

Indigenous Peoples Movement: The Case of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Terminal Construction in Bali

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Abstract. The Liquefied Natural Gas terminal development project in Bali experienced resistance from indigenous peoples. The rejection started with the relocation of LNG terminal construction location in Bali. Initially, this development was projected to be in the Benoa Harbor area, but in May 2022 it was officially moved to the coastal area of Sidakarya. This relocation triggered rejection movement from indigenous society of Intaran village. This study aims to identify how the movement made by the indigenous people of the Intaran village in rejecting the construction of an LNG terminal in Bali. This type of research is descriptive qualitative with a case study approach, using secondary data from online and printed literature. By using new social movements theory and the identity-oriented theory, researcher found that Tri Hita Karana as collective identity of the Intaran indigenous people, solidarity between community and commitment became the determinant factors of this movement.

Keywords: Indigenous People, Intaran Village, Liquefied Natural Gas, Social Movement, Tri Hita Karana.

1. Introduction

Availability of energy within the framework of sustainable development is one of the contemporary world issues currently being discussed. The growing need for energy and the demands for reducing emissions have encouraged each country to provide cleaner alternative energy sources to meet domestic energy needs. As the world moves towards net zero carbon emissions, Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) has chosen as one of the cleaner energy sources that is considered environmentally friendly.

In Bali, the use of LNG as a source of energy for the hotel industry in Bali is increasingly widespread. The volume of LNG demand is predicted to increase significantly along with the awareness of using clean and green energy. LNG is one of the best options for industries that prioritize the use of clean energy and practicality factor. The use of LNG as electrical energy also has high environmental and economic value. Compared to gasoline and diesel, LNG is more environmentally friendly because it can reduce emissions by around 85%, and compared to Compressed Natural Gas (CNG), LNG has an energy density value 3 times greater at the same volume besides producing a very efficient electricity economy price [1]. However, so far

the supply of LNG for the hotel, restaurant and café industry in Bali is still imported from outside Bali, namely gas supplied from East Java and Kalimantan.

The efforts of the Bali Provincial Government in realizing energy independence are carried out through the construction of a Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Special Terminal. This is the implementation of a partnership agreement between the Provincial Government of Bali and PT. PLN (Persero) in 2019. This LNG terminal construction is aimed to strengthening the electricity system by utilizing clean energy in the Province of Bali. The use of gas energy in the electricity system will stimulate electricity independence for Bali and is expected to provide maximum benefits for the people and nature of Bali.

The construction of this LNG terminal is also in accordance with the Bali Green Province program launched by the provincial government of Bali in environmental mainstreaming and sustainable development. Especially the clean and green pillars that will support sustainable tourism in Bali. In this program, the Provincial Government of Bali requires the use of gas as fuel in all hotels in the Bali area in accordance with Bali Governor Regulation No. 45 of 2019 concerning Bali Clean Energy. In fact the Bali Green Province program is an embodiment of the environment and even culture for present needs but does not sacrifice or reduce the needs of future generations so as to create a society that can integrate with each other and with the environment [2]. Environmental management in Bali must refer to the principles of sustainable development and be based on the *Tri Hita Karana* philosophy.

However, the construction plan was opposed by a number of indigenous peoples who rejected the plan because it would have a negative impact on the environmental ecosystem, especially the mangrove forests in the area of development. The indigenous people who have made a movement against the construction of the LNG Terminal in the coastal area of Sidakarya are the indigenous people of *desa adat* Intaran, Sanur. The rejection movement by the Intaran indigenous society started with the transfer of the terminal construction location which was originally to be built in the Benoa Harbor area and then decided the location moved to the coastal area of Sidakarya.

The reason for the rejection of the construction LNG terminal at Sidakarya, because it is the mangrove area that will be converted into an LNG terminal area. The mangrove area where the vegetation is dense above 70%, where the average tree height reaches 4 to 10 meters. The change in the block that places the LNG Project site in Tahura Ngurah Rai which was originally a Protection Block turned into a Special Block is also a highlight. It is seen as violating Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2020 concerning Amendments to Regional Regulation Number 16 of 2009 concerning the Spatial Planning for the Province of Bali for 2009-2029 (Perda RTRW Bali Amendments) which stated that the Tahura Ngurah Rai mangrove area is designated as a protected area. On the 2015 Tahura block map which was ratified through the Decree of the Director General of Conservation of Natural Resources and Ecosystems Number: SK.255/KSDAE-SET/2015 the mangrove area on the LNG terminal project site is still a protected area but in the Decree of the Director General of KSDAE Number: SK. 1113/KSDAE/SET.2/KSA.0/12/2021 The Management Block at the Sidakarya LNG Terminal project site has changed to a special block [3]. Furthermore, the Bali Provincial government through the Governor of Bali submitted the revision of Regional Regulation No. 3 of 2020 concerning the Bali Province Regional Spatial Planning (RTRW) which is intended to

