The Contestation of Discourses on Sustainable Development in the Controversy of Benoa Bay Reclamation

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Abstract

Benoa Bay has been a contested space since groups of civil society organizations and custom villages resist the provincial and national government decision to allow the reclamation of the bay. The protest was initiated by groups of NGOs and individuals in 2013 and followed by tens of custom villages in 2015. This article aimsis to analyze the contestation of discourses between proponent and opponent of the reclamation project plan. This research applies qualitative method with document study as its data gathering technique. By using discourse analysis technique, this article hasfound that the controversy of Benoa Bay reclamation involves a contestation of discourses in development in relations to environment. In the contestation of discourses, actors compete to gain public and decision making acceptance by using frames and narratives in order to gain support fortheir def nition of reality. The story-line or narratives from the investors and their supporters have inter-related texts within the discourse of mainstream ecological modernization discourse. This discourse basically mentions that the solution of environmental issue is by doing more industrialization. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. The narratives from the opponents are inf uenced by the discourse of environmental justice which looks at the several dimensions of justices i.e., equity; the full function of community and nature; sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices.

1. BACKGROUND

Benoa Bay has been a contested space since groups of NGOs, musicians, and individuals started an opposition in 2013 to the Governor of Bali's decision to permit the reclamation of Benoa Bay to private investors. By conducting around 700 hectares reclamation project, the company, PT TirtaWahana Bali International (PT. TWBI) will mainly build tourism resort, housing, and supporting facilities. The protest was not suff cient to change the provincial governor decision, more over President SBY strengthened it by issuing Presidential Regulation Number 54 / 2014 that legally changed the designation of the area from conservation to general utilization. As the result, the oppositions to the project have been getting bigger and happening more frequently. Since early 2015 tens of custom village members have been conducting demonstration demanding the cancellation of the President Regulation.

The pros and cons of the Benoa Bay reclamation project dispute the economic and ecosystem value of the bay. At one side from the lenses of economy, Benoa Bay has a very high value. The property in the artif cial island from the reclamation project will have a very high value at least from their strategic location. Benoa Bay is located near the International Ngurah Rai Airport and in the routes of tourism industry areas promoted internationally i.e. Kuta, Nusa Dua, Sanur, and Jimbaran. From the other side, Benoa Bay has an important ecosystem value. This area is the estuary of several rivers f owing from Denpasar City and Badung Regency. Benoa Bay is home to mangrove forest, coral reefs, sea grass, and various kinds of in fauna with high level of biodiversity which is good for the f sh to spawn. Along the areas adjacent to bay there are dwellings with dense populated areas such as Pemogan, Suwung and Sidakarya which are located around two meter above sea level. This sub districts had experienced coastal f ooding in the past.

The conf ict on Benoa Bay indicates conf ict between conservation versus utilization of the natural environment for mainly commercial purposes. This conf ict signif es a complex and continuous struggle regarding the def nition and the meaning of the environmental issues (Gray, Hanke, & Putnam, 2007, p. 1) and development. This paper analyzes the discursive conf icts on development in relation to environment in the controversy of Benoa Bay reclamation. The writersexamine how narratives patterns work in coherence with particular development and environmental discourses.

2. METHOD

This article applies qualitative method with a discourse analysis. Data are collected through secondary sources which cover news, article, website and publication both from the investors and the opposition groups. The data are analyzed by using discourse analysis which is applied to highlight the social and cognitive foundation of the construction of reality. The discourse can be identif ed through pattern of narratives which reproduce certain discourses that have already existed and inf uenced humans' thought

and practice. Two steps of procedures i.e. discourse structuration and discourse institutionalization are used to identify the inf uence of particular discourse. Discourse structuration happens when many people use that discourse to conceptualize reality. When a discourse hardens into norms and organizational practices, it becomes a discourse institutionalization (Hajer, 1995, p. 60-61).

3. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the late of 1980s, environmental discourse has achievedprogressively to be more important in crafting and mapping development theories and practices, especially under the concept of "sustainable development" (Haque, 2000, p. 3). Referring to Brundtland Report entitled Our Common Future, sustainable development is def ned as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"(WCED, 1987, p. 8). Before the recognition of the linkages of environment and development, the conventional theories of development overlook the critical environment issues in the development milieu, for example, modernization theory of development focus on economic growth, political stability and order, entrepreneurship and merit mentality that breaks away from primordial mindset. By the same token, radical development theories, classical Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, are concerned to the different kinds of modes of production, production relations, and class structure.

