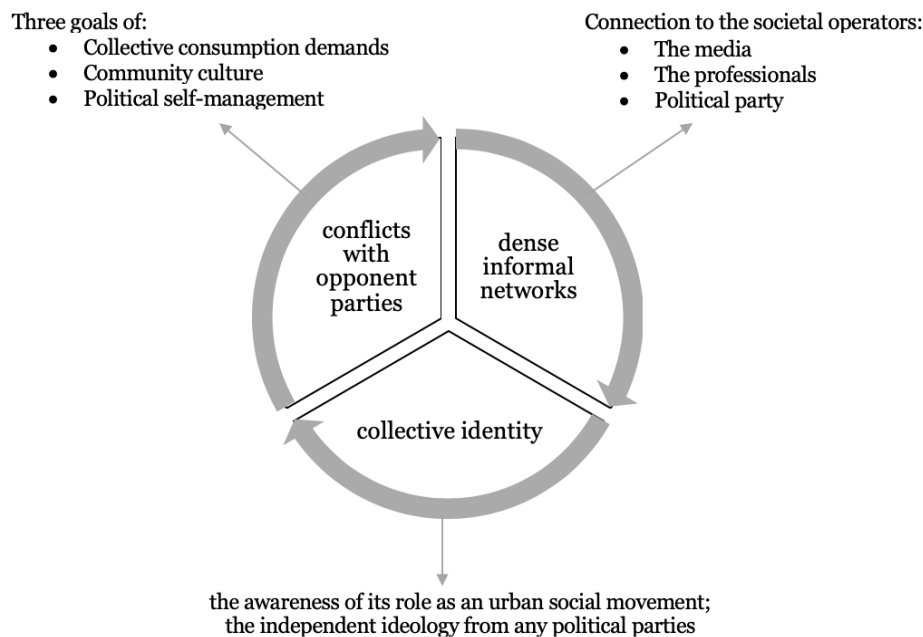
2.2.3. URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The conflict in planning or the other urban projects often causes urban contestation between the government as well as the developers against the local citizens. Urban social movements become urgent to be discussed due to the fact that planning conflict more frequently happened in the urban areas. The planning policies that disappoint the local people is one of the most reasons why urban conflict happened. These conflicts relationships then stimulate the local people to create a social movement against the planning project. Castells (1983) in his prior work, calls an urban struggle in opposing urban planning as an urban social movement. These following elements are the characteristics of an urban social movement (USM) based on Castells (1983: p. 322):

1. Accomplish the transformation of urban meaning in the full extent of its political and cultural implications, a USM must articulate in its praxis in the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture and political self-management.
2. It must be conscious of its role as an urban social movement.
3. It must be connected to society through a series of organizational operators, three in particular: the media, the professionals and the political parties.
4. A sine qua non condition: while USMs must be connected to the political system to at least partially achieve its goals, they must be organizationally and ideologically autonomous of any political party.

According to the Castells' components above, it can be seen that an urban social movement has the shared characteristics as popular social movement namely conflict with adversary actors, collective identity, and the informal networks (see figure 4). The conflict with adversary actors is further manifested in the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture and political self-management. While the awareness of its role as an urban social movement and the independent ideology from any political parties are the indication of collective identity, after most, the dense informal networks can be recognised from the connection to various societal operators namely the media, professionals, and the political parties.

Figure 4. The link between urban social movement attributes to the common social movements' elements



(modified from Castells, 1983 and Della Porta and Diani, 2009)

Furthermore, Mayer (2009) specifies urban social movement as movements which confront the forms, goals, and effects of urban development, 'they fight the commercialization of public space, the intensification of surveillance and policing of urban space, the entrepreneurial ways in which cities market themselves in the global competition, as well as the concomitant neglect of neighbourhoods falling by the wayside of these forms of growth politics' (p. 366). From Mayer's explanation above, it is clear that USM tries to challenge all the sort of commercialisation of urban development. In this context, there is a local-global relationship as one of planning and conflict relationships' elements. This inverse relationship then leads to conflict planning that inspires people to create urban social movements to express their demands and interests. Moreover, 'they attack global neoliberalism in the form of global corporations, investors and developers, but also entrepreneurial local governments as they help to implement the neoliberal corporate agenda' (Mayer, 2009: p. 368).

Another possibility of planning and conflict relationships is about conflict and participation. In the case of urban development, participation could be a trigger for planning conflict. Urban conflicts can emerge as a result of community exclusion from urban planning processes. As a consequence, social movement arises from individuals and organisations who create a joint vision to gain a powerful voice in challenging the authorities. They arrange various collective actions include 'public demonstrations, creating and publicising a simple oppositional message, speaking out at public meetings, seeking media attention, and instigating litigation' (Innes and Gruber, 2005: p. 183). Thus, it can be concluded that global-local relationships and participation

matters influence the rise of an urban social movement. Furthermore, urban social movements are developing as time goes by including the use of new media in this digital society.

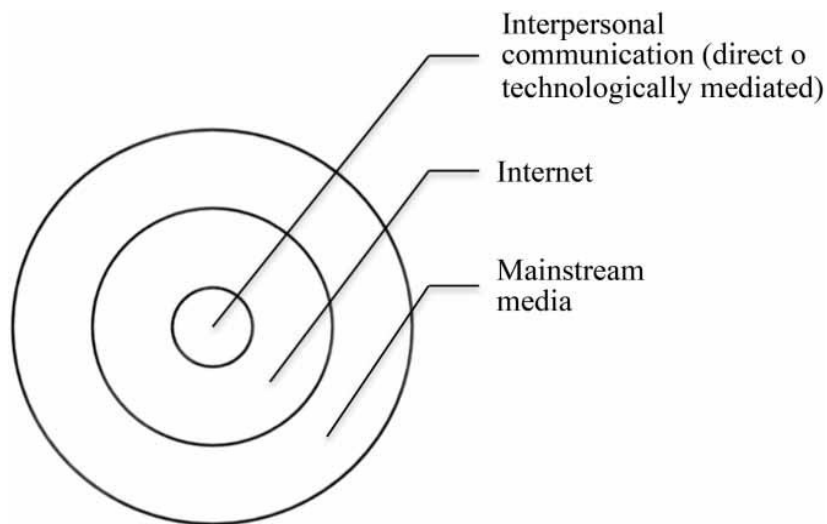
2.3. The use of social media by social movements

The rapidly increased usage of social media has been affected every aspect of life include social movement activities. The Internet has affected the way people communicate from interpersonal, mass communication and mass self-communication (Castells, 2009). The last one becomes more frequently used in the era of digital society. Where everyone can produce the message in a self-generated way, and it can spread globally across the geographical boundary (Castells, 2009). Thus, it is called mass self-communication due to its way of message production and spread out to the world as mass communication. Similarly, Bennett and Segerberg (2012) identified the mass self-communication as a personalized communication which has two elements as follows: '1) These personal action frames are inclusive of different personal reasons for contesting a situation that needs to be changed; 2) Various personal communication technologies that enable sharing these themes' (p. 744). After all, this kind of communication is well fulfilled by the role of social media.

2.3.1. CONCENTRIC CIRCLE THEORY

The social media then become the extension intermediary from interpersonal communication towards mainstream media. As stated by Micó and Casero-Ripollés (2014), these relations called as the concentric circle theory (see figure 5). In the first core, interpersonal communication happens where the activists can directly make a communication to the other movement members as well as through technological media. The second layer occurs in the internet media when the information from interpersonal communication is shared via web 2.0 including social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. This information that is becoming widely discussed online then probably will be discussed in mainstream media to gain more attention from the citizens.

Figure 5. Concentric circle theory



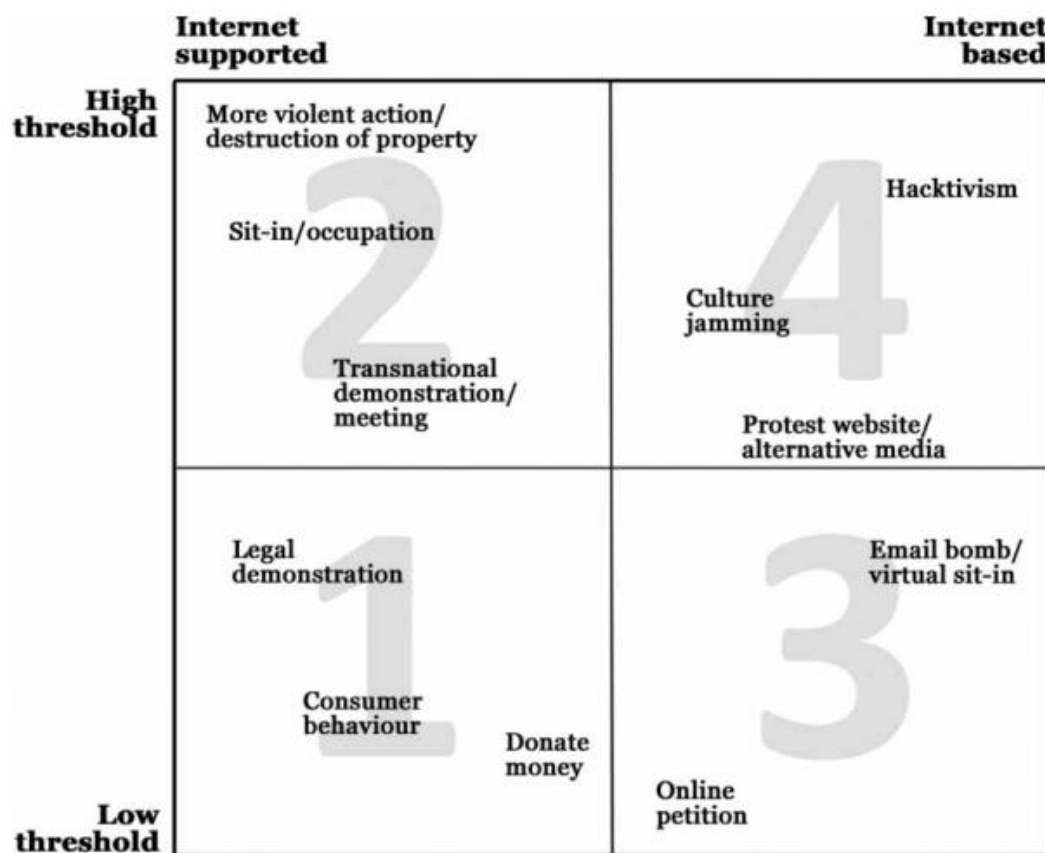
(source: Micó and Casero-Ripollés, 2014)

In some cases, a social movement is vocal on social media due to its financial limitation to access the mainstream media. Thus, it tries to get attention from the citizens to enable access to the mainstream media. In addition, as stated by Castells (2009), in this digital society, people will preferably access social media more frequently rather than conventional media. Hence, social media become a potential platform to be used by urban social movements. The following sections will be discussing the characters and the conceptual framework of social media activism to illustrate the social media and movement clearer.

2.3.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MEDIA ACTIVISM

Based on the concentric circle theory above, it can be seen that the shift of mass media to the social media has been affected the social movement activities respectively. According to Micó and Casero-Ripollés (2014), there are four changes in the relationships between media and social movements namely: 1) the termination of journalistic and political elites domination in the management of information, 2) the ICT permits individual users to disseminate their information without layers of professional filter suchlike conventional media, 3) the new media provides the distribution of alternative information that has been hegemonized by the elites monopoly, 4) the social media allows feasibilities for participation with regard to media coverage. To sum up, the rise of social media benefits the social movement in spreading their interests, values, as well as contested discourse against the adversary parties.

