COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR OF INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN REFUSING THE BENOA BAY RECLAMATION PLAN

PERILAKU KOMUNIKASI MASYARAKAT ADAT DALAM MENOLAK RENCANA REKLAMASI TELUK BENOA

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ABSTRACT

The Benoa Bay reclamation idea is an interesting issue due to presidential regulation 51 of 2014 has not been revised. This condition effects in the struggle of indigenous peoples be going to start continuously from the difference of interests between indigenous peoples and the government which ultimately produced a social movements. The social movement has occurred in a long period of time since 2012 to 2019. The influence of traditional power can contribute to delaying the progress of the reclamation project. This research aims to examine the communication patterns exhibited by the local community and Balinese customs in their opposition to the Benoa Bay reclamation project. The study adopts an ethnographic approach using qualitative techniques as the research methodology. Data collection involves gathering primary and secondary data through interviews and literature review. The research is conducted in Kedonganan Adat Village, located in Kuta District, Badung Regency. The findings reveal that the Kedonganan indigenous people express their rejection of the Benoa Bay reclamation project through meaningful messages conveyed both verbally and nonverbally. The communication primarily occurs through interpersonal interactions to ensure better comprehension of the messages. These messages carry symbolic significance and have given rise to a subtle social movement, believed to provide protection by the Kedonganan community. Consequently, the Kedonganan indigenous people have successfully secured their victory in the opposition against the Benoa Bay reclamation project through the utilization of customary power and cultural strength.

Keywords: Social movement, benoa bay reclamation, indigenous peoples, Tri Hita Karana.

ABSTRAK


Kata kunci: Gerakan Sosial, reklamasi Teluk Benoa, masyarakat adat, Tri Hita Karana


**INTRODUCTION**

Tourism in Bali Province has brought about relatively rapid development in the economic sector and social changes in society. This change impacts efforts to convert land to improve tourism infrastructure. The government continues to innovate and encourage the development of the tourism sector, one of which is through reclamation. Huda (2013:126) explains that reclamation is a process of expanding land by filling up waters, which is believed to improve the economy and welfare of the community.

Reclamation can increase the economic growth of society, but in fact, it also results in changes in the structure of society’s ecological order, most of which sacrifice the environment. Environmental and cultural polemics have become controversial for local communities.

Regarding the reclamation of Benoa Bay, the decree of the Governor of Bali Number 2138/02-C/HK/2012 contains a reclamation permit for PT. TWBI was the start of the debate.

Controversy continued to rage after Presidential Regulation Number 51 of 2014’s implementation of the Spatial Plan for the Sarbagita Urban Area (Denpasar et al.). The dialogue was then opened to reduce the polemic through the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZWP3K)(Suardana et al., 2020, p. 14). The statement by Suardana et al. (2020) aligns with Subekti’s statement (2019) regarding the ongoing struggle of the local Balinese community due to attempts to seize use rights in the coastal area of Benoa Bay. Thus, the conflict between local communities and large investors continues today. The Benoa Bay reclamation plan has been subject to conflict and polemic due to information gaps over the publication of the reclamation plan policy secretly without involving the community. Tajem and Saribulan (2019: 142) explain that information gaps in the Benoa Bay reclamation project have resulted in prolonged conflicts. The information gap received also has an impact on the lack of public participation in the issuance of policies regarding reclamation plans. It contradicts the statement of Hansen and Cox (2015: 111) regarding the importance of public participation in sustainable development governance and environmental management projects. Pezzullo and Cox (2018: 305) state that public participation is an essential concept in decision-making related to environmental policy and natural resource management.

Public participation can be carried out formally, such as hearing public opinion and through litigation procedures, or informally, such as community workshops and field visits. The vital role of communication is significant in the process of public participation in decision-making so that there is no miscommunication between policymakers and beneficiaries of the policy. This discrepancy then gave rise to protests, which were initially carried out by concerned groups’ environment due to the threat of environmental conditions in South Bali. Seeing the geography of the Benoa Bay area and the direct activities of indigenous peoples has made indigenous peoples aware
to participate in every movement action. The consistency of the indigenous peoples of the Benoa Bay coast in preserving nature from the onslaught of investment has aroused the sympathy of indigenous communities throughout Bali to continue to guard and defend natural beauty through social movements.