accommodate the LNG terminal construction project so that it can be moved and built on the coast of Sidakarya Village [7].

The coastal area of Sidakarya which was decided to be the location for the construction of the LNG terminal is the territory of the *desa adat* Intaran. *Desa adat* Intaran is one of the traditional villages located in South Denpasar District, whose east and south sides are directly adjacent to the beach. *Desa adat* Intaran has a beach stretching from the north (near the Inna Grand Bali Beach Hotel) to the south to Mertasari beach. This traditional village is bound by customary law rules (called *awig-awig*). Based on this background, the authors raise a research question how the movement made by the indigenous people of the *desa adat* Intaran in rejecting the construction of LNG terminal in Bali. In this article, the author will analyze the basis for the formation of the indigenous peoples' movement in the *desa adat* well as the social movement practices that were carried out to demand the rejection of the LNG Terminal construction in Sidakarya coastal area.

2. Material and Methods

2.1 Literature Review

In this study, the authors refer to four literatures related to indigenous peoples' movements and identity. The first literature was written by Ismanto which discussed the Movement of the Sami Indigenous People in Norway in relation to the utilization of natural resources. The movement of the Sami indigenous people emerged in the protest against the construction of hydroelectric power in the Alta-Kautokeino area. The main objective of this action is to protect areas that have ecological functions in Norway and to uphold the rights of indigenous peoples living in these areas. This action also pushed the Sami people politically to have representation in parliament, namely the formation of the Sami parliament and the submission of the Finnmark Act which tried to accommodate the interests of the Sami people.

By using the theoretical framework of the new social movement, Ismanto found that the Sami people became actors in the new social movement which based their movement on identity and autonomy [4]. This movement begins with their resistance to injustice caused by development projects. In this new social movement, identity plays an important role so that the indigenous people movement is included. Ismanto's article has the same topic as this paper, namely discussing indigenous people movement and identity as a driving factor. Ismanto's article also discusses the rejection of indigenous peoples to power plant development projects. However, this article does not discuss the movement of indigenous peoples in Bali.

The next literature is by Subekti et.al which discusses the movement of the Balinese indigenous people in the case of the rejection of the reclamation of Benoa Bay Bali or what is known as "Bali Reject Reclamation" movement. Issue related to environmental justice involve contestation between the country who issuing the policy, the indigenous community, and the company, namely PT TWBI [5]. This movement was carried out by the indigineous community in Bali and a civil society alliance called ForBALI. ForBALI was founded by people from all walks of life, ranging from environmental activists to musicians to journalists,

and it continues to grow by involving various elements of Balinese society, both in and outside of Bali, as well as other people who care about Bali.

The discussion concludes with the actions of the adat movement, which is based on *Tri Hita Karana's* philosophy, in dealing with the hegemonic power of neoliberal capitalism. The strong influence of Hinduism and spiritual aspects in Balinese society influenced the expansion of indigenous peoples' participation in the "Bali Reject Reclamation" movement. The indigenous community considers the Benoa Bay reclamation plan to be in conflict with the *Tri Hita Karana* principle, which has been upheld by the Hindu community in Bali. *Tri Hita Karana* became the ForBALI movement's philosophical foundation [5].

In line with that, Rainy et. al also stated that the "Bali Reject Reclamation" movement is a social movement based on cultural identity. The discourse on the rejection of the reclamation of Benoa Bay is based on a theological basis, namely regarding the sacred area discourse based on *bhisama* (Hindu religious fatwa) issued by Parisada Hindu Bali Indonesia. The protection of Benoa Bay by these traditional villages is based on the philosophical value of the sea for the Hindu community in Bali. The sea is a source of life as well as a sacred place [6]. Papers by Rainy et. al and Subekti et. al have the same topic as this paper, namely discussing the movement of indigenous peoples in Bali and identity as a driving factor. Subekti et.al's article also discusses *Tri Hita Karana* as part of the philosophy of life for the Balinese Hindu community. However, these two papers do not discuss the movement against the construction of an LNG terminal in Bali.