Figure 6. A typology of new digitised action repertoires



(source: Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010)

Moreover, Van Laer and Van Aelst (2010) create a typology of new media activism based on two features namely internet usage and degree of threshold (see figure 6). The internet usage element entails to the frequency of internet usage in social activism. The internet supported emphasises the role of the internet as a facilitator of the popular social movement specifically in applying its tactics and strategies to challenge the adversary actors through the internet (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). This enables movement to spread its influence across transnational. Whereas the internet based means the movement from the new perspective. This movement only exists virtually without a form of traditional movement actions.

The second dimension is the degree of the threshold. This element refers to the intensity of the active forms of the social movement. There is a hierarchy of intensity from low to high. The low threshold describes movement activities in more moderate intensity and in a respectful way such as legal demonstration, signing

petitions and crowd donations (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). While the high threshold implies a more militant intensity of social movement actions. In this form of high intensity, transnational demonstration to occupation or more violent action (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). From these both dimensions, four quadrants of new digitised action repertoires are drawn.

Quadrant 1, internet supported actions with a low threshold. In this quadrant, traditional movements are supported by the internet in disseminating their actions and pieces of information. The low thresholds here represent the way people can moderately engage in a movement. Several instances of these actions are legal demonstration, donate money, and consumer behaviour (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). In the monetary donation, people can actively participate by donating their money. The present of the internet helps to improve the effectiveness of money donated by the movements as well as accountability. The Internet also boosts the participation of legal protest demonstration by disseminating the strategic value of the movement as well as the operational information regarding the movement action itself. While in consumer behaviour, nowadays mostly related to the fair-trade movement (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Internet helps to provide information concerning specific product and also it is alternative as a prior base for consumers to buy the products according to their preferences.

Quadrant 2, internet supported actions with a high threshold. Similar to the previous one. However, this action has a higher threshold which manifests in its militant intensity of each action (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Again, the internet helps to coordinate and organise the events under the movements. Here are several actions belong to this quadrant: transnational demonstration, sit-in/occupation, and more violent action. The transnational demonstration implies the same action bringing similar demands that happen in the different geographical places (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). The spreading of information through the internet ease the movement to influence its value across the globe. Sit -in, and the internet also benefits more violent action. Besides the speed of spreading information about the actions, the internet also reduces the possibility of surveillance by the police or other opponent actors (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010).

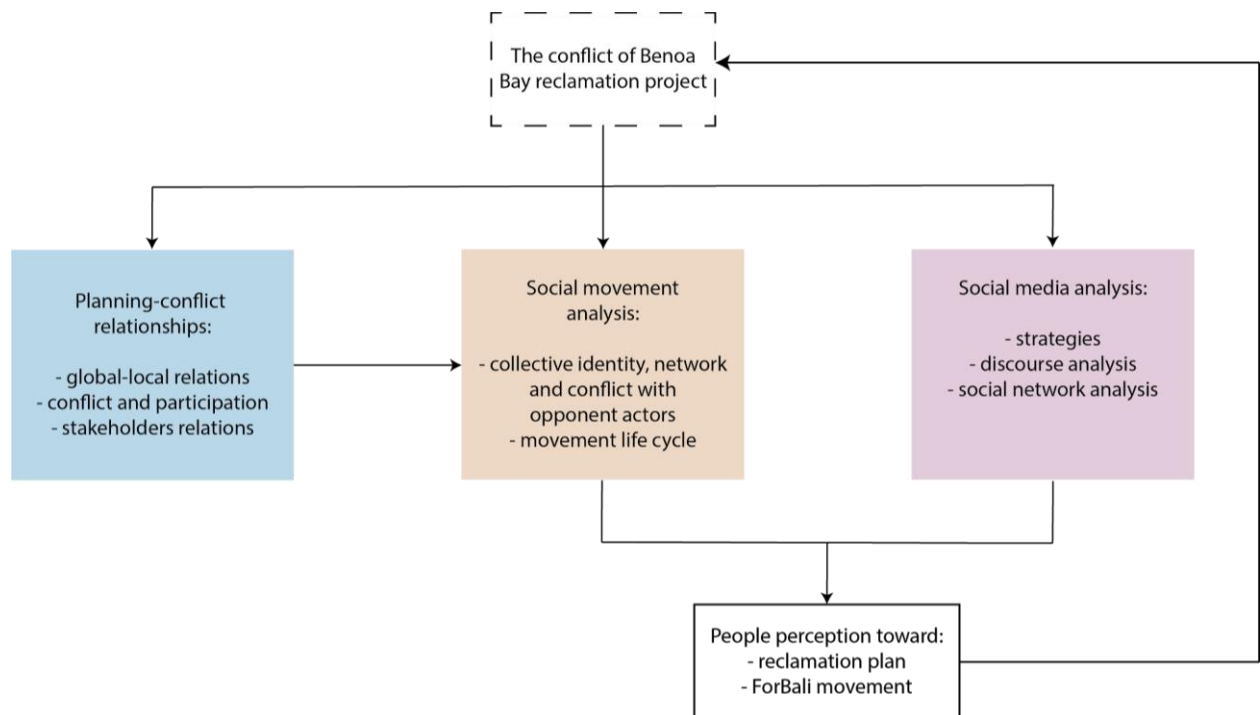
Quadrant 3, internet-based actions with a low threshold. The internet-based action usually does not have off-line based actions. Thus, this action focuses on the usage of internet and new media as a space of struggle. Several internet-based actions with low threshold are an online petition and email bomb/virtual sit-in. Online petition gain support from the citizens through the signing petition on a social media platform or a specific website such as Change.org (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). The signed petition then being delivered to the government or other authorities to get a chance for challenging the current policies. The more radical way from the online petition is email bomb and virtual sit-in. Both actions are using the same tactic to ask the information in a massive frequency on targeted email and website to crash the server (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Although, the people who participate in this activity is not the expert of internet hacking that distinguishes from hacktivism.

Quadrant 4, internet-based actions with a high threshold. These internet-based actions are not merely sending an email or signing petition, but need more resources and experts to make more sophisticated internet-based actions such as protest websites, alternative media sites, culture jamming and hacktivism (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Protest websites and alternative media sites share a similar tactic in using the website as an instrument for struggle. One thing that distinguishes from both actions is the content of the website. On one side, the protest websites contain disapproval of any specific policies, brands or other targeted actors while alternative media sites focus on providing an alternative point of view as well as challenging the monopoly of information and production meaning (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010). Differently, culture jamming 'changes the meaning of corporate advertising through artistic techniques that alter corporate logos visually and by giving marketing slogans new meaning' (Stolle et al. 2005, p. 10). Lastly, hacktivism is a more radical action by cracking the source code of targeted websites (Van Laer and Van Aelst, 2010).

2.4. Conceptual framework

The previous section has discussed three main concepts under this study namely planning and conflict relationship, urban social movement and social media. To answer the main research question, a conceptual framework has been drawn based on the three main concepts. Firstly, the focus of analysis will be on the planning and conflict relationship under the Benoa Bay reclamation project. Subsequently, the discussion shifts to the influence of planning and conflict relationship to the emergence of urban social movement in Bali. Afterwards, the use of social media by the social movement will be analysed in terms of producing information concerning conflict with opponent parties, dense informal networks and collective identity. Finally, the influence of social media as an alternative media of the urban social movement will give an alternative perspective on the planning and conflict relationship that is happening in the Benoa Bay reclamation project.

Figure 7. A conceptual framework on the influence of social media used by urban social movement to the planning conflict relationship



3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Case study as a research methodology

This research makes use of a case study to capture the dynamics of social media usages by urban social movement in an urban planning conflict. The case study research aims ‘to understand and illuminate how the focal actions, events, and/or processes are produced and reproduced’ (Snow and Trom, 2002: p.150). Flyvbjerg (2006) emphasizes that a case study is suitable to produce a context-dependent knowledge due to its closeness to real-life situations. According to Robson (1993), the case study is ‘a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence’ (p.146). In this study, the type selection of case study being used is an extreme case. The extreme cases address ‘to obtain information on unusual cases, which can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense’ (Flyvbjerg, 2006; p. 230). In the Reformation era (after 1998 - the post-Suharto era), ForBALI movement could be one of the massive movements in Indonesia. Thus, it belongs to an extreme case in terms of social movement activities. Here are the selection criteria of ForBALI movement (see table 1).

Table 1. Selection criteria of case study

Selection criteria	ForBALI movement
Number and background of supporters	The movement is supported by various background such as lawyers, social scientists, musicians, bands, fans, artists, youth leaders, film-makers. Starting with two dozen protesters in 2013, ForBALI’s offline events attracted more than 30,000 people in 2016 (Bräuchler, 2018)
Duration of movement	ForBALI has begun its actions in the mid of 2013 and still running until now, the middle of 2019. Thus, it sustains at least for 6 years right now.
Social media activities and numbers (per May 20, 2019)	<p>Twitter (@ForBALI13)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Followers: 100,170 ● Tweets: 17,495 tweets <p>Instagram (@ForBALI13)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Followers: 139,523 ● Posts: 1,372 photos <p>Facebook</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● People like: 125,262 ● People follow: 125,430

However, the researcher is required to make deliberate choices in defining the type of case study, the logic of research design, data collection techniques, approaches to data analysis, interpretation and reporting (Yin, 2003). This study uses a descriptive case study to investigate the influence of social media on the planning-conflict relationships in Benoa Bay reclamation project. The logic of research design in this study uses three strategies to increase construct validity namely uses multiple sources of evidence, establish a chain of evidence, and have the draft case study report reviewed by key informants (Yin, 2003). The data have been collected through a semi-structured interview, policy documentation and social media analysis method. Subsequently, the social media (Twitter) data have been analysed by using RStudio software while the interview and policy document are analysed through content analysis.

3.2. Units of analysis

The unit of analysis, or the case, is determined by defining the spatial boundary, theoretical scope, and timeframe (Yin,2003). The spatial boundary of this study is the border of the Benoa Bay reclamation project in Bali, Indonesia, as the contestation target of Balinese urban social movement. The theoretical scope has been defined based on the literature study on urban social movement, planning conflict, and social media as the key concepts. The timeframe of the case that has been analyzed, ranging from the beginning of the urban social movement initiation until the time of data collection. The following section describes the reclamation project and ForBALI movement to give a comprehensive perspective about the unit of analysis under the study.

3.2.1. BENOA BAY RECLAMATION PROJECT

Benoa Bay is located in the southern part of Bali, the centre of tourism destination in Bali. The attractiveness of this area due to its beaches and cultural experience makes the area more overfull of tourist and its activities. Regarding the recent development of strategic tourism destinations, the government confronts some challenges in its southern area as the tourists' magnet. Here are some problems in the south area: the decline of agricultural land as the growth of population and tourism, low capacity for water supply management, environmental degradation, and traffic congestion (Bali's Governor regulation No. 10/2015). Those problems challenge the national and local governments to seriously manage the southern zone and at the same time to develop the northern zone as an alternative choice for visitors.

Figure 8. The map of Benoa Bay reclamation project



(modified from Topsfield and Rosa, 2016)

According to the Indonesian Restaurant & Hotel Association (PHRI), between 2011 and 2013, the number of hotel rooms on the island leaped from 22,000 to 50,100, and there is no sign of a slowdown (Langenheim, 2014). As a consequence, the agricultural land in Bali has significantly decreased and water supply is threatened. This development problem has already identified by academics and the local government, especially concerning the uncontrolled southern area. However, there is a controversy on the latest tourism project in the southern area which is Benoa Bay reclamation project (see figure 8). In the midst of physical tourism development reduction, the mega project of Benoa Bay reclamation has arisen.