Servaes (2020) describes the social movement as a form of social collectivity used to express complaints and concerns about their rights and welfare to demand justice so that social inequality does not occur. The social movement of indigenous peoples was carried out due to the incompatibility of the reclamation project with the Tri Hita Karana development philosophy in the concept of determining spatial planning that prioritizes the principles of environmental justice and community welfare Adi et al. (2015).

Adi et al. (2015) also explained that Tri Hita Karana has three factors that cause happiness: Parahyangan, Pawongan, and Pabelasan. This concept explains the relationship between humans and God, the relationship between humans and humans, and the relationship between humans and the environment or the natural surroundings.

In principle, Balinese local wisdom is a leading example in implementing the principles of sustainable development. The reality in determining spatial planning is less smooth than the principles of local wisdom, which reference the Balinese traditional community. Many regulations are still not in sync, for example.

For example, Presidential Regulation No. 51 of 2014 covers plans for a reclamation project in Benoa Bay. The Tri Hita Karana philosophy as a factor in preventing natural damage and its contents is one of the development communication practices. Development communication practices, especially environmental communication, raise public awareness of environmental problems caused by reclamation projects. The uniqueness of Balinese customs can mobilize and make local people aware that Bali’s nature will be threatened. The gap in information received by the public also gives rise to different perceptions of the Benoa Bay reclamation planning process. However, traditional forces maintained the consistency of the indigenous people’s movement to reject the reclamation project.

The consistency of indigenous peoples and the success of the indigenous peoples' movement to reject the reclamation project, which has just been implemented, is one of the successes of the Bali Reject Reclamation social movement. This statement aligns with Johnston’s (2014) statement that culture is crucial in mobilizing social movements. The study of socio-cultural movements certainly puts aside the role of politics in it and focuses more on developing teaching values. Tejerina (2017) explains that through the analysis of social movements as agents of social change, they focus more on social behavior so that change will not occur without social behavior. The success of social movements, aside from the role of culture, of course, some actors can become agents of social change through social behavior. Thus, social behavior will be formed from communication behavior.

Research by Mustopa et al. (2020) examines that the success of social movements is due to the role of communication, which can raise public awareness to resolve strategic problems they experience. Mustopa’s research aligns with research conducted by Lampe (2018) that social movements are closely linked to communication management for movement strategies and discourse that can sensitize people to carry out collective action. Research from Hapsari et al. (2017) also explains that the success of social movements is determined by visible actions that have a broad reach so that they can encourage other people to participate. Thus, the success of social movements is determined by the role and communication strategies used to mobilize resources in the movement.

The vital role of communication in the success of social movements does not only
look at the framing in social media, but the role of conventional media is much more effective in mobilizing the masses. Previous research also emphasized the framing of news on the Benoa Bay reclamation case, which could influence the audience as readers of the 2016 Galuh news; Primayanti et al. (2016); Priadarsini et al. (2020). Research by Subekti et al. (2020) explained that the social movement of indigenous peoples rejected the Benoa Bay reclamation project because the culture and local wisdom of the local Balinese people were still vital. However, it turns out that the struggle of the Balinese indigenous people to protect the Benoa Bay area continued until Presidential Decree No. 51 of 2014 was revised. Based on the description of the research that has been carried out, this research tries to fill the gap in previous research related to the communication behavior of social movements of coastal indigenous communities in rejecting the Benoa Bay reclamation project, which was examined using environmental communication theory. The communication behavior of indigenous peoples in rejecting reclamation plans is an exciting thing to explore to see the intensity of communication carried out by indigenous peoples so that the Bali Reject Reclamation movement becomes more solid and has succeeded in delaying the Benoa Bay reclamation project until now.