Those theories have a common weakness that they do not see the signif cance of environmental issues in human development. In recent times, there has been a global agreement regarding the signif cance of environmental issues in relations to socio economic development. (Haque, 2000, p. 3-4). However there is no agreement on the meaning of environmental issues and development. The disputes on the meaning of nature and development are ref ected in Benoa Bay reclamation plan.

In the case of environmental issues, there are two approaches i.e., realist and constructivist approach. Realist approach views that environmental problems are objective and "out there". The constructivist approach criticizes the realist approach which inaccurately sees the environmental issues objectively f xed. The proponents of realist approach overlook the human relations that we always act upon our images of reality and are surrounded by certain discourses that inf uence our mindset, expression, and action (Hajer, 1995, p. 16). Discourse analysis is mainly aimed at understanding why certain understanding of environmental problems to some extent more powerful while other understanding are set aside (Hajer, 1995, p. 44).

Discourse is here def ned as a specif c ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). Yet actors can only make sense of the world by referring to the terms of the discourses available to them (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). Discourses could construct as well as constrain how people talk about a particular topic (Hall, 2001) by directing the

legitimacy of knowledge and action in a range of context. Hajer conceptualizes discourse not in the same Foucault does. Foucault sees thatactors are being disciplined by a discourse. While Foucault positions actors as passive subject directed by a discourse, Hajer follows the social-interactive perspective of discourse which sees actors as active agents who choose and adapt ideas, modifying and creating them, in the searching for argumentative win over rival actors (Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1978). In an argumentative situation of discourse contestation, Davies and Harre (1990) point out that political context is also to be examined as a discursive construction. Rules, distinctions, or legitimate modes of expression could only be understood when we know the context they are taken up. Social-interactive perspective of discourse scrutinizes the practices through which actors make efforts to inf uence others to see reality in the light of the orator or rhetorician (Hajer, 1995, p. 53)

In an argumentative context, to comprehend the meaning of a sentence or whole discourse, it is not suff cient to just scrutinize the words in that discourse or the images in the mind of the speaker at the time of utterance. It is important also to understand the position which being criticized, or against which a rationalization is being produced. Without understanding these rivalry-positions, the argumentative meaning will not make any sense (Billig, 1987, p. 91).

In a discourse analysis, discourses, frames, and story-lines (narratives) are integral parts. Discourse gives thethe constitutive rules within which one constructs and sustains frames. (Fairclough, 1992). Since it has a constitutive nature, a discourse mentions how the world is, should be and what are important the most (Gray et al., 2007). Discourses structure the embracing of framing process and construct collective identities among actors who embrace these language patterns within a certain discourse (Hajer, 2003, p. 2). According to Goffman (1974), frames are internally coherent interpretations of events that group experiences within certain demarcation, attribute meaning, and prompt action. "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meaning that things have for them"(Blumer, 1962, p. 2). By framing, people delimit their experience and curtail vagueness by settle on what need to heed on and what to disregard (Weick, 1995).

Discourse has been used to designate a general exchange of meaning on a general theme that by and large structures how one thinks of particular topic (Rose, 2001, p. 138). Narratives can be viewed as a more specif c expression or modes of explanation fostered by an actors of a group of actors (Roe, 1991). For example, within the discourse of environmental conservation, numerous actors could elevate their particular narratives on the focus of environmental impact or environmental risk and best ways to cope with those issues. Along the same vein, Hajer prefers to story-lines instead of narratives. To him, story-lines are "narratives on social reality through whichwhich elements from many different domains thatare combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references suggesting a common understanding" (Hajer, 1995, 61).

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Contention on Sustainable Development Discourses and Narratives

Development means making a better life for everybody. Beyond meeting basic needs for human survival, human quality of life is culturally constructed (Peet&Hartwick, 2009, p.1). Different societies may have a different vision about human quality of life. If societies have different vision of human quality of life, it means they have different development discourses. The mainstream discourse of development is the founding conviction of modernity that is believed to make the world for the better through rationality. In this conventional development discourse, "all the modern advances in science and technology, in democracy and social organization, in rationalized ethics and values, fuse into the single humanitarian project of deliberately and cooperatively producing a far better world for all" (Peet&Hartwick, 2009, p. 1-2).