3.2.2. FORBALI SOCIAL MOVEMENT

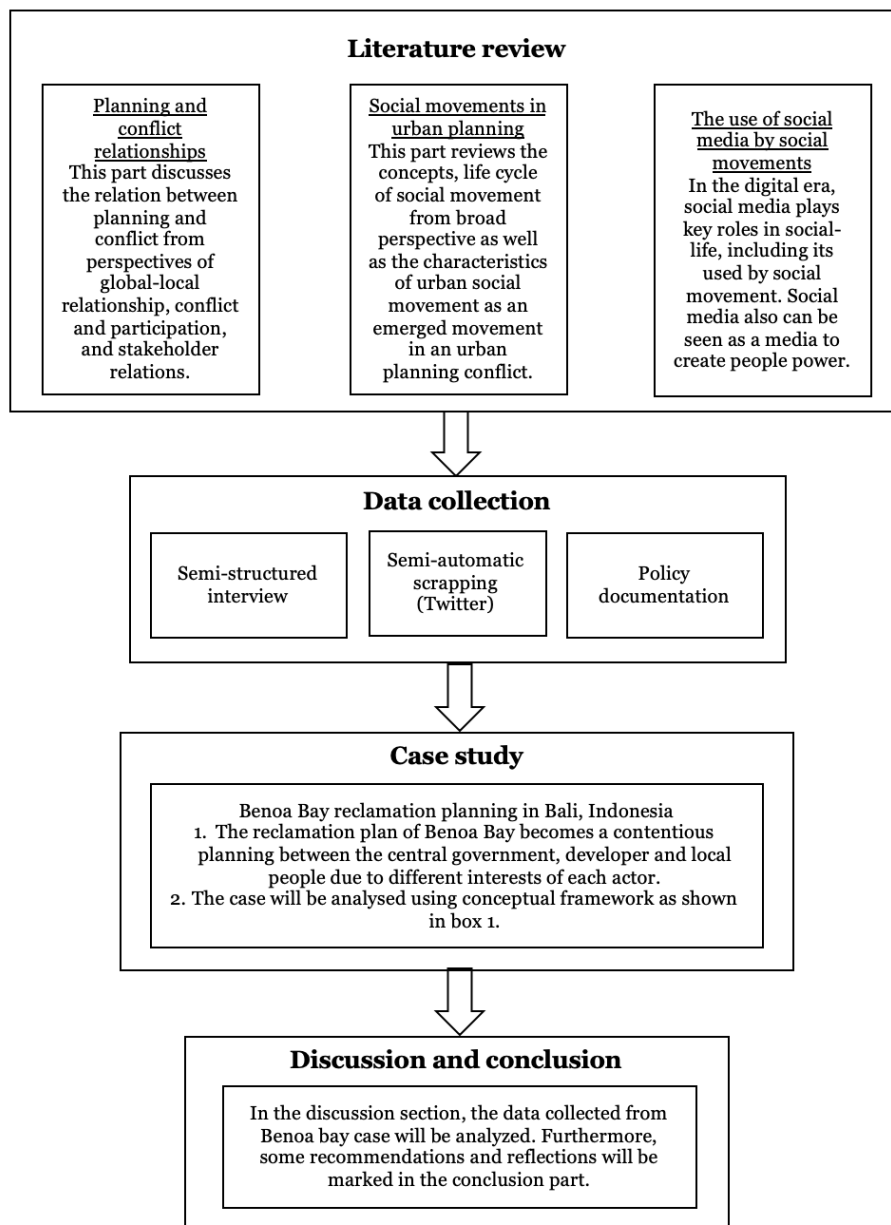
ForBALI is an abbreviation of *Forum Rakyat Bali Tolak Reklamasi* (Balinese people forum against reclamation). ForBALI claims itself as a combination of cross-sectoral civil society consisting of both institutions and individuals, ranging from indigenous people, local youth, students, NGOs, and artists, who care about the environment and have faith that the reclamation of Benoa Bay will destruct Bali's environment (Bräuchler, 2018). The various backgrounds of its supporters indicate that the movement is rooted in diverse societal background. According to its website, it has conducted several activities to challenge the current reclamation project such as taking legal action, demonstration, cultural parade as well as socialisation to the affected societies.

Similar to other forms of social movements, ForBALI movement also relies on the donation of public communities to finance their activities. Some funding mechanisms that is offered is direct donation, music concerts and merchandise. Due to the inadequate financial resource, the movement also frequently make use of social media to spread its value and agenda rather than accessing the mainstream media. Besides, the various background of its supporters also helps the movement to arrange diverse activities due to personal skills and resources of the supporters (Bräuchler, 2018). The movement started in 2013 when the reclamation project has about launched. However, until May 2019 the regulation about the reclamation project remained there. Hence, the movement is still up to right now.

3.3. Research framework

This study implements the following research framework to generate a sequential and comprehensive step (see figure 9). Departing from the research questions, a literature review on planning and conflict relationships, the social movement in urban planning and the social media in social movement are drawn. The literature review subsequently leads to the construction of a conceptual model, which shows the three concepts above and their relations in this research. The case of Benoa Bay reclamation project then be analysed using the conceptual framework. Data collection has been done through three different methods namely semi-structured interview, semi-automatic scrapping for Twitter data and policy documentation. The collected data eventually be analysed through content analysis and social media analysis. Specific details on data collection framework and data analysis has been respectively discussed in the following sections. Finally, the conclusion part discusses the reflection of the study also its reflection to the practice of urban planning and the complexity of urban constellations as well as recommendations to include marginalised parties in the planning processes such as a social movement.

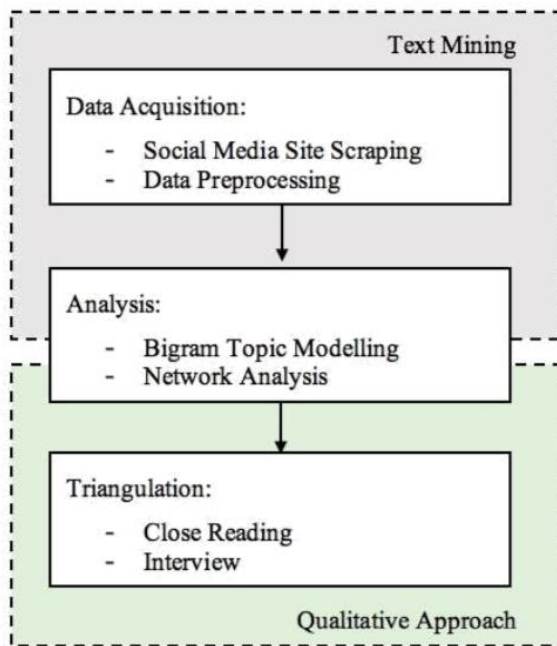
Figure 9. Research framework



3.4. Data collection framework and techniques

As discussed in the previous section, this part specifically presents data collection framework and techniques. Triangulation method consists of an interview, semi-automatic scrapping and policy documentation are used in this research to gain credible data in conducting qualitative research. However, there are two different stages during the data collection. The first stage consists of policy documentation and social media data scraping. From these two methods, a semi-structured interview has been done to confirm the data from policy documentation and social media data. For social media data and interview, this study makes use of hybrid method proposed by Fahmi et al. (2018) (see figure 10). As stated by Bicquelet & Weale, (2011), social media data from text mining process need to be supported by other quantitative or qualitative methods to reduce technical and ethical shortcomings.

Figure 10. Hybrid method procedure



(source: Fahmi et al., 2018)

To acquire a better comprehension of the method of collection data here is the detailed explanation of each method:

1. Policy documentation
In this research, policy documentation focuses on government regulation ranging from local to national levels. This documentation is aimed to draw institutional arrangements behind the project of Bena Bay reclamation in Bali, Indonesia. This step leads to the time-sequence of the reclamation project as well as its amendment and also the interests of the government along with the project. This method specifically answers the second and third of secondary research question, which is: Which interests are involved in the Bena Bay reclamation plan? and How have the contentions developed between opposing interests?
2. Semi-automatic scraping
To generate data from social media, especially Twitter, semi-automatic scraping has been done. The selection of Twitter has been made due to its probability to access the sentiment of the movement as well as its supporters in perceiving the campaign of ForBALI movement. Besides, Twitter also allows its users to interact with other users. Thus, network analysis can be seen from this interaction. The collection data step makes use of RStudio software. From this semi-automatic scraping, then text mining steps could be done. Text mining has many benefits for both analysts and policy-makers to get and process soft data quickly (Bicquelet & Weale, 2011).
3. Semi-structured interview
This research focuses on the social movement activities concerning urban planning conflict in the project of Bena Bay reclamation. To answer the questions, a semi-structured interview has been held addressing the coordinator of the ForBALI movement as the key person of the movement which is the unit of analysis of this study. This selection is also based on the most influential actors according to the result of social network analysis using RStudio. As a coordinator and one of the most influential actors in social media, the coordinator has given perspectives about online and offline

activism. The semi-structured interview allows creating a more open possibility to explore a more in-depth exploration on the urban planning conflicts and movement issues. Due to geographical restrictions, the interview has been done through a WhatsApp connection.

The following table illustrates the alignment of research questions toward information tools, time of retrieval, source, method of retrieval, documentation method and analysis method (see table 2).

Table 2. Data collection framework and techniques

Question	Information tools	Source	Method of retrieval	Method of analysis
What are the possible relations between planning and conflict from a theoretical perspective?	Theoretical foundation from existing literature (book, article from scientific journal)	Literature on planning and conflict relationships, urban social movement, and social media	Literature study	Analyse condition for research questions
Which interests are involved in the Benoa Bay reclamation plan?	Information on context from interviewees from ForBALI movement and online observation	Interviews with activists, policy document	Semi-structured interviews and policy documentation	Content analysis
How have the contentions developed between the opposing interests?	Information on context from interviewees from ForBALI movement and online observation	Interviews with activist	Semi-structured interviews and policy documentation	Content analysis
How does the urban social movement mobilise the people through social media?	Information on context from interviewees from ForBALI movement and Twitter data	Interviews with activist and social media data	Semi-structured interviews and semi-automatic scrapping	Content analysis and Twitter data will be analysed using RStudio software

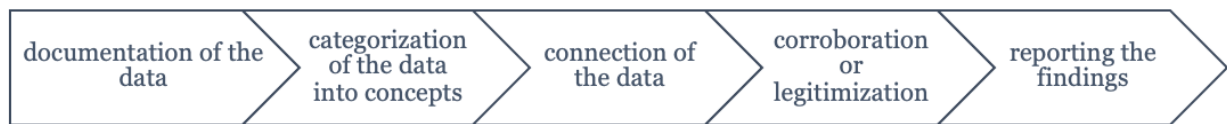
3.5. Data analysis

After collecting the data, the subsequent important stage is data analysis. The semi-structured interview and policy documentation has been analysed through a content analysis, while the social media data through the help of RStudio software. From social media data, there are analyses on a social network and discourse due to the characteristic of Twitter, which emphasizes the usage of words. These analyses are expected to supplement the content analysis from semi-structured interview as well as policy documentation. The following section discusses each data analysis.

3.5.1. CONTENT ANALYSIS

In this study, directed content analysis has been chosen to analyse the interview result and policy documentation. The aim of a directed approach to content analysis is 'to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory' (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: p.1281). There are five steps in analysing qualitative data (see figure 11). Firstly, the interview and policy document are documented, and especially the interview has been transcribed. Subsequently, categorization is made based on the concepts from the result of the literature review. The connection of each concept then can be used in explaining connectivity, how one concept may influence another one. From this connection, corroboration or legitimization can be made by evaluating alternative explanations. Finally, the findings can be drawn based on the result of the connection and corroboration steps.