The movement against the construction of an LNG terminal in Bali by the indigenous society of Intaran village was discussed by Hilmi, et.al. In their writing, Hilmi, et.al. discusses the function of the Representative Council of the Province of Bali in this case. The most important function of a representative institution is the function of representation, in the absence of such representation a representative institution is meaningless. Based on the results of the analysis, the representation function is seen as not going well, because the Representative Council of the Province of Bali does not represent what the community wants [7]. The results of the accountability of these representative institutions still have many problems, because the policies studied do not involve the community, especially the society of Intaran traditional village, which automatically the Representative Council of the Province of Bali does not carry out the representation function itself. Hilmi, et.al's writings et.al have the same case study with this paper, namely discussing the rejection of the LNG terminal construction by Intaran traditional village. However, these four literatures show that there has been no paper discussing the rejection of LNG terminal construction in Bali which has been studied from its movements. This is the novelty offered in this paper.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

New Social movement

Social movement can be interpreted as a form of collective action that has a clear conflictual orientation towards certain social and political opponents, carried out in the context of a close cross-institutional network by actors who are bound by a strong sense of solidarity and collective identity beyond the forms of ties in coalitions and joint campaign [8]. This concept does not rule out the possibility of interference from actors who play active role with a particular purpose. Social movement must have four criteria: (1) there is collectivity, (2) have

a common goal, namely to make a certain change, (3) the collectivity is relatively dispersed, but the degree is lower when compared to formal organizations, and (4) the action has a high degree of spontaneity, but not institutionalized and unconventional [9]. These criteria are a unit that are interrelated and support each other in driving social change in a structured manner.

Social movements can be divided into old social movements and new social movements. Old social movements focus on issues related to material and are usually related to one group. Meanwhile, the new social movement has more to do with ideas or values, such as feminist or environmental movements [8]. The ideological paradigm and orientation of the new social movements emphasizes plurality, which is shown in various ways through issues of anti-racism, anti-nuclear, disarmament, feminism, the environment, regionalism and ethnicity, civil liberties, individual freedom and peace.

According to Singh, the characteristics of new social movements can be seen from three aspects, namely groups, forms and goals. Group aspects include individuals, groups, communities and organizations that are not rigid. The second aspect, namely the form, includes new issues, new interests and new fields of conflict. Meanwhile, from the aspect of the goal, namely awareness of the future [10].

The Identity Oriented Theory

The Identity Oriented Theory is one of the theories in the study of new social movements. Identity is closely related to the internalization of values, norms, goals, and ideas [11]. According to Hunt and Benford, the concept of collective identity is widely used [12]. Collective identity is seen both as a necessary prerequisite for the emergence of collective action and as a result of collective action movements. Several studies that specifically examine new social movements show that collective action movement arise directly from collective identity.

The Identity-Oriented Theory addresses questions about the integration and solidarity of groups involved in collective action [10]. Furthermore, Hunt and Benford stated that collective identity and other related concepts such as solidarity and commitment are a very interesting advancement in understanding social movements [12]. From the explanation of the identity theory perspective, it can be formulated about the determinant factors of the occurrence of social movements, namely: (1) collective identity; (2) solidarity; and (3) commitment.

In general, collective identity explains that groups of individuals have common interests, values, feelings and goals. Collective identity in it emphasizes the commitment of the individual, and the solidarity of the collectivity, and highlights more broadly, the macrosocial structure and dynamics that go beyond the collectivity movement, including those that help shape and provide interests, political contexts, cultural symbols, goals, and so on. According to Snow, collective identity is shared feelings about "we" (we-ness) and collective agency [12].

According to Hollinger, to share identity with other people, there must be a feeling of solidarity between these people [13]. Solidarity among people will emerge in a condition where collective identity occurs. Blumer provides a view of solidarity through the terminology of *esprit de corps*, namely the feeling of devotion and enthusiasm for a group that is shared by its members [12]. *Esprit de corps* emphasizes that solidarity has two faces, namely: (1) an

association of bodies that can be identified as a collectivity (identification of); and (2) a spirit that involves a feeling of identification with a group (identification with). Solidarity has two fundamental focuses, namely internal solidarity and external solidarity. Internal solidarity is focused within the group and to group members, while external solidarity is an identification of and identification with groups [12].