Sustainable development literally means continuing development overtime. The way people perceive development is signif cant, because it is the basis for how effort and institutions as well as means are employed to achieve it. Sustainable development is basically about reconciling development and the environmental resources on which society depend on (Elliot, as cited in Wiranata, 2008). As Adams (as cited in Wiranata, 2008) notes, sustainable development cannot be understood in 'a historical vacuum' as it has many contexts and discourses. Of particular signif cance are the differences and changes in thinking about what constitutes 'development' and how best to accomplish it, the relations between humans and nature, and changing ideas about the 'environment.'

Modernization has been a mainstream in the sustainable development discourse. According to Talcott Parsons (1966), in the perspective of sociology, modern societies are signif ed as expansive, with ability to control their environment and problems (as cited in Peet&Hartwick, 2009). The level of modernization in a society is determined by the degree of structural specialization and the degree of its split-up with traditions. Modern society unlike traditional society is indicated by rationality, eff ciency, and liberty (Peet&Hartwick, 2009).

From the perspective of economic, the idea of modernization derives from Classical Economics, which assumes that market is the most eff cient way of allocating resources. As mentioned by Adam Smith, "the aggregate effect of individuals seeking to maximize their personal welfare through market mechanisms was thought to bring greatest material benef t to society as a whole, as if by an 'invisible hand' " (as cited in Pepper, 1996, p. 62). In terms of maximization of human wants, modernization theory suggests that society must endorse economic growth which will be followed by specialization of economic activities and role occupations (Peet and Hartwick, 1996). The theory views nature as a resource used for commodities to maximize human demand (Wiranata, 2008).

Regarding Benoa Bay reclamation plan, the statement from the investors contains inter-related texts within the

discourse of mainstream development discourse. The investors regards several conditions that need to be transformed into investment project to sell commodities, in this case, property and tourism infrastructures. The Artha Graha Network company with its aff liated companies mention that Bali contributes 45% of total foreign exchange for Indonesia from tourism sector. The number of international tourists at the national level increase by 10% while that number of the international touristsin Bali increase only by 5%. Bali has been a well-known location for international convention. Bali needs a new resort that will accommodate the need of international convention. Hence, Bali needs a breakthrough and an acceleration for infrastructure development in order to sustain the development of tourism industry. What they mean by a breakthrough is building tourism infrastructures by reclamation project in Benoa Bay (ArthaGraha Network &ArtaGrahaPeduli, n.d.). They argue that reclamation project will bring Bali at the same level as other high class tourism resorts in developed countries.

The investors' view regarding Benoa Bay as resource for producing commodity indicate a mindset and practices within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. They perceive Benoa Bay as a neglected area since it suffered from mud sedimentation and solid waste in the mangrove forest in the Bay. In other words, without investment, the economic values of Benoa Bay have been wasted. According to their position, through Benoa Bay reclamation project, the population will have a better life. The 30 billion rupiahs investment will create around 250 thousand jobs during and after the project (Rajasa, 2014). As part of creating unique commodities, the investors will build Bali culture center and world museum in the reclamation island.

Although the project will cause a huge environmental change, the investors never directly mention to the public regarding the environmental degradation risk of the project. On the contrary, they repeatedly say that the project will restore the environment in the area. The sedimentation will be dredged and sea water will be able to f ush the mangrove forest. The f ush is important for mangrove to grow. Besides creating botanical garden, the company will also promise to restore Pudut Island, a small island which undergoes abrasion due to the rise of sea level. Instead of saying reclamation, they say revitalization or revitalization with reclamation basis to stress out the meaning of making Benoa Bay vital again.

While the investors claim that there is no negative environmental impact including f ooding in surrounding Benoa Bay, oppositions to the project demand the project to be stopped because of environmental concern and justice. There are two main opposition groups. The f rst group is called ForBali (Bali Forum for Opposing Reclamation) is a loose coalition consisting of civil society organizations, youth organization, associations, musicians and artists, individuals. The second group is Pasubayan Desa Adat Tolak Reklamasi, the coalition of 38 custom villages which keep coordinating with For Bali. The content of environmental concern and justice can be seen from their narratives expressed through their website, media statement, and

repertoire (demonstration, marching, and other kinds of repertoire). As mentioned by Davies and Harre (1990), in a contestation of discourses, parties can always refuse the terms and data set by the other parties and stress out the signif cance of the existence of other alternative discourses which are described and expressed through narratives. Below are the narratives on Benoa Bay reclamation from the opposition group at one side and at the other side from the investors and their supporter.