**MATERIALS AND METHODS**

This research uses a constructivist paradigm with a qualitative research approach. This research design uses ethnographic studies to explore indigenous peoples' communication behavior and their involvement in a social movement to express their rejection of the Benoa Bay reclamation plan firmly. This research was analyzed by condensing the data by focusing the data, summarizing the data, coding, and categorizing the data. Then, the data was presented as an infographic in a chart, and a conclusion was drawn. The qualitative analysis model follows the method Miles et al. presented (2014). Primary and secondary data were collected in the research to assist in completing the study. The primary data was obtained through interviews with 12 informants while supporting data was obtained through previous research involving analysis of documents related to reclamation in Benoa Bay. This research was purposively conducted in the Kedonganan Traditional Village, Kuta District, Badung Regency. The research was conducted from March 2021 to February 2022.

**DISCUSSION RESULT**

**The Birth of the Local Balinese Indigenous Social Movement to Reject the Benoa Bay Reclamation Project**

The Benoa Bay reclamation plan began after the Bali Governor's Decree Number 2138/02-C/HK/2012 concerning permission to use the Benoa Bay area for reclamation with an area of 700 Ha, was issued by the Bali Provincial Government to PT Tirta Wahana Bali Internasional. This policy was issued secretly without the knowledge of the wider community. The issuance of the reclamation permit policy received criticism from the Environmental Advocacy Working Committee (Kekal), which was carrying out advocacy related to Tahura Ngurah
Rai at that time. Rejection on a small scale is often made by environmental activists and local communities who have concern for the environment. The trip brought strong rejection from the community and environmental activists because there had been no feasibility study on environmental impact analysis or public consultation. The Government responded to the community’s objection by reviewing the Decree. As a result, the Government issued the Bali Governor's Decree Number 1727/01-B/HK/2013, which contains a permit for a feasibility study regarding plans for the utilization, development, and management of the waters of Benoa Bay in Bali Province. The large number of rejections gave rise to disputes between the Government and the community, which resulted in the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 51 of 2014, which was considered to increase the legitimacy of reclamation permits. This Presidential Decree was issued in rapid rejection, which led to public perception of a poor response and began to imply irregularities in the Benoa Bay Reclamation project.

Indigenous peoples finally began to hear about the irregularities in the reclamation plan after Sugi Lanus wrote an article on his social media page, namely "Nine Bays Surrounding Bali and Is Benoa Bay Really a Sacred Area." The Benoa Bay area has approximately 70 holy spots. This sacred point was obtained based on the accumulated knowledge of the local community, the traditional village supporting the Benoa Bay area. The following is a map of the holy points in the Benoa Bay area.

Figure 1. Map of the Description of Sacred Points and Sacred Areas in Benoa Bay
Sumber: https://www.mongabay.co.id/2015/10/28/dorongan-teluk-benoa-sebagai-kawasan-suci/

Initially, discussions regarding sacred points and sacred areas were carried out through forums such as the traditional village lung. Traditional village paruman is a meeting that involves traditional village people (community) in making traditional decisions through consensus deliberation attended by traditional village people. Over time, the traditional village formed Pasubayan Traditional Village to Reject Benoa Bay Reclamation due to the rejection of the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay. Based on information from IWS (45) related to the origin of the word pasubayan, which initially came from the word subaya, which means a moral or moral bond that is fought for together. So Pasubayan is a moral bond that indigenous peoples fight for together. The concept of the universe as a parameter is then realized through rules known as awig-awig. Awig-Awig is a regulation indigenous peoples use as a guide or guideline for maintaining the balance of the grand universe "Kasukekertan Buana Agung." Pasubayan is said to come from Subaya, that subaya can be said to be a moral or moral bond for what we stand for together, so subaya is a sacred promise for the moral bond that we stand for.
together. The parameters are the teachings of the universe, which are then poured into the awig-awig and become the reference for traditional villages. The Kasukertan of Buana Agung, the task of the Traditional Village, is to look after the Kasukertan of Buana Agung. (IWS (45), Kuta Traditional Village Head)

The formation of Pasubayan Bali traditional village to reject reclamation has strengthened the Bali Reject Reclamation movement. The local Balinese community or traditional village krama has shown solidarity in the movement. Pasubayan represents the traditional village area with strong principles to reject the Benoa Bay reclamation plan. The formation of Pasubayan is a severe manifestation of the local Balinese community protecting Balinese customs and culture, which have been preserved for generations.