Meanwhile, commitment focuses attention on individual investment in individual lines of action that are consistent with the lines of action raised by the collectivity. Commitment helps explain the relationship between the individual and the collectivity through the primary attention to individual activities. According to Kanter, commitment can be defined as a process through which individual interests become bound by patterns of social organization of behavior that are seen as fulfilling their interests, as natural expressions and needs of people [14]. Kanter's definition of commitment has similarities with Parson's view of institutionalization, namely the integration of the expectations of actors in a system that are appropriate (relevant) with the role of normative patterns of shared values.

In this study, the concept of the new social movement will be used to identify the elements that are fulfilled in the practice of social movements in rejecting the construction of the LNG terminal by the indigenous people of *desa adat* Intaran. The Identity Oriented Theory as part of the new social movement will be used to analyze the factors forming the movement against the construction of an LNG terminal in Bali which is studied from *Tri Hita Karana* as part of collective identity, solidarity among actors; and commitment.

2.3 Research Methods

This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. Qualitative methods based on research procedures that produce descriptive data, in the form of written words of observed behavior [15]. For this reason, the approach used in this study is a descriptive approach. In this research, the case study used is the rejection movement against the development of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Terminal Construction in Bali. The research was conducted through a literature study sourced from secondary data related to the topic and sourced from related journals, court decisions, official government websites, articles both online and in print. The problem limitation in this research is only limited to the rejection movement against the development of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Terminal Construction in Bali in 2022.

3. Result and Discussion Theoretical Framework

3.1 *Desa Adat* Intaran: *Tri Hita Karana* and Collective Identity

Desa adat Intaran has been known as one of the outspoken villages against the LNG construction in Sanur for the last year of 2022. It is located in the heart of Sanur area, South Denpasar district, where most of the surroundings belongs to housing areas, tourist spots, and restaurants. Intaran itself is included into "customary village" or *desa adat*, that etymologically define as an autonomous region based on ethics and local customs. Originally, the word "*adat*" comes from the Sanskrit language, consisting of "a" (means "no") and "dato" (means "something material") – that combines into "anything that is immaterial". So that the

term of “immaterial” in the notion of *desa adat* can refer to the unity of people who had joint responsibility to perform worship, preserve the temple, and maintain religious activity. In a formal sense, this “autonomous region” is regulated in the Bali Regional Regulation 4/2019, Article 1 No. 8, stated as

“*desa adat* is a customary law community unit in Bali that has territory, position, original arrangement, traditional rights, own assets, traditions, social life rules for generations, inherited from a sacred place (*kahyangan tiga* or *kahyangan desa*), duties and the authority and right to regulate and manage their own households” [16].

The concept of customary village (or *Volksgemeinschaften*) is different from the official village (*desa dinas*)— as an institution for serving official interests. Customary village is closely related to the religiosity and spirituality of its members. As any other customary village in Bali, Intaran village is tightly link to the foundation of Hinduism. Religion, in this matter, is a significant aspect for a village to be maintained according to the importance of individual’s spiritualism. Durkheim noted in one of his book, titled *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, that “religion is an eminently social thing. Religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities; rites are ways of acting that are born only in the midst of assembled groups and whose purpose is to evoke, maintain, or recreate certain mental states of those groups... They, too, must be social things, products of collective thought” [17]. For him, religious representation interprets the identity of communities’ social needs. The interconnection towards religiosity, in this case – Hinduism, brought up the collective identity of Intaran’s villagers.