Narratives of Opposition Group	Narratives of Investors and Supporters
Benoa Bay is a conservation area, home to coastal ecosystem.	Benoa Bay has a problem of serious sedimentation and solid waste. It needs to be revitalized through reclamation.
Benoa Bay reclamation will cause environmental damages.	Benoa Bay reclamation will restore the environment in the area.
Benoa Bay reclamation will cause ocean f ooding during rainy season.	There is no relation between Benoa Bay reclamation and ocean f ooding.
The area around Benoa Bay has been already overpopulated.	Benoa Bay reclamation will create around 210.000 jobs
Benoa Bay reclamation will aggravate the traff c jam problems.	The increase of traff c can be handled by scientif c f x, for example by building f yover roads.
In democracy, the voice of the people should be a parameter for the government to immediately cancel the Benoa Bay reclamation plan.	In democracy, the opposition to Benoa Bay reclamation is legitimate. However, the government has the f nal and binding decision. The company follows the rule and regulation made by the government.
Democratic practice is the freedom of the community to directly decide against Benoa Bay Reclamation.	Democratic practices is implemented in legal process and public policy such as Presidential Regulation, Bali Governor Regulation, and recommendation from Bali Provincial Legislature.
The tourism infrastructures in Southern part of Bali is already overdeveloped. The tourism infrastructure in Northern part of Bali is less developed.	There is imbalance of tourism infrastructure development in Benoa area. The Eastern part of Benoa is well-developed, while the Western part (Benoa Bay) is less developed.
Development is def ned as a balance between meeting human need, environmental conservation, and the opportunity of local culture to sustain.	Development is def ned as economic output (commodity).
Benoa Bay is a sacred area and could not be submerged through reclamation.	The investors have sworn to the Gods in Besakih Temple that they will do reclamation in a correct way.

The environment and justice contents of the opposition narratives are not coincident. They are inf uenced by the discourse of environmental justice which have gained acceptance in environmental movement in the last 25 years. The opposition may not recognize the academic concept of environmental justice, but they have a particular understanding regarding environmental problems and justice in Benoa Bay Reclamation and they transform their understanding into practice. In this case, discourse analysis mainly seek to comprehend why a particular understanding of the relations of human and environment acquire dominance, while other understandings are regarded as enemies. The discourse of environmental justice practiced by the opposition of Benoa Bay reclamation discredited the investors and their supporters understanding of human-environment relations which is anthropocentrism and technocratic.

The discourse of environmental justice puts justice at its foci (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 13). At the beginning of the discourse, environmental justice concentrated on a phenomena that minority groups were more exposed to environmental bads compared to other social structures. Obviously, the scope of environmental justice discourse has been enlarging far beyond its early understanding to inequities in externalization of environmental bads and risks to vulnerable groups (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 37-38). The expansion of the environmental justice concept enter a new milieu where environment and nature are comprehended to establish conditions for social justice.

At the beginning of this discourse, the understanding environment and ecology are perceived differently and thisinf uences different kinds of social movement. The concept of ecology is represented in the description of Pepper (1996, p. 15) that mentions that "Nature has intrinsic worth, in its own right, regardless of its use value to humans. Humans are therefore morally obliged to respect plants, animals and all natures whose right should be in existence and humane treatment." In the concept of ecology, nature is seen as wilderness that should be freed from human exploitation that could damage its balance. The concept of environment refers to see nature in parts of its function to daily human life. The new discourse of environmental justice covers both the concept of nature and environment. This new discourse combine the understanding of environment (ecology) in the sense of 'big outside' wilderness which has intrinsic value with acknowledgement to a much more generally identif ed conception of environment condition in which people are engaged in their daily lives. The early years of environmental justice movement (First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991) brought the indigenous view regarding the relationship amongst human beings, non-human nature, and culture into the discourse of environmental justice. This discourse conf rms the 'sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity, and the interdependence of all species' (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 38-39).

The ideas of environmental justice have been diffusing with vertical and horizontal extension. In vertical terms, environmental justice discourse has been expanding beyond state borders and adopted globally. The horizontal expansion of environmental justice is clearly manifested by the use of environmental justice discourse in numerous global environmental movements which are organized around themes such as anti-neoliberalism, indigenous rights, local f shermen rights, forest protection, pollution, and anti-genetic modif ed food (Walker, 2009).