Figure 11. The steps in analysing qualitative data



(source: Schutt, 2018)

3.5.2. SOCIAL MEDIA DATA ANALYSIS

This study makes use of RStudio software to analyse social media data from the Twitter platform. As conversed in the data collection section, the selection of Twitter is due to its probability to analyse the term and network interaction among the users. This study focuses on tweets using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi (#BaliAgainstReclamation) during the period between January 2013 until May 2019. The hashtag is used by ForBALI movement to express their thoughts in rejecting the reclamation plan. With the assistance of RStudio software, both analysis, semantic network and social network analyses have been done. The semantic network analysis relies on ‘the process of human interpretation and understanding of semantic structures for the purpose of exploration or analytical reasoning’ (Drieger, 2013: p.8). The semantic networks have function to visual text analytics. To strengthen the semantic network, term analysis has also been done to acquire more detailed data on the term used in each year.

The second analysis is social network analysis. Generally, a social network is ‘a graph representing its users as nodes (or vertices) linked to each other based on certain relationships called edges’ (Bali et al., 2017; p. 79). From this social network analysis, a relationship between one user to another can be analysed based on their discussed content. Thus, each social network has its interpretation of their specific relationships. These sentiment and social network analyses help to show the relationships between actors as well as sentiment trends in the case of Benoa Bay reclamation project. Specifically, they address the questions of which interests are involved in the Benoa Bay reclamation plan and how does the urban social movement mobilise the people through social media. Regarding privacy policy, the social media data used here only from public accounts. Hence, any tweets from private accounts are not included into the analysis.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Planning and conflict behind Benoa Bay reclamation project

This section mainly focuses on the contestation of Benoa Bay reclamation plan among stakeholders namely national government, local government, investors, local people as well as NGOs. As a democratic country, Indonesia is applying a deliberative process in the planning process by inviting society's participation in every single step of development planning under the agenda of *Musrenbang* (development planning dialogue). The participation mechanism required government to create a public consultation and dialogue both for annual development plan and five yearly term. The Law Number 25 Year 2004 about National Development Plan System article 1, paragraph 21, mentions *Musrenbang* as an inter-agency forum in the framework of preparing national development plans and regional development plans. Furthermore, article 22, paragraph 2 states the implementation of *Musrenbang* in the framework of preparing the national and regional development plans have to be followed by elements of the government also includes the aspirations of the related community, including professional associations, universities, non-governmental organizations, traditional leaders and religious leaders, as well as the business community. The participation from diverse actors is aimed to build consensus and synergy among the stakeholders.

Three years after issuing the Law number 25 Year 2004, the national government under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, issued Ministerial regulation Number 66 Year 2007 to regulate *Musrenbang* in the lowest level of governmental hierarchies which is *desa* (village). Similar with the *Musrenbang* in regional and national level, the *Musrenbang* in village level also aimed to create a participatory discussion forum by village stakeholders to agree on village activity plans for one and five years. The government wants to generate synergistic policies by enabling participatory forum from the lowest level to the national level. Thus, participation issues are very critical here. A deliberative process will also ensure the degree of acceptability from affected stakeholders as well as of legitimation from the government. The national development plan becomes guidance for the local and regional government to formulate their own regional plans. However, when it comes to an infrastructure or development project, the government requires for impact assessment provided by the developer or investor. In the case of Indonesia, social impact assessment becomes part of environmental impact assessment. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry then will give permission whether go or no go.

This study specifically points Benoa Bay reclamation plan in Bali, Indonesia. This section discusses planning and conflict of Benoa Bay reclamation plan from the lenses of institutional arrangement, stakeholder's configuration as well as conflict on reclamation project. The institutional arrangement part explores the change and dynamic of institutional law behind the status of Benoa Bay. From this analysis, stakeholder's configuration is drawn on the next subsection. While the last subsection talks about the conflict embedded in the reclamation plan of Benoa Bay.

4.1.1. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT

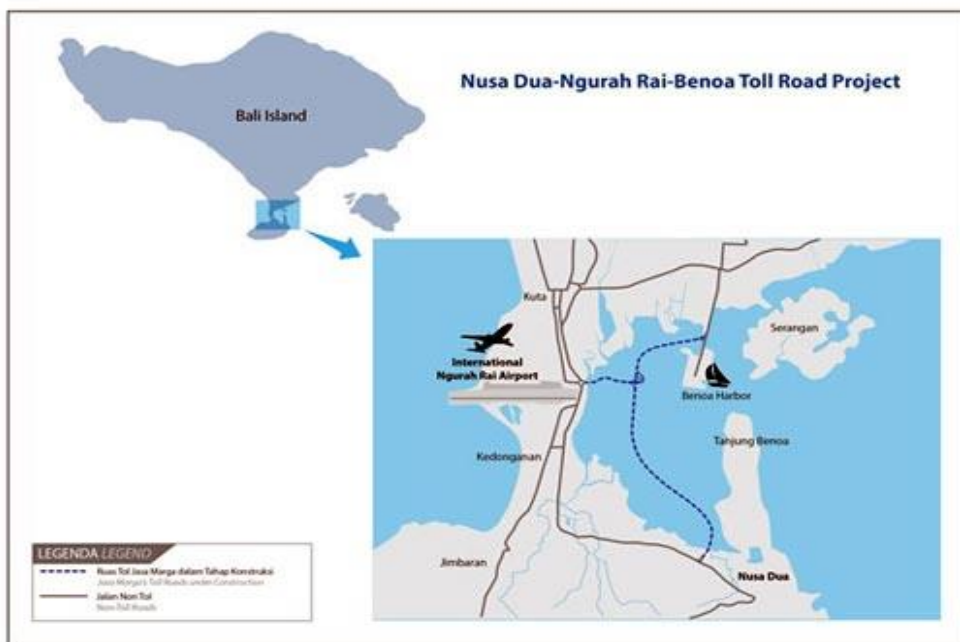
Institution or regulation becomes a critical foundation for government in implementing their policy and program. As a state of law, the government as well as a society in Indonesia have to obey the regulation. Even though the government tries to make a synergy between policies across governmental level and periods through the agenda of national development plans, however, in practice it is such a common thing that the leadership succession will also change the policy stream. Thus, it is difficult to see the synergy and coherence between different leaders. For instance, in the case of Benoa Bay, during the period between 2009-2014, even there are four times amendment. The amendment mostly revises the status of Benoa Bay. Also, in 2011 there was a shift of authority who manages the Benoa Bay from provincial government to national government. The following table shows the chronological change of institutional arrangement of Benoa Bay.

Table 3. Institutional change on Benoa Bay status

Regulation	Benoa Bay status	Details
Bali regional regulation number 16/2009 about Bali regional plan 2009-2029	Protected area	Article 48, paragraph 3 Benoa Bay belongs to coral reef protected area
Presidential regulation number 45/2011 about Spatial and urban plan for Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan	Conservation area	Article 55, paragraph 5 Benoa Bay is a conservation area in coastal areas and small islands
Presidential regulation number 122/2012 about Reclamation in coastal areas and small islands	Regulation about reclamation	Article 2, paragraph 3 Reclamation cannot be carried out in conservation areas and sea lanes
Presidential regulation number 51/2014 about amendment to presidential regulation number 45/2011	Revitalisation area	Article 101a, paragraph 6 Protection and preservation activities can be done through revitalisation activities including the implementation of reclamation of a maximum of 700 (seven hundred) hectares from the entire Benoa Bay area

According to the table above, it can be seen that the regulation behind Benoa Bay has changed over the time. In 2009, the provincial government has the authority to manage the bay area. Under the Bali regional regulation number 16/2009, the bay area belongs to a protected area. This means that the area is only functioned for conservation, and research. The law prohibits the bay area to be utilised for business and tourism development. However, the regulation in article 23, paragraph 2 mentions the national project of inner-city toll road across the Benoa Bay but the rest of the bay area is still protected area (see figure 12). Due to the project is from national level, thus, the local government cannot intervene and have to accommodate the plan into the regional spatial plan.

Figure 12. Nusa Dua - Ngurah Rai - Benoa toll road project



(source: <http://www.jasamargabalitoll.co.id/>)

A slight change happened in 2011 when the national government issued Presidential regulation number 45/2011 about spatial and urban plan for Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan (Sarbagita). The consequence of this regulation is the national government becomes the highest authorities to manage the Sarbagita area that covering Benoa Bay as well. However, the governor and mayor of the area still has authority based on deconcentrating and co-administration principles. The main objective of the regulation is to group several cities to be an integrated urban areas as urban settlements, concentration and distribution of government services, social services, and economic activities. Nevertheless, the regulation still preserves Benoa Bay area as a conservation area for protecting the coastal lanes. This regulation has also strengthened by a specific presidential regulation number 122/2012 regarding reclamation in coastal areas and small island. It specifically sets the reclamation processes from planning to implementation. In the context of Benoa Bay, this regulation clearly stated that reclamation cannot be executed in the conservation areas and sea lanes as can be seen in article 2 paragraph 3. Furthermore, article 4 paragraph 1 stated that reclamation plan has to follow the zoning plan of small islands as well as spatial plan issued by national, provincial or municipal government. Thus, according to national and regional spatial plan, reclamation cannot be executed in the Benoa Bay area. Similar with opinion from the coordinator of ForBALI movement, Wayan Suardana as follows:

“Through this Perpres 45/2011, at that time he (SBY) made the regulation to legalize the toll road because the highway does not have a legal basis in its spatial structure in Bali, so to avoid legal problems he gives permission in the non-spatial area and includes toll roads and sets them (Benoa Bay areas) as conservation areas if previously only for local protection in regional regulations, continues to be the highest conservation area again by the president as a national spatial plan. Now the thing is Perpres 45 of 2011 states that Benoa Bay is a conservation spatial area, and if using Presidential Regulation number 122 of 2012, conservation areas should not be reclaimed except for the interests of the port. This means that the Benoa Bay should not be reclaimed and cannot be reclaimed.” (WS)

Subsequently, in 2014, there was a controversial policy issued by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), just three months before the end of his period as a president. He amended presidential regulation number 45/2011 to be presidential regulation number 51/2014. The main change that surprises many stakeholders especially local people and NGOs is the shift of a part of Benoa Bay as a revitalisation area. According to the presidential regulation number 51/2014 article 101a, paragraph 6, ‘protection and preservation activities can be done through revitalisation activities including the implementation of reclamation of a maximum of 700 (seven hundred) hectares from the entire Benoa Bay area’. This change is surprising due to the timing of its issuance which is just near the presidential change. Thus, the coordinator of ForBALI movement argues that it was a strategy from President SBY to avoid protest from the Balinese people by issuing the amendment immediately before he settles down. During the interview, he said:

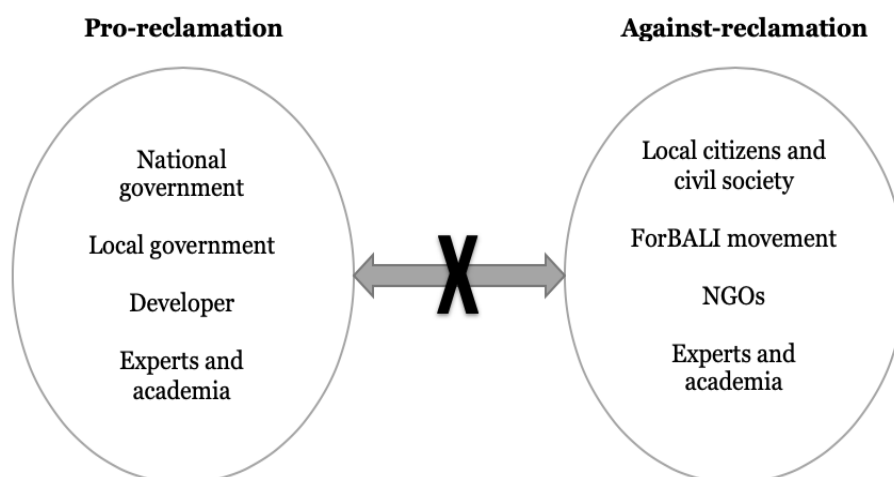
“...which published by SBY, in May 2014 before he stepped down. He stepped down and finished by what month, September I think. Well, on May 30, suddenly he come up with Perpres 51 by crossing Benoa Bay no longer as a conservation area, it could automatically be reclaimed because it was no longer a conservation area so it was filled with revitalisation activities in the Bay of Benoa area. That are the contents of Perpres 51, which also becomes our hashtag, the hashtag symbolizes reclamation, which in fact if the Perpres is not changed, then cannot be reclaimed...” (WS)

Starting from 2013, when the issue of reclamation has emerged, the discourse of reclamation project also spread out within the society. However, the movement just began their first action in the beginning of January 2014. From the beginning, it wants to withdraw the amendment of the presidential regulation number 51/2014 that seems to be very political and opaque from public participation. To gain a more clarity concerning the contested stakeholders within the planning and conflict in Benoa Bay reclamation project, the following subsection tries to map the configuration of each stakeholder based on its preferred insight toward the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay.