Tri Hita Karana, as a concept of Hinduism, become the foundation of Intaran’s customary village organization. By scrutinizing the conception of *Tri Hita Karana*, it relates to the three ways to happiness and harmony, i.e. *Parhyangan*, *Pawongan* and *Palemahan*. The first, *parhyangan* correlates to the relationship between man to God (*Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*) – between the gratitude of human expression to honoring the Gods through religious rituals and practices. *Pawongan*, as the second ways, describes the individuals’ relationship to their neighborhood. It can be illustrating through the representation of *banjars* (sub-villages) and *desa adat* as an institution. The third, *palemahan* relates the link between individual and its nature. In this way, human should preserve nature, whereby nature already provide the need for humanity to exist [18]. The statement that the organizing structure of Intaran village is based on the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* was strengthened by Dewi and Anom. It can be seen in the table below:

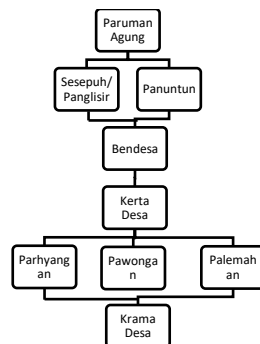


Fig. 1. Structural Organization of Intaran Customary Village [19]

From the figure above, the three ways of *Tri Hita Karana* is embedded to the structural organization of the Intaran village. By looking at the Intaran structural organization, the peak of its members is Paruman Agung, whose power lies in the Intaran regional parliament members. The second position is filled by Sesepeuh and Panutan that refers to the Elders of the village. The third and fourth lies Bendesa and Kerta Desa -- the people whose tasks are closely related to religious rituals and practices. Thus, they applied *Tri Hita Karana* in every aspect of the villagers including social, cultural, political and environmental values. Dewi and Anom stated that *Tri Hita Karana* is included into the community empowerment programs, in which the goal is to improve the sustainability of Intaran village [19]. For example, the linkage between *Tri Hita Karana*, and Intaran customary village can be seen through the maintenance of the temples were organized by the customary villager officials for donating some of the village's savings into its preservation.

By understanding *Tri Hita Karana* as the core conception of Intaran customary village, this concept also become the "collective identity" of Intaran community. As noted from Durkheim, that the representation of religiosity becomes the product of collective thought [16]. This framework embedded and integrated through the interest of solidarity and collective commitment towards Intaran villagers [12]. Thus, the interconnection between Intaran customary village, collective identity and *Tri Hita Karana* has been build regarding religious value of Hinduism.

3.2 Indigenous Society of *Desa Adat* Intaran and the Rejection Movement

The rejection from the society of indigenous society of *desa adat* Intaran regarding the plan to build an LNG terminal located on the coast of Sidakarya began on 22 May 2022 at a socialization event for the LNG terminal project plan [20]. The socialization of the Sidakarya Bali LNG Terminal Project Plan was carried out by PT Dewata Energi Bersih and Perusda Bali which was held at the Madu Sedana Meeting Hall, Intaran, Sanur. This socialization was carried out after it was decided to move the LNG terminal development plan from its initial location, namely in the Benoa Harbor Area to the coast of Sidakarya which is included in the Intaran traditional village area. The rejection was conveyed by *desa adat* Intaran, the non-governmental organization Kekal (Environmental Advocacy Working Committee) BALI, Walhi Bali and the student movement Frontier Bali.

Various reasons for the rejection were conveyed at this event, mainly related to the location in a mangrove forest which is actually a protected block, concerns over damage to coral reefs that have protected coastal ecosystems from the dangers of a tsunami [21], it is feared that the LNG development will have an impact on Sanur tourism considering that Sanur is one of the National Tourism Strategic Areas (KSPN). Apart from that, there are also concerns that the existence of an LNG terminal in this coastal area has the potential to destroy sacred areas, especially the six temples in the territory of *desa adat* Intaran, Sanur, which is located not far from where the terminal that will be built [22].

The next rejection action was carried out by various elements of the *desa adat* Intaran consisting of 20 *Banjar*, *Yowana* (the youth community) and the other community in the Intaran Sanur Traditional Village [22]. The protest action which was held on 19 June 2022, which coincided with the *Umanis Kuningan* day, was full of cultural actions. Starting with

hitting the *kulkul*, a traditional communication tool in the *Banjar* hall. The sound of the *kulkul bulus* indicates that something is urgent, so that the community must gather immediately. The community gathered wearing traditional Balinese clothes and then carried out a long march carrying various rejection banners that state "We Reject the Revision of the RTRW That Accommodates the Development of LNG Terminals in Mangrove Areas". The youth of *desa adat* Intaran made an oration "Wake up our mangroves will be cleared, wake up that coral reefs will be destroyed, our sea will be dredged, wake up because holy places are eroded". The refusal was accompanied by a show of *ogoh-ogoh*, namely giant figures made of woven paper and bamboo showing the figures they respect, Ratu Gede Sambangan and Balinese *gamelan baleganjur*.