Another expansion of environmental justice discourse is moving beyond the issue inequity of vulnerable groups to environmental hazards into pluralistic meaning and understanding of that injustice (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 39-40). The pluralistic concerns in environmental justice movement has been manifested in environmental justice movement. Equity is always a part of environmental justice discourse. Besides, new aspects have emerged in the discourse i.e. political participation and cultural recognition. Participatory aspect of environmental justice represent the involvement of communities in the discussion about decision regarding environmental change (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 39-40). In addition to that, the extending discourse of environmental justice also covers the development of capacities needed by individual and communities to function well. Hence, environmental justice is not only about distribution of equity but also capacity development (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 14). The indigenous community struggles in environmental justice theme in many parts of the world indicate a wide-ranging, inter-related, and diverse understanding of justice in relations to environment. That understanding of justice cover various demands for not only equity, recognition, and participation, but also other capacities regarding the basic functioning of nature, communities, and culture (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010, p. 12-13).

Concerning capacity aspect, Martha Nussbaum (2006) has contributed to the discourse of environmental justice by aiming on the capabilities which are necessary for the people to function well in a fully human way based on livelihood that they choose. Nussbaum (2006) represents the traditional liberal political idea that sees environment justice in the sense of capabilities of individual in relation to the environment through just processes. However, ongoing environmental justice movements do not conf ne themselves to seeing injustice as encountered by individuals. Justice for the function of community capability is often the organizing frame for collective protest movement especially protest from indigenous community. The capability at the collective or group level is distinct from and beyond the sum of individual capabilities (Stewart, 2005).

When indigenous communities make protest, they voice their concerns from a community point of view. In practice, individual experiences alone are not the subjects of environmental justice since individuals are implanted in community. In other words the discourse of environmental justice looks at the full functioning of both individuals and community which covers safety from environmental danger, sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices. This individual and community functioning is called social reproduction (Di Chiro, 2008).

4.2. The Opposition Practices in the Discourse of Environmental Justice

The contemporary discourse of environmental justice is developed through a dialog of academic ref ections and practices conducted by environmental justice movement. The way the opposition movement against Benoa Bay reclamation conceptualize and articulate justice in relation to environment reproduces categorizations, ideas, and ways of thinking within the discourse of environmental justice. The reproduction of a discursive order could be understood in the repetition of cognitive commitment by the opposition groups implicit in their narratives or story-lines.

The narratives of the opposition groups especially those pooled in ForBali voicing environmental justice in terms equity which is a fair distribution to goods, services, revenue, and access to economic capital (fund). ForBali mentions that the investors plan to conduct reclamation in Benoa Bay will only benef t the investors and their cronies. Bali has been encountering water supply issue since the water sources f ow drops and the Water Companies begin to f nd diff culties in supplying waters to the public. If the reclamation project will be implemented, then the new reclamation islands will take the water from Bali mainland. The reclamation will also bring waste disposal issue. The solid waste landf ll in Denpasar has been already full and its air pollution smell has been affecting wider areas. Not to mention the threat in Southern part of Bali which experiences coastal f ooding. If reclamation are implemented, houses in the coastal Southern part of Bali will have a risk of f ooding every day. Those who rely on their livelihood from coastal waters will lose their jobs because of the changing of the sea f ow (ForBali, 2014).

Environmental justice categorizes the issue of the basic functioning of nature, community and culture. One of the main ForBali f gures, Jerinx, mentions that the Southern part of Bali has been encountering imbalance between population and the carrying capacity of the environment, but still the area has kept being developed with tourism industry infrastructure (Jerinx, 2014). His statement represents the view of the opposition groups that they are not anti-development. The development that they envision is not the one that not only based on economic consideration without taking side to ecology, future sustainability, and traditional culture (Apriando, 2015).