4.1.2. STAKEHOLDERS CONFIGURATION

Talking about conflict in a specific planning, it is essential to draw the configuration of the involved stakeholders. Due to the massive effect of reclamation plan, the project involves various stakeholders. However, the main stakeholders who are directly connected to the Benoa Bay reclamation project are the national and local government, the developer, the researcher and expert, NGOs, as well as the affected society. The following configuration is based on preference of each stakeholder collected from different sources such as interview, policy document, newspaper, as well as website (see figure 13). The main actors of Benoa Bay reclamation are the national government and the developer as the regulator and executor. According to the presidential regulation number 45/2011, the government wants to create an integrated area of Sarbagita as a strategic national zone to enhance tourism activities with an international standard. This enhancement then hopefully can increase the economic revenue of surrounding area. The local government of Bali Province and the related municipalities seem to accommodate the plan from the national government. The Bali Province even already issued a governor regulation number 2138/02-C/HK/2012 concerning Licenses and Utilization Rights, Development and Management of Benoa Bay areas with base of feasibility studies held by the University of Udayana. Based on this regulation, the provincial government gives the rights of utilisation, development and management of Benoa Bay areas to the PT. Tirta Wahana Bali International (TWBI) as the developer for approximately 838 hectares in 30 years and subject to extend up to 20 years.

Figure 13. Stakeholders configuration in the Benoa Bay reclamation



Experts and academia position here are interesting due to their separated point of view. One thing worth to note here is the experts and academia do not literally support or against the reclamation project. Although, their roles are more like advisor who determine whether the project is feasible or not. Because in the practice of impact assessment in Indonesia, the university or expert has a role to make the feasibility studies of any projects. The first university involved in this project is the University of Udayana. Through its research centre, the university had agreement with PT TWBI to conduct feasibility studies of Benoa Bay reclamation project. In August 2013, the research centre stated that the reclamation project is feasible with prerequisite has to go along with all of law and regulation regarding reclamation project. Surprisingly, due to a big protest from society, the university has conducted another feasibility study in collaboration with other two universities in Bali, the University of Warmadewa and University of Mahendrta. In September 2013, after directing a senate forum, the university stated that the reclamation project of Benoa Bay is unfeasible. Departing from this second result of feasibility studies, the government of Bali Province revoked the regulation number 2138/02-C/HK/2012 that gives license and right to PT TWBI to utilise, develop and manage the Benoa Bay areas. Another research held by Conservation International Indonesia in September 2013. The result argued that any reclamation process would badly affect the marine ecosystem in the bay and threaten residential areas around it

(Suriyani, 2013). Currently, researchers from the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries Indonesia, found out that reclamation will bring degradation which changes the hydrodynamic pattern and will threaten marine biota (Wisha et al, 2018).

Figure 14. Joint action between ForBALI, Greenpeace and Walhi Bali on the Benoa Bay area



(source: www.greenpeace.org)

For the local people, their biggest concern is about the environmental degradation after the reclamation taking place. Just the neighbourhood next to the Benoa bay area, Serangan Island, this area had been reclaimed in 1994. However, due to the economic crisis in 1998, the project broke down. Even though there might be various occupations available aside from fisher, nonetheless, the abrasion impacts get worse and wider for the surrounding inhabitants. From this experience, the local people living near Benoa Bay feel worry to experience the same conditions as what happened in Serangan Island. Together with ForBALI movement, the local people that associated in adat¹ village often jointly make collaborative action to protest the reclamation plan. While the local people mainly work as fishermen, the ForBALI movement consists of various people such as musician, activist, public figures as well as the local people. Several NGOs such as Greenpeace and Walhi Bali (Environmental NGO in Indonesia) actively support ForBALI movement against Benoa Bay reclamation plan (see figure 14). Thus, it can be concluded that the supporters of reclamation plan are from the government and developer while the parties who refuse the plan are local people, NGOs and the movement. For the experts and academia, they act more likely as consultants who give advice whether the project is feasible or not. The next part further discusses the interests behind each stakeholder in seeing Benoa Bay reclamation project.

4.1.3. ECONOMIC GROWTH VERSUS ENVIRONMENTAL AND CULTURAL VALUES

The national government has vision to develop Sarbagita area to be a part of national strategic areas which emphasise its tourism potential as stated in presidential regulation number 45/2011. Based on article 7, the policies for Sarbagita are: a) development of integrated systems of activity centres that support the function of the region as the centre of national economic activities based on international tourism activities; b) improving

¹ Adat village is a form of traditional village in Bali. This form of village has special authority in managing cultural, religion and social lives of Balinese society.

the quality and range of infrastructure system services; c) improving the function and protection of state defence and security facilities; and d) nature and socio-cultural preservation in the Sarbagita Urban Area as an international tourism centre that has Balinese culture. From these policies, actually the government wants to build a sustainable tourism policy. Beside focusing on economic activities from tourism sectors, the regulation also mentions nature and socio-cultural aspects as well. Nevertheless, after revising the regulation number 45/2011 to be number 51/2014, the focus of the development is to reclaim almost half of the Benoa Bay area. Apart from its rash and opaque process, the study from several parties showed that reclamation potentially will bring abrasion and environmental degradation, thus, they did not recommend to reclaim the Benoa Bay area. Similar with government vision, the developer interest mainly relies on the economic growth. Even when the Bali provincial government has revoked the regulation on reclamation permit, the investor kept trying to make another feasibility study to show that the project is feasible as stated by Wayan Suardana during the interview.

“...once Udayana stated that reclamation was not feasible, more manoeuvres from investors, they made a comparative study, maybe not a comparison but rather a review of Udayana's study using five major campuses in Indonesia, ITB, IPB, UNAIR, UNHAS, and UGM, not UNAIR, but ITS, UNHAS for the law, I forgot which faculty of UGM. And all stated differently that reclamation was feasible. Five large campuses and active professors, as a law graduate, I cannot imagine to face environmental experts from coastal experts, marine engineering.” (WS)

On the other side, the local people and the movement as well as NGOs believe in environmental and socio-cultural aspects rather than economic sides. For the NGOs, it is clear that they are from pro-environment organisation. Thus, they will not compromise to any form of activities and projects harming environment. From the perspective of Balinese people, there is also something important in terms of religious aspect. The Benoa Bay becomes sacred for Balinese Hindus due to its function as a religious site declared by the Parisada Hindu Dharma, the highest Hindu council in the country (Suwidjana, 2018). In this site, there are Campuhan Agung, the merging of five rivers—four on the surface and one under the ground and several temples of extraordinary significance to Balinese Hindus (Suwidjana, 2018). At least, there are more than 60 natural sites as well as 24 temples, some of them located underwater (Langenheim, 2016). Hence, the Balinese people have place attachment to the Benoa Bay and it conceivably cannot be underestimated due to believe and life principle.

As stated by Pizzo and Di Salvo (2015), the interests of stakeholders are important in researching conflict in planning. From the stakeholder's configuration, this part already discussed the interest of each stakeholder concerning Benoa Bay reclamation project. Departing from the different interests toward reclamation plan, conflict emerged as the involved stakeholders cannot reach any consensus. This finding also strengthen argument from Mazza (2009) whereas one of the causes of conflict in planning is the contestation of different uses within the same land. The disputed uses of Benoa Bay area from the government and developer against local people causes conflict in the Benoa Bay planning context. From this conflict, the movement started their strategies to gain more support from Balinese people as well as other people who are concerned about the environment and grassroot action. Furthermore, the following section analyses ForBALI movement.

4.2. ForBALI social movement

ForBALI movement declares itself as a movement which has concerned in environmental sustainability. Since the beginning, the movement wants to make something different to change people's perspectives regarding social movement. So far, specifically in Indonesia, a social movement is always identically associated with violent, riots and much more in a negative way. Hence, people do not even respect and not attracted to support the social movement. The ForBALI movement also captures the potential of youngsters and millennials due to population number and resources. From these two reasons, according to the movement coordinator, the movement frames its actions into a friendlier and more popular as represented by ordinary young people specifically in Bali to gain more support from Balinese millennials. These ideas then

implemented into activities that potentially will attract young people to attend the actions and sooner will support the movement.

“Also, indeed far before BTR used advocacy that targeted building awareness to youth. The movement that we build is a popular movement. It becomes casual, trendy and cool. So, it is cool because our tagline is competing happily struggling cheerfully, that is it. Playing the art of music goes into spaces that have been regarded as hedonistic spaces, playing music at the cafe. Hmmm, we did invite the young people so they would not see the movement identical to the demonstration. The demonstration was terrifying because it was severe. Campaigning is also a severe one which tends to make conventional styles that we think is less subject to young people, so we chose the popular way.” (WS)

The way ForBALI movement represents itself as a young and popular movement is an exciting phenomenon. Because from this strategy, it is not only can attract more young people to support their movement in terms of action but also automatically helps the funding of the movement. The funding comes from the entrance fee of any music concerts held by the movement as well as from selling products and merchandise related to ForBALI movement attributes. It also gives room to adat village to design their t-shirt containing anti-reclamation messages. Thus, the movement does not interpret donation here as a pure donation, but it is a kind of entertainment service. The movement provides the music events, and the supporters can pay the entrance fee as they wish. Some big and famous bands in Bali, as well as Indonesian artists, also support the movement. In some occasions, they can help by giving performance and hand over the profit-sharing earnings from music events to the movement.

“But we make events. We used the profit from donations as funding. There is no pure donation, so we often object to when opposition groups are asking for a financial audit, let us audit ForBALI funds, first funds. However, this money is not a pure donation, this is a service, we make the music stage, people come and pay, but the ticket price is not determined, please donate as you can pay. Through the performances, the funds are from there. Then promos of our products about our merchandise, including village base merchandise because for example like t-shirts, the merchandises of each village have their designs, so it is not the same design.” (WS)

Starting from framing the movement to be suitable for young people, the movement also actively engaged NGOs and public figures who share the same values about environmental sustainability. Thus, the movement tries to strengthen local people in uttering their aspirations through various movement actions. As stated by Castels (1983) as well as Della Porta and Diani (2006), social movement attributes associated with a collective identity, dense informal network, and conflict with opponent actors. The next subsection converses about the characteristics of ForBALI movement from three different attributes as supposed by two above mentioned scholars.