Fig. 2. Cultural actions in the Rejection Movement [28]

The community also showed their rejection by putting up billboards that state " *Desa Adat* Intaran Rejects LNG Terminals in Mangrove Areas". The installation of these billboards was also accompanied by Balinese *gamelan baleganjur* in each of the *Banjars* in the Coastal of *desa adat* Intaran which includes *Banjar* Batu Jimbar, Semawang, Sindhu Kaja, Sindhu Kelod, Betngandang, Blanjong, and Tanjung [20]. Rejection was also confirmed by the signing of a billboard by Bendesa Adat Penyaringan together with 20 *Kelihan Banjar* in the *desa adat* Intaran as a sign of determination to reject the plan to build an LNG Terminal in the Mangrove Area.

Actions of resistance were also shown by taking to the streets towards the Representative Council of the Province of Bali building and visiting the governor's office in Bali wearing Balinese traditional clothes. The arrival of the people of Intaran asked the Representative Council of the Province of Bali to immediately review the draft Regional Regulation on Spatial Plans for Residents of the Province of Bali [23]. As well as urging the Governor and Representative Council of the Province of Bali institutionally to issue a stance against relocating the LNG terminal location. Representative Council of the Province of Bali has the most important function of a representative institution, namely the function of representation, in the absence of these representatives, a representative institution is not meaningful [7].



Fig. 3. *Sekeha Jukung* and the Rejection Movement [29]

Rejection was also shown through the planting of mangroves in the Muntig Siokan area in commemoration of World Mangrove Day. In planting Mangrove in Muntig Siokan, the people of *desa adat* Intaran were supported by a number of communities concerned with the environment such as the Bali Forum for the Environment (Walhi), KEKAL Bali and Frontier Bali [24]. *Sekeha Jukung* and the Fishermen's Group of the Intaran Traditional Village also carried out a parade along the coast of Sanur from Matahari Terbit Beach to Mertasari Beach, as a response to their rejection of the plan to build an LNG Terminal in Sanur. This action involved five *Sekeha Jukung* and seven Fishermen's Groups in the Intaran Traditional Village who were active on the coast of Sanur. They are worried that the development will potentially damage the marine ecosystem on the coast of Sanur. With the construction of an LNG Terminal in the Mangrove and Coastal areas of Sanur, it will definitely have a huge impact on the fishermen who are active there.



Fig. 4. Segara Kertih as Part of the Movement [30]

Rejection is not only shown through statements, long marches, parades, installation of billboards and planting mangroves. Indigenous peoples of the *desa adat* Intaran held a prayer at the Sanur beach entitled Segara Kertih as part of the rejection. This prayer is intended to ask for a way to be given by God and the leader's mind will be opened to see the consequences of development.

The plan to build this LNG terminal has caused turmoil and resistance in the community, not only by the Intaran indigenous people but also by many parties. The project which is aimed at environmentally friendly energy also raises political debates in society. The Intaran indigenous peoples' movement is a form of collective action that is conflict-oriented in relocating the location of the LNG terminal construction. The movement is also carried out in

the context of a close cross-institutional network by actors who are bound by a strong sense of solidarity and collective identity beyond the forms of bonds in coalitions and joint action, namely all elements of the indigenous people of *desa adat* Intaran, fisherman groups, environmentalists and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This case provides an opportunity to re-question the procedures and rules in making environmentally friendly policies.

The movement carried out by the indigenous peoples of *desa adat* Intaran can be classified as a new social movement that is cultural in nature. In contrast to the old social movements, the goals of the new social movements are not material but for awareness about the future which in this case relates to the environment. Based on the characteristics of a new social movement according to Singh [10], from a group aspect, this resistance movement was not only supported by the indigenous people of the *desa adat* Intaran but was also able to mobilize other parties such as environmentalists, NGOs and fishermen's groups. From the second aspect, namely the form, it includes new issues, namely the environment and customs. The rejection action carried out by the *desa adat* is full of representations of Balinese culture, starting from wearing Balinese traditional clothes in every act of refusal, carrying out a protest parade with cultural symbols such as kulkul bulus to gather the community, displaying Ogoh-ogoh, gamelan bleganjur on the Hindu's day celebrations and perform prayer actions. As well as from the objective aspect, namely awareness about the future which in this case relates to environmental impacts.