The expansion of environmental justice discourse is ref ected in the issues articulated by the opposition group ForBali. The justice concern on the Benoa Bay reclamation plan is not only about threat or risk to equity distribution, but also about the political participation of community regarding public decision making that affects their life and their environment. Before the government policy permitted the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay, the area was considered a conservation area based on President Regulation Number 45/2011 signed by President SusiloBambangYudhoyono. The narratives from ForBali mentions that the initiative to change the status of Benoa Bay from conservation area into utilization area came from the Central Government. They conducted meetings and public hearings with those who supported the reclamation project and set aside the opposing groups. According to ForBali, on April 14th 2014, The Off ce of National Body of Spatial Management together with Bali Provincial Government held a public consultation meeting discussing a proposal to revise article 55 of the Presidential Regulation Number 45/2011 or to to change the the conservation status of Benoa Bay into general utilization status (ForBali, n.d.). In this public meeting, none of the opposing groups or the conservation groups was involved including WALHI (Environmental Organization). WALHI was used to be invited to consultative meetings with Environmental Agency and Planning Agency of Bali Provincial Government. However, in the case of changing the conservation status of Benoa Bay into general utilization, WALHI was totally not being involved (WALHI, 2014). In a metaphoric expression ForBali activist Jerinx (2014) wrote "We ourselves will decide the future of our own house."

The theme of recognition of local community livelihood and culture is also endorsed in the discourse of environmental justice. In Bali, the indigenous community is existing in the form of custom villages. A group of 38 custom villages called the PasubayanDesaAdatTolakReklamasi (Solidarity of Custom Villages Resisting Reclamation) is another major group who oppose Benoa Bay reclamation. Since 2015 until present, they have been frequently holding demonstration mobilizing thousands of people in the street demanding the government to stop the reclamation. Their narratives are clearly consistent in demanding recognition of Balinese traditional culture and belief. In Bali Hinduism belief, the meeting of rivers (campuhan) is a sacred area that could not be exploited. The reclamation could change its spiritual function in providing prosperity in terms of unseen supernatural power (niskala) to the people of Bali. Benoa Bay is indeed the meeting of f ve rivers f owing from Denpasar City and Badung Regency. They reiterates that the Balinese ancestors have kept the sacredness of Benoa Bay and customs villages in that union will f ght against the investors as part of their dedication (bhakti) to the mother land (pertiwi). The harmony of Bali has been kept by the principle of Tri Hita Karana which means the balance of human relationships to Gods, other human, and the environment. The Pasubayan emphasize that reclamation plan has been already resisted by many people causing imbalance of human interaction. The project implementation will destruct the human relationship to supernatural beings and to the environment (Setiawan, 2016).

4.3. The Investors within Ecological Modernization and Ecological Discourse

Having attacked by anti-reclamation groups, the investors and their aff liations and supporters create narratives that reclamation in Benoa Bay is the best way to restore the environment in Benoa Bay. Instead of consistently use the term reclamation, in the early 2015 they have been more frequently using the term revitalization of Benoa Bay to frame that the project will revitalize and restore Benoa Bay in a better condition. Although, the term 'revitaliza-

tion' actually does not exist in the law regarding Coastal and Small Island Management (Laws Number 1/2014), the term is consistently used even in a formal meeting. The frame of revitalization and the narration that reclamation will restore the environment and increase the number of tourists' visit to Bali are the reflections of a discourse in which modernization is the key to answer to remedy the problem of environmental degradation while at the same time it keeps the economic growth.

The discourse of ecological modernization is embedded in the theory of modernization. Basically ecological modernization is modernization which incorporates environmental issues. It admitted the environmental side effect of modernization project but industrial modernization should not be left. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. Instead of abandoning modernization, it suggests that modernization should become the instrument to remedy environmental degradation. Society have to modernize themselvesto prevent and handle environmental crisis.

Instead of viewing environmental degradation as an obstacles in economics, ecological modernization sees it as a new opportunity for economic growth, because environmental degradation is a demand for 'environmentally friendly' products such as green cars, low energy air conditioner, low emission buildings, etc. (Hajer, 1996). This concept is originating from the thought of modernization thinker Schumpeter, saying that demand is "a fundamental impulse that sets and keeps the capitalist engine in motion" (as cited in Hajer, 1996, p. 249). In the language of Spaargaren and Mol (1992, p. 336), ecological modernization envisages that "the only way out of the environmental crisis is by going further into industrialization, toward hyper- or superindustrialization."

Ecological modernization voices a need of social, economic, and scientific concept that could make an environmental issue quantifable and help rationality in social behavior. Natural sciences are needed to measure environmental risk and carrying capacity of how much natural resources could be exploited. That quantifable environmental assessment works to assist a development plan by a government in order to make a sound policy. Engineering sciences are needed to innovate technologies that could make industry meet the minimum standard for environmental safety (Hajer, 1996). Ecological modernization put a high dependency on science and technology that make this concept contain a strong technocentrism environmental outlook. Ecological modernization offers a rational and technical solutions to overcome environmental issues, and more efficient institutions for environmental management and control (Adams as cited in Wiranata, 2008).