4.2.1. FORBALI AS AN URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In the case of Benoa Bay reclamation plan, the conflict appeared as a consequence of different interests between local people against investor and the government. The environment becomes a common concern emphasised by Balinese people due to the carrying capacity of South Bali in accommodating rapid tourism growth. This concern is based on experience from Serangan Island as the neighbourhood of Benoa area where reclamation had already taken place. The reclamation in Serangan Island caused abrasion and harming ocean biota, which declining fish resources for local people. Several researchers also have studied that the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay will bring into abrasion as well as degradation of the sea ecosystem. From a literature perspective, Della Porta and Diani (2006) have stated that collective action cannot be identified as a social movement unless it has specific targets of its action. The movement revealed that their opponent parties are the national and local government as the regulator of the reclamation plan as well as the developer who acts as the executor in reclaiming Benoa Bay. Thus, the movement massively pointed out their action to the government during their action to revoke the Presidential Regulation number 51/2014 as the basis of the reclamation plan.

The similar interests in environmental damage enable local people to gather under the ForBALI movement flag. The cultural and religious perspectives from the association of the highest Hindu council also become essential to unite local people who automatically belong to adat village. Bali has unique characteristics in terms of governmental bodies wherein, despite having formal village authorities, it also has adat villages. According to 'Bali's Governor Regulation number 4/2019 about adat village, the adat village has function to accommodate the needs of Balinese society in which has a system of life with high culture in the form of customs, religions, traditions, arts and culture, and local wisdom that is distinctive, and holy, and has a high spirituality. Thus, the adat village primarily governs the customs, culture as well as the religion of the society while the formal village focuses on public services. As adat villages and leaders (bendesa) are significantly influential in Balinese society, "this even stronger turn towards the local was crucial to get more Balinese involved, beyond the educated city youth, long-standing activists and global rhetoric" (Bräuchler, 2018: p.10). Hence, the combination of environmental values and religion as well as cultural uniqueness bond the movement even stronger. This collective identity is essential for a movement due to the need to unify diverse people under the same interest in an uncertain period depends on the conflict with the opponent actor.

To manage the movement remains steady in articulating its demands, the movement needs to keep its network and communication connected. As stated by Della Porta and Diani (2016), this network helps to reach agreements such as movement strategies, coordination plans, as well as regulation of individual 'actors' conduct. In the context of movement in Indonesia and might also applied in others, movement allegedly described as a riot group. Hence, the government, through its intelligence, often spy the movement activities to anticipate the possibility of movement actions. On the other hand, to avoid the spying from the government, ForBALI coordinator always secretly maintain its movement communication, especially during the initial phase. However, during its running, several physical contacts are inevitable. The following subsection will discuss the life cycle of ForBALI movement since its emergence.

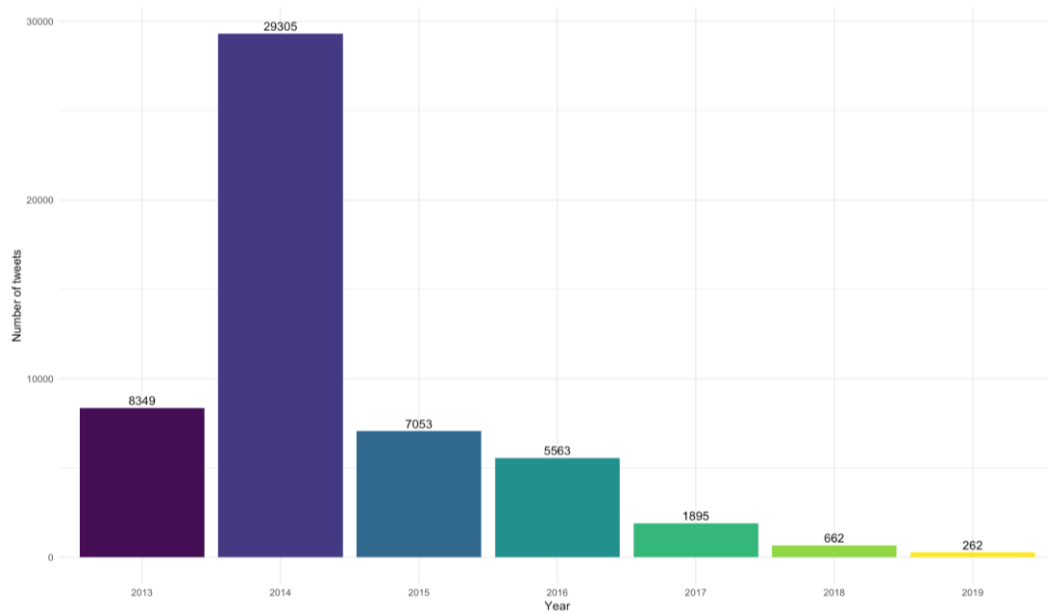
4.2.2. MOVEMENT LIFE CYCLE

The emergence phase indicated by the unhappy reaction from people towards current policy or social conditions (Christiansen, 2009). Nonetheless, any specific actions have not taken yet both personally and collectively in this stage. Dissatisfaction from Balinese people toward Benoa Bay reclamation plan had appeared on September 2012 when the government announced its plan to reclaim Benoa Bay area. The plan itself seems controversial due to lack of public openness from the government. Hence, local people dissatisfied with the plan of reclamation as well as how the government is making the plan without involving public participation. The 'Bali's provincial government has issued reclamation permit on 26th December 2012. However, after the University of Udayana revised its feasibility studies of the reclamation plan, the provincial government subsequently revoked governor regulation number 2138/02-C/HK/2012 about permission to make use of Benoa Bay as development area by PT TWBI. The government then issued another regulation on 16th August 2013 concerning the permit for a feasibility study of utilisation plan, development and management of Benoa Bay and encourage feasibility studies as part of reclamation efforts to be continued by PT TWBI.

From that incident, ForBALI movement reported Bali governor to the Ombudsman Indonesia chapter Bali suspecting for maladministration when issuing permits for Benoa Bay development. Even though this was the first time for ForBALI taking formal action, nevertheless, since the beginning of 2013, the movement has begun many actions collectively. The events ranging from music concerts, cultural parade, long march, composing theme song as well as online activism such as petition and the usage of social media. The traffic of online activism, specifically on the Twitter platform began spreading in 2013 as one of the collective actions held by ForBALI movement to voice their demands and influences (see graph 1). The graph shows the number of tweets using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi (English version: #BaliAgainstReclamation). The

hashtag has become one of the leading hashtags being used by the movement to show their position in rejecting the reclamation plan. In 2014, the number of tweets had increased due to a significant moment happened in this year, the issuance of Presidential Regulation number 51/2014 about change on Benoa Bay status from conservation to be revitalisation area. Thus, the movement created another hashtag in that year #BatalkanPerpres51th2014 (in English: #RevokePresidentialRegulation51Year2014).

Graph 1. The number of tweets using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi (between January 2013 to May 2019)



According to Christiansen (2009), the coalescence stage happened when the dissatisfied condition in the emergence phase transformed to be collective action. In the case of ForBALI movement, 2013 started becoming its coalescence stage when the collective actions took place. During this stage, the role of leadership is significant to orchestrate people from different backgrounds as well as other organisations as a network connection to strengthen the movement. Also, a big mass protest may occur in this phase. As stated by Christiansen (2009), this massive protest becomes such a warning to the opposition parties to indicate the 'movement's existence and its objectives. An interesting from ForBALI is even though this movement is supported by people from various organisations, educations and occupations; however, they are willing to take off their respective flags and merge into one under ForBALI.

“Because we did not stop there, the awareness of the groups was no longer about their existence, so the institution merge under the name of ForBALI, whether Walbi or other organisations. Thus, there are no scrambles to bring their flag. It is not applied here. All take roles according to their abilities.” (WS)

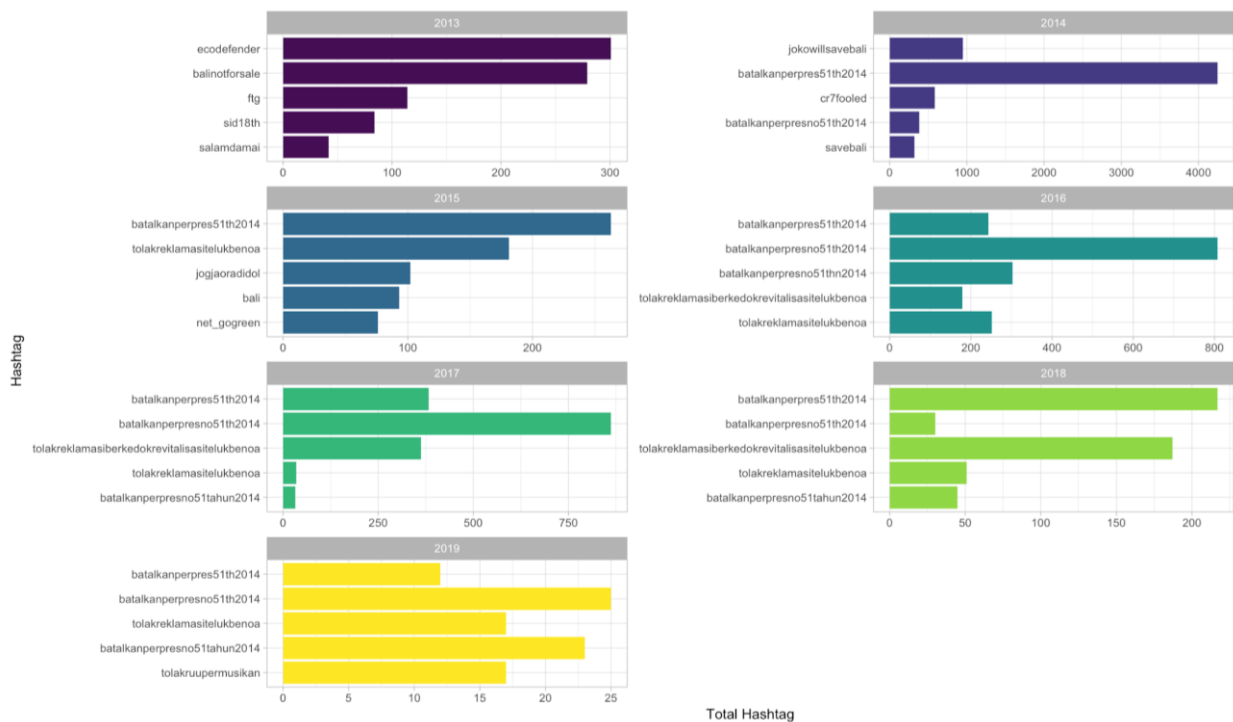
Indeed, it is not an easy job to unite diverse people with different backgrounds, however, with a strong collective identity and leadership, ForBALI has proved that at least it has survived this last six years. To provide all necessities for ForBALI existence, it needs not only strategies to create a big mass protest but also a day to day management. Christiansen (2009) called this stage as a bureaucratisation phase wherein movement can make use of its volunteer as well as hire a professional team to run its daily organisation. In case of ForBALI movement, besides getting support from Walhi Bali, the movement also acquired support from student environmental group from several universities in Bali. These students have prominent roles in maintaining day to day activities, especially for the social media content as confirmed by the movement coordinator.