Examined from the four criteria of a new social movement according to Sztompka, the indigenous peoples' movement of *desa adat* Intaran in rejecting the construction of the LNG terminal fulfills the criteria (1) there is collectivity among the actors, (2) has a common goal to make a certain change, namely refusing to relocate the construction site and demanding return to the initial location, namely the Benoa Harbor Area (3) the collectivity is relatively dispersed not only involving the indigenous people of *desa adat* intaran but also involving fishermen groups, student movements, environmentalists, and NGOs and (4) the actions have a high degree of spontaneity where the involvement of these actors in movement is not institutionalized.

The social movement against LNG's development in Intaran's village has resulted the emergence of collective identity from Intaran villagers in a form of mutual values and goals based on the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*. This movement encourage the people to protect the three ways of reaching harmony, firstly, in the way of *Parhyangan* -- initiating the LNG's project, six temples will be affected and damaged. Those temples are Dalem Pengembak temple, Campuhan Dalem Pengembak temple, Sukamerta temple, Empul Mertasari temple, Mertasari temple, and Kayu Menengan temple [25]. Secondly, in the scope of *Pawongan* -- the ecosystem of the ocean will be affected, fishes and other kinds of sea animals need to migrate to new areas of the ocean. Thus, the LNG project will affect the employment of every fisherman in Sanur. Thirdly, *Palemahan* has been affected in a form of protesting against the location of the LNG project in the mangrove forest that will damage the ecosystem and the possibility for tsunami will be higher to reach the territorial coast of Sanur. As a collective identity of Intaran villagers, *Tri Hita Karana* become the basis for the movement against LNG's project to be developed. Their commitment towards the movement has resulted in bringing up the solidaristic values of every individual in Intaran village. One of the Bendesa Adat in Penyingan, I Made Adnyana, S.E. strongly supporting the solidaristic movement in

rejecting the construction of an LNG Terminal in the mangrove area. He stated that as a community of Indigenous villages who are still in the area of Sanur (*Getih a Bungbung*), they should join the solidaristic movement against the rejection of the LNG Terminal which is planned to clear mangroves. "Our existence and our status is part of Sanur Kauh, or *Getih a Bungbung*, that is a strong basis for us to empathize and be in solidarity by rejecting the LNG Terminal in the mangrove area," said Adnyana [26]. As being understood by these statements, collective identity gives birth to the common value of Intaran's commitment and its solidaristic movement towards the LNG's project.

4. Conclusion

The Intaran indigenous peoples have become actors in a new social movement that bases their struggle on identity. This struggle began with their resistance to the transfer of the LNG terminal development project in Bali which was originally located in the Benoa Harbor Area and then moved to the coast of Sidakarya which is included in the territory of the *desa adat* Intaran. Based on the characteristics of the new social movement, this resistance movement is not only supported by the indigenous people of the Intaran traditional village but is also able to mobilize other parties such as environmentalists, NGOs and fishermen's groups. The form includes new things, namely the environment and customs. The rejection carried out by the traditional village is full of representations of Balinese culture, starting from wearing Balinese traditional clothes in every act of refusal, carrying out protest marches with cultural symbols such as *kulkul bulus* to gather the community, displaying *ogoh-ogoh*, *gamelan bleganjur* and perform prayer actions. As well as from an objective aspect, namely awareness about the future that relates to environmental impacts. The social movement against the construction of LNG in Intaran village resulted in the emergence of a collective identity for the residents of Intaran village in the form of shared values and goals based on the *Tri Hita Karana* concept. This movement invites the community to maintain three roads to harmony, the first is *Parhyangan, Pawongan, Palemahan*. Apart from being based on identity, this movement is also based on solidarity and commitment. Collective identity bears the common values of Intaran's commitment and solidarity in their movement. The Intaran indigenous peoples actually do not reject the plan to build an LNG terminal in Bali which is aimed at environmentally friendly energy and supports energy independence in Bali, but they refuse to move the location to a mangrove forest area. This shows that environmentally friendly energy policy that support sustainability must also pay attention to the economy, social and environmental sustainability of project site development. The government must synergize with the affected indigenous communities, so that they are harmonious. Responding to the rejection of the indigenous communities, the regional government together with PT Dewata Energi Bersih held a meeting with representatives of community components in the affected villages/sub-districts, as well as related parties.

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