In the Benoa Bay reclamation, the investors see realities from the vantage point of their stand in the dominant ecological modernization discourse. The concept, images, metaphors, and narratives that they use show how they see the world. The investors see that environment in Benoa Bay is abandoned because garbage floating around mangrove forest in the Bay have not been overcome. Besides, Pudut Island in Benoa Bay has been suffering from abrasion. That environmental conditions are signals for the need of modernization through investment i.e. reclamation that will handle those environmental problems. In the reclamation project, the investors reproduce the discourse of ecological modernization. Their practices and narration show a view that the nature could be controlled and assessed through scientific calculation which is institutionalized in the AMDAL (Environmental Impact Analysis). Through this AMDAL environmental risk is quantified and hence the investor can prepare anticipative efforts to make the project sounds right.

Since the discourse of ecological modernization is dominant around the world, in an argumentative setting, the discourse discredits other point of view that does not have a scientific basis. This tendency can be seen in the narratives of the investors and their supporters. Their narratives mention that Benoa Bay reclamation will revitalize the environment not damage it. Clearly, the supporter of Benoa Bay reclamation, KetutWianasaid that those who said that reclamation would destroy the environment were not environmental experts.

5. CONCLUSION

Development means making a better of life or a better quality of life. Quality of life as a subjective meaning of human well-being covers economy, security, cultural expression, political participation, healthcare, recreation, etc., and other needs beyond basic needs of human survival. However, the meaning of that quality of life will be determined by the values in the community that could differ from one community to another. In other words, development is about human construction. In contemporary development discourses environment is unseparated part of development especially since the popularization of sustainable development concept. Any human actions in relation to the environment or nature involve discourse on development. The conflict on Benoa Bay is a conflict between conservation versus utilization of the natural environment for mainly commercial purposes. This conflict signifies a complex and continuous struggle regarding the definition and the meaning of the environmental issues (Gray, Hanke, & Putnam, 2007, p. 1) in development.

How people understand the meaning of human relationship to nature involve a discourse. Discourse is here defined as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). We always act upon our images of reality and are surrounded by certain discourses that influence our mindset, expression, and action (Hajer, 1995, p. 16)

In the case of Benoa Bay reclamation plan, the statement from the investors contains inter-related texts within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. The investors view regarding Benoa Bay as resource for producing commodity contains a mindset and practices within the discourse of mainstream development discourse. Having criticized of lack of concern to environmental issues, modernization discourse of development add the scope of the discourse to cover environmental concern. The new

discourse, called discourse of ecological modernization is embedded in the theory of modernization. Basically ecological modernization is modernization which incorporates environmental issues. It admits the environmental side effect of modernization project but industrial modernization should not be left. Environmental impact can be remedied by science and technology. In the Benoa Bay reclamation, the investors see realities from the vantage point of their stand in the dominant ecological modernization discourse.

As mentioned by Davies and Harre (1990), in a contestation of discourses, parties can always refuse the terms and data set by the other party and stress out the signif-cance of the existence of other alternative discourses. The ecological modernization discourse used by the investor is contested by environmental justice discourse that infuences and it is being reproduced in the opposition against Benoa Bay Reclamation plan. That understanding of justice cover various demands for not only equity, recognition, and participation, but also other capacities regarding the basic functioning of nature, communities, and culture. The discourse of environmental justice looks at the full functioning of both individuals and community which cover safety from environmental danger, sustainability of local economies, and preservation of local and traditional cultures and practices.

In the contestation of discourses, actors compete to gain public and decision making acceptance by using frames and narratives in order to gain support for their defnition of reality. In that struggle, different actors are pooled in a coalition to contest the other rival group. Discourse-coalition is not the same as political coalitions or alliances. Discourse coalition is actors who share the same discourses and supporting frames and narratives. They share the same understanding, speech, and thought on the meaning of development in relations to the environment (Hajer, 2003). In the opposing group, actors under the discourse of environmental justice are civil society organization, custom villages, musician, artists, and individual. The discourse-coalition under ecological modernization involve investors, Bali Provincial Government, individuals, and non-government institution supported by the investors.

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