“... Then also the student movement incorporated in environmental advocacy with Walhi, such as Frontier Bali, the extra student campus movement from a combination of several campuses in Bali. In the past they were inspired by, what is the name of the program? The opposite of the windows program oh open source. They encourage open source in the movement. Indeed, it is rather interested in fighting the dominance of the media industry. Incidentally, during the advocacy process, we find out that right ...” (WS)

On 25th August 2018, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry just rejected the environmental impact assessment proposed by PT TWBI regarding Benoa Bay reclamation project due to rejection from the local people. The project is assessed to be a lack of social and cultural acceptance. Hence, the ministry cannot issue the permit for reclamation because social and cultural acceptance is an inseparable part of environmental impact assessment. However, the presidential regulation number 51/2014 is still valid until now. Thus, the movement keeps on going to insist on revoking the presidential decree, especially can be seen from the online activism (see graph 2). Even though from the social media activism, the traffic looks decreasing; however, the movement still holds up offline activities such as music concerts and gathering.

Afterwards, the decline step of movement cannot only be interpreted as a negative one. There is a possibility for success when the movement succeeds in achieving their assertions. A successful movement also the one who can survive from repression or co-optation from the government authorities or other opposition parties. ForBALI has proved that it can unite local people to reject the reclamation plan and as a result, it can revoke reclamation permit through its disapproval on social impact assessment. As proposed by Miller (1999), a localised movement which has more specific goals is potentially more successful in running its movements. The case of ForBALI just approved this argument whereas as a local movement, it successfully reached its goal in environmental preservation. Even this movement was recognised a Rolling Stone Indonesia 'Editor's Award in 2015. From the experience of ForBALI movement, many movements in Indonesia come to ForBALI for learning and deepening the strategies maximised by ForBALI, especially its online activism on social media. The following section will be discussing social media activism of ForBALI movement.

Graph 2. The most used hashtags concurrently with the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi (between January 2013 to May 2019)



4.3. The power of social media

Since its beginning, ForBALI has realised that social media has a significant impact on the current digital society. Given the fact that mainstream media also difficult to reach, social media then becomes a strategic choice for them. Also, the framing of ForBALI as a popular movement for youth gives benefit for movement in spreading its influence effectively. Social media provide a free platform with a broader and faster-spread effect rather than conventional media. Thus, it enables a movement to be connected to other movements around the world to form a transnational action and movement. Besides, the volunteers of ForBALI movement who mainly are students from universities also have a concern in digital technology and social media, as stated by the coordinator as follows.

“...However, this awareness started before BTR used social media because indeed our friends were mostly volunteering who were formerly Walhi in Bali, indeed from the IT community. ... We then maximise social media and especially because of its social capital, the volunteers are active in the social world, the artists who join us are very active in using social media, so we choose it as a tactic, tactics of struggle ...” (WS)

Combining with the influence of public figures such as band personnel, and artist who evenly has a massive fanbase, indeed it also fostering the preferences of people to join and support the movement. Conflicts in the online world are also inevitable. Besides there are still opinions which support reclamation, the movement also found out an identical account as ForBALI but spreading the opposite thought to support reclamation. Thus, the movement has another work to counter the reverse arguments. The coordinator alleged that those online forces had been done by the initiative of the developer to make confusion on public discourse about reclamation.

“...Now, this process is quite successful in raising the movement, keeping the rhythm in place, spreading the issue faster. Indeed, finally, the opponents realised that this movement strengthened by its popular style, and finally, they imitated not only duplicating the message even the symbol was almost the same. Then the name is also made almost the same if we ForBALI the letters of O and R is written small, the others are capital, they use all lowercase letters. Even their websites that aim to deceive the public opinion such as tolakreklamasi.com are their contents. There are various websites like tolakreklamasi.com, tolakreklamasi.net whose contents are as if it were our website, on Facebook, it is also applied in almost all social media.” (WS)

To acquire a better understanding of the dynamics of social media in the case of ForBALI movement, the following subsections will discuss the strategies on social media, discourse analysis and social network analysis gained from Twitter. It also converses the impacts of social media activism toward the existence of ForBALI movement and people perception and reaction on the conflict of reclamation.

4.3.1. STRATEGIES ON SOCIAL MEDIA

The movement makes use of various ways of maintaining social media activities. One of the most important ways is involving public figure to get more attention from netizens. However, there is a long way process to do before some musicians decided to support the movement. One worth noting here is the movement wants the public figures or musicians who support them are becoming part of the movement, naturally. Thus, their involvement is due to their concern towards environment and socio-cultural aspects of the affected population. By ensuring this point, the movement hopes that the support from the public figures lasts long sincerely.

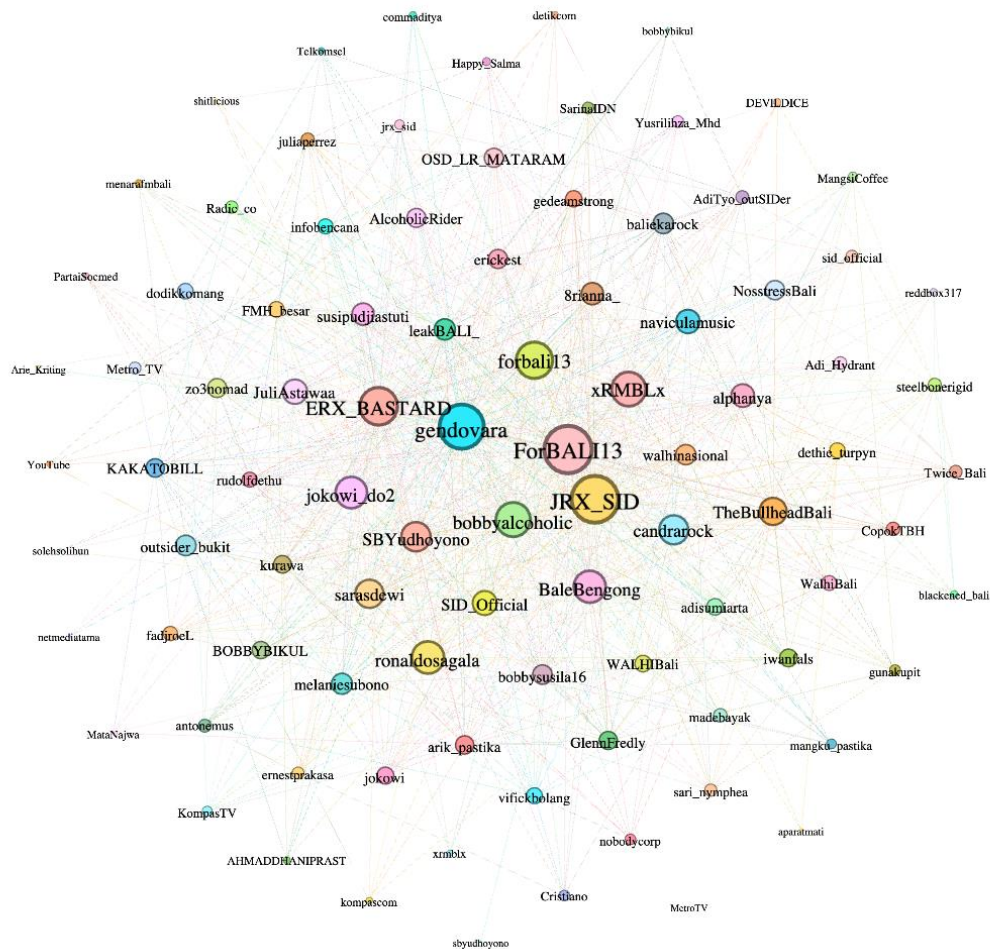
“Talking about social media belongs to the development of popular movement tactics; this does not merely start in BTRs that experience a long process but gain momentum in BTR. Many people misread it, but it looks like this BTR is gathering artists. Because gathering musicians is not suddenly musicians come right away, but also through the advocacy process it takes quite a long time, accepting one or two, so they have a full awareness of wanting to involve themselves as

perpetrators. In ForBALLI, whose names are artists, for example, they are not complementary. They are actors. They are part of movement..." (WS)

The involvement of public figures indeed not only during offline actions but also in online activism. Social network analysis is drawn to get a picture of social media activism concerning the participation of a public figure. The following social network applies eigenvector centrality to acquire the degree of centrality among actors. Eigenvector centrality is an approach to find the most central actors (i.e. those with the smallest farness from others) in terms of the global or overall structure of the network and to pay less attention to more local patterns (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005). There are two different parts of a social network, namely the edge and node. Node, as illustrated in line, represents the actor while edge, as shown as a line, means the network between actors. The following graph shows the eigenvector centrality approach in the network of actors based on Twitter data using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi.

According to the graph below, most influencing actors are musicians, especially Balinese band — the more significant the node of an actor, the higher the influence of the actor in the network (see graph 3). The first two significant accounts are @ForBALLI13, which is the official account of the movement and @Gendovara, the account of the movement coordinator. The other impactful actors which namely @JRX_SID, @ERX_BASTARD and @BOBBYBIKUL are the members of @SID_Official, a famous band in Indonesia based in Bali. There is also an account of @xRMBLx, clothing supply and merchandise owned by @JRX_SID who sets aside the profit of its sales to the movement.

Graph 3. Eigenvector centrality on actors' network using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi



Also, there are some bands and musicians account such as @TheBullHeadBali, @naviculamusic, @NosstressBali, @sarasdewi, @melaniesubono, @8brianna_, @candrarock, @iwanfals, and @GlennFredly who have a significant node in the network. The account of those musicians and bands are getting more attention from Twitter users due to their established fanbase in the real world. Hence, their fans actively respond to their tweets on Twitter. From this network, it can be seen that there is an imitated account of @ForBALI13, which is @forbali13 as stated by the movement coordinator during the interview. However, now, that account does not exist anymore.

Another strategy implemented by ForBALI movement on their online activism is by mentioning the account of the representative of the government such as president and minister. From the graph above, there are three government representative accounts, @SBYudhoyono, the former president who has issued the reclamation regulation, @jokowi_do2, recently changed to @jokowi, the current president and @susipudjiastuti, the current minister of marine affairs and fisheries, who has authority to give location permit for reclamation by PT TWBI. Besides, the movement also occasionally mentioned some social media accounts of mainstream media such as @MataNajwa, @KompasTV, @kompascom, @netmediatama, @MetroTV and @detikcom to get attention and being replied or covered. Hence, the movement not only tries to gain support from people by inviting public figures to join the movement but also to get attention and response from the government representative as well as the mainstream media to get a more comprehensive coverage.

The last strategy is creating hashtags. In the case of Twitter and some other social media, the hashtag becomes vital as a tag for the user to quickly find a specific theme or content. A hashtag—written with a # symbol—is used to index keywords or topics on Twitter. This function was created on Twitter and allows people to follow topics they are interested in quickly. Two leading hashtags used by ForBALI movement and its supporters are #BaliAgainstReclamation and #RevokePerpres51Year2014. These two hashtags mean that the movement does not agree and will always against reclamation as well as insists the government revoke the presidential regulation number 51/2014 as the law basis for Benoa Bay reclamation.

Nonetheless, there are also other hashtags created by the movement that usually mock the government as a kind of sarcasm. Several hashtags that strike the governmental representatives such as #SBYReclamator and #ShameOnSusi. The hashtag #SBYReclamator is a form of disappointment to President SBY who has issued the regulation allowing Benoa Bay reclamation project. While the hashtag #ShameOnSusi shows another frustration to Minister Susi, who has signed the location permit for PT TWBI to conduct reclamation studies.

From these various strategies, the movement hopes that the online activism can provoke people to support the movement against reclamation in various ways such as giving donations, signing a petition, participating in offline actions, as well as sharing movement information through their social media to broaden the spread effect. To get more detail on content in social media activism, the next subsection will discuss the semantic network analysis as well as term analysis based on tweets using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi during January 2013 until May 2019.

4.3.2. SEMANTIC NETWORK ANALYSIS

As proposed by Drieger (2013: p. 8), semantic network analysis is "the process of human interpretation and understanding of semantic structures for exploration or analytical reasoning". From the collected tweets using the hashtag #BaliTolakReklamasi, the semantic network analysis can be seen as follows (see graph 4). There are several groups of networks with the node and edge. This semantic network is gained based on text analysis from acquired data from the Twitter platform. Even though the network connection is quite abstract, however, most of these networks imply several key terms such as reject Benoa reclamation and revoke presidential regulation number 51/2014. The other terms are mainly talking about an invitation to offline

In 2014 and 2015, there are several terms regarding presidential regulation and revitalisation. As President SBY issued a regulation which allows reclamation project in Benoa Bay then, the movement makes use of hashtag #RevokePerpres51Year2014. The term revitalisation also describes people pretension to reject reclamation plan due to the exertion of revitalisation term as the cover of the reclamation plan by the government. In 2016 and 2017, the most popped up terms are adat village. This means that during this period, many more adat villages incorporated with the movement.

While in 2018 and 2019, term on location permits appeared as in this period, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry just rejected the environmental impact assessment proposed by PT TWBI. However, after that, the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries just released the second location permits for PT TWBI to conduct another feasibility study regarding the Benoa Bay reclamation plan. Thus, at that moment, the movement retained mentioning location permits as their discussions in social media.

4.3.3. SOCIAL MEDIA IMPACTS

ForBALI movement has already massively utilised social media using various strategies. The movement uses concentric circle theory, as stated by Micó and Casero-Ripollés (2014). In this theory, communication begins with the connection of the interpersonal network. In this phase, the coordinator and foremost members of ForBALI produce the main message that would be spread to the people. From this interpersonal communication, the movement makes use of social media and internet as media to escalate its message. When the topics got viral or being replied by any public figures, especially the president or minister, most of the time, the mainstream media will cover the topic as their news. Indeed, it helps the movement to spread out its influence wider as stated by the coordinator of ForBALI movement.

“But it must be admitted that this social media plays a critical role in the group, both for our group and for the project for investors, which is very influential, especially for appealing opinion.” (WS)

Besides, through the conflict on social media against the investor side, it also wakes up people's awareness toward which parties that should they follow. In the long run, even this can strengthen the movement bond as declared by the coordinator of movement as follows.

“Hmm, the pro-reclamation way of the act in social media can be quite deceptive, but the way we counter them somehow, it can increase public awareness. Because the more we are responding, the more we can read their malicious way, and the public can read that as investor identity. Oh, this way, if this was the identity of the investor, then there will be no good project then. Over time, it even strengthens the movement.” (WS)

Besides calling up people's awareness, social media also have a significant impact on spreading the involvement of people in offline action, especially by the youth. When the movement succeeded in framing its movement as a popular one, then the youth will enthusiastically to follow this popular movement.

“From the beginning, hmm and the good thing is that social media does not stop at social media, but this is being an offline movement, not just an online movement. It manifests in the real action, in the form of mass action and we can see that. Why is our social media mass becoming bigger? Everybody takes selfies, uploading selfies, so there is no fear anymore, then people feel happy to follow the action... on some occasions, our hashtags also got trending...” (WS)

Another significant impact of social media for the movement is upscaling the reclamation topics into political agenda during a local election. When the candidates cannot manage the reclamation issue, the movement then will spread out his blunders out of social media. Thus, it affects the 'candidate's electability.

“...I can say that this movement cannot yet become a full political force, but it can be an alternative movement whose moral issues can or cannot be embraced by candidates. Right now, there is a local election. There are two candidates whom both have to refuse reclamation. Once he blunders managing this issue and they attack the movement, his integrity

goes down. When the Badung regional election in 2015 was the same. In Badung there are two candidates for two pairs, both of them refuse reclamation, the main thing is that before the election there must be a refusal activity. There are three candidates in Denpasar. One of them is the pro-reclamation when still at the legislation body, but during the debate, he said I refused reclamation. This can be a politically important agenda for refusing reclamation. Even to pressure the public.” (WS)

From these various impacts, social media has proven to give many advantages to a social movement. Its impact is not only about spreading information quickly with extensive range coverage but also reinforce its bargaining position in a political agenda such as the local election. Shortly after the leader of the area is selected, the movement then can collect the promises during the political campaign.

5. FINAL REMARKS

5.1. Conclusion

The conflict of Benoa Bay reclamation plan emerges as the lack of public participation in the policy-making process. The urban area is prone to cause conflict planning due to different interests in land-use planning within the same land. Due to different interests between government and developer against the local people, conflict in Benoa Bay reclamation plan is inevitable. Departing from this condition, the local people supported by NGOs and various Balinese people with different backgrounds formed a social movement, namely ForBALI. This movement has a concern in environmental issues, especially the condition of Benoa Bay area. Learning from experience in Serangan Island where reclamation has taken place, the local people worried if reclamation will only bring abrasion and environmental degradation, which eventually will affect the sea ecosystem. The movement massively uses social media as a means to influence and provoke people to support them. Based on the case of ForBALI movement against Benoa Bay reclamation plan, social media plays a significant role in determining people's perception towards ForBALI movement which subsequently changes or strengthen their perspective to stand against reclamation plan of Benoa Bay. The movement also massively used social media to spread its demands and invitations to people to join its actions. The following part will be answering each of the research questions of this study.

- **What are the possible relations between planning and conflict from a theoretical perspective?**

There are two different perspectives on viewing conflict in a planning world. The first one is from Habermas communicative rationalism. This perspective tries to seeking consensus between conflicting actors in the planning (Arpin, 2019). While the other one is pluralist-agonism, this view tends to create differences more visible as a source to enhance democracy (Arpin, 2019). From these two perspectives, there are two possible relations between planning and conflict. First, planning can be a solution to conflict resolution. However, secondly, if the planning process is not acceptable and cannot satisfy people, then planning becomes a trigger for conflict. Pizzo and Di Salvo (2015) stated that there are three points of common understandings related to the planning-conflict relationships that can be used to analyse the case study namely global-local relationships, conflict and participation, and stakeholder relationships.

- **Which interests are involved in the Benoa Bay reclamation plan?**

The conflict of Benoa Bay reclamation plan involves two different interests. The government created integrated urban areas consist of Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar and Tabanan as a national strategic area. This area is intended to be developed as an international tourism destination through Presidential Regulation number 45/2011. However, the revision of this regulation to be Presidential Decree number 54/2014 is quite controversial. The reason is that the government changes the status of most area of Benoa Bay from conservation to be a revitalisation area. Thus, the government gives permits for PT TWBI as the developer to make use of 700 hectares of Benoa Bay area for development purposes by reclamation process.

On the other hand, the local people have a concern with environmental impacts when reclamation project take place. Some research from Conservation International and universities in Bali stated that reclamation would bring to ecological degradation and harming sea ecosystem. The highest Hindu council in Indonesia also declared that Benoa Bay belongs to a sacred place for Balinese people. From these two different interests, conflict in Benoa Bay reclamation project has emerged.

- **How have the contentions developed between the opposing interests?**

In the last 2012, the contentious between opposing interests started when the local government of Bali giving a permit to PT TWBI to develop Benoa Bay area as a reclamation area. This policy triggered public anger due to the opacity of the local government when issuing the license. Bali's governor argued that the regulation is granted based on feasibilities studies held by the Udayana University. Nonetheless, due to public protests, the university, in collaboration with two other universities in Bali, conducted another research and decided that the reclamation is unfeasible. Finally, the governor revokes its regulation but

released another law to permit PT TWBI conducting a feasibility study for a reclamation project in Benoa Bay. However, the movement and other anti-reclamation group feel that during that process, the developer never involved them. Subsequently, in 2014, President SBY issued a revision of Presidential Regulation number 45/2011 to be 54/2014. This amendment makes the developer conduct a reclamation for 700 hectares of Benoa Bay area. Starting this event, the movement has actively arranged various mass action such as a long march, music concerts, cultural parade and sit-in/occupying government offices.

- **How does the urban social movement mobilise the people through social media?**

Since its establishment, the movement realised that social media has a potential role in spreading its influences and demands. Also, the action is supported by students from various universities who have a background in ICT as well as concern in environmental issues. The movement also framed itself as a popular and friendly movement far from violent and destructive actions. Many public figures and bands also joined the move due to similar vision and perspectives on environmental issues. Thus, the combination of those three things moves generated both online and offline. However, the coordinator of ForBALI also realised that social movement gives critical impacts to its offline activism. As a consequence, many actions from different cities learn from ForBALI in managing its campaign in an online and offline stream.

This far, the role of social movements and NGOs are remaining marginalised in the planning process, specifically in developing countries. The aim of developing countries which mostly focus on economic growth often set aside environmental and socio-cultural aspects. As a consequence, planning conflict emerges in every planning project due to lack of participation from affected stakeholders with different interests. In the world with more complexity on climate change, the environmental issue becomes more critical to be put on to the top priority. That is why planning should be more adaptive towards ecological as well as socio-cultural conditions of the specific area. From this way of thinking, hopefully, planning can be a solution towards well-being society.

5.2. Reflection

During the research of this study, all of every single step from the beginning until the writing findings went well. The data collection from policy documentation, social media data scraping and semi-structured interview also progressed smoothly. However, to get a more comprehensive data, it is advisable to interview one of the actors from musicians or bands to get another view from them. For future research, it is also preferable to conduct mix-method analysis to gather data quantitatively. This quantitative data can be done to analyse the perception of supporters. Actually, for this research, the movement has already conducted an internal survey to investigate the opinion of the local people toward the plan of Benoa reclamation. Nonetheless, due to the lack of data storage, the result of data is unavailable. It is also advisable to conduct further research concerning big data and planning because nowadays, big data has significant potential to be used as a basis of the planning process.

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APPENDIX

Interview guideline

Interviewee: Wayan Suardana (the coordinator of ForBALI movement)

Questions	Link to sub-questions	Link to concept	Topic
What makes this social movement emerge?	2,3	Social movements	Movements' life cycle, emergence, conflicts
What is the collective identity of ForBALI movement?	2,4	Social movements	Characteristic of movement, identity, value
What makes people interested in supporting this movement?	2,4	Social movements	Characteristic of movement, value, motivation
Who are the main targeted actors of the campaign?	2,3	Social movements	Characteristic of movement, contested actors
How about the political affiliation of the movement toward political party?	2,3	Social movements	Value, contested actors, interests
How about your movement connection to the mainstream media?	2,3,4	Social movements	Value, contested actors, interests
ForBALI has been operated for six years now, how to maintain the network among the movement's supporters? What kind of strategies do you use?	3,4	Social movements	Movements' life cycle, bureaucratisation, decline, success
So far, how about the government response toward the movement and its activities?	2,3	Social movements	Contested actors, interests, conflicts
Comparing with other movements, ForBALI has a stronger basis on social media. Why do you choose social media?	3,4	Social media	Prior knowledge on social media, movement's resources
How do you manage the social media to engage your followers? Is there any specific strategy?	4	Social media	Public figure involvement, creative hashtag
Do you have an explicit division on social media management? If yes, how does it work?	4	Social media, social movements	Movements' life cycle, bureaucratisation
To what extent social media has affected your followers' preference concerning planning conflict of Benoa Bay?	2,3,4	Social media	Perception, offline action, support
What are the difficulties in managing social media activities?	4	Social media	Financial resources, reaction from opposite actors
What do you think about the effect of social media on offline action?	3,4	Social media	Perception, offline action