Bali’s local people (krama) believe that the sea is a significant source of life and has a sacred value as a respected place. Research (Priadarsini et al., 2020) has outlined the concept of the sea as a source of life and as a tribute is known as the concept of nyegara-gunung. Nyegara gunung is a concept that reflects the balance of the spiritual realm, which focuses on mountains and seas, vertical and horizontal dimensions (Luan-Teben), as well as micro and macro relationships, the sacred and the unholy and various other differences (rwa bhineda). Armed with this local knowledge, the indigenous people vehemently opposed the reclamation of Benoa Bay. The concept of the sanctity of the sea when reclamation is carried out, there will be spiritual power that will be angry as conveyed by IPAPS (73) as follows “Diarealnya jangan diurug nanti duka, marah nanti Bhuta Kalanya, ada Bhuta air ya lautnya marah” (IPAPS (73), Majelis Desa Adat Provinsi Bali)

The rejection of the customary-based Benoa Bay reclamation project has its uniqueness because the declaration of rejection was designed by each traditional village, which was decided by Pasubayan, which consists of 39 traditional villages spread throughout the Province of Bali. The integration of traditional villages into Pasubayan is due to the shared vision of saving the Benoa Bay area. Indigenous peoples' reasons for rejecting the Benoa Bay reclamation plan have been conveyed in studies where indigenous peoples are the object. The most basic reason is that Benoa Bay is a sacred area. Contrary to the philosophy of the teachings of Tri Hita Karana, there is discrimination of local communities in the employment system in the tourism sector, destroying the balance of nature and can kill the businesses of local communities around Benoa Bay (Angeline and Evelina 2014; Bayu et al. 2016; Cahyadi and Sarjani 2016; Dharmayanti et al. 2016; Galuh 2016; Tajem and Saribulan 2019; Wiranata and Siahaan 2019; Bräuchler 2020; Priadarsini et al. 2020; Subekti et al. 2020; Afriza et al. 2021)

The birth of the social movement of the indigenous people of the Benoa Bay coast, especially in the Kedonganan Coastal Traditional Village, where the traditional village youth (yowana) were the pioneers. Yowana Adat received information regarding the reclamation of Benoa Bay from hanging out with friends or other traditional village youths. It was conveyed directly by the Kedonganan Traditional Village Leader that the beginning of the Kedonganan Traditional Village joining the ranks was through the village youth. The enthusiasm of the youth in defending environmental and cultural sustainability in the Benoa Bay Area, in the end, the ForBali Coordinator at that time came to meet the Traditional Village Leader. The communication process between Bendesa Adat and the ForBali Coordinator is carried out directly. The message conveyed by the ForBali Coordinator was regarding the unsuitable status of the Benoa Bay area for reclamation due to the significant adverse impacts resulting from the project that will be carried out.
"Information about this movement, Mr. Gendo often comes here, so we have discussed it many times..." (IWM (57), Bendesa Adat Kedonganan). The discussions held by the For Bali Coordinator, together with the Kedonganan Traditional Village Bench, were quite intense. Direct discussions in the Kedonganan Traditional Village resulted in the Kedonganan Traditional Village stating its stance to reject the Benoa Bay reclamation project. They were carried out intensively by the For Bali Coordinator and the Kedonganan Traditional Village Bench. Direct discussions in the Kedonganan Traditional Village resulted in the Kedonganan Traditional Village stating its stance to reject the Benoa Bay reclamation project.

Communication Behavior of Indigenous Peoples to Reject the Planned Benoa Bay Reclamation Project.

Communication behavior can encourage the uniqueness of customs and culture in Traditional Villages. The communication behavior shown by the local Balinese community in rejecting the reclamation plan in the waters of Benoa Bay has a unique aspect. The uniqueness of rejecting the reclamation plan in Benoa Bay by traditional villages lies in the diverse characteristics and uniqueness of culture in each Traditional Village in Bali Province. This research study deepens the communication behavior built by indigenous peoples to increase solidarity in rejecting the big project through the Benoa Bay reclamation plan.

This research considers communication behavior as a form of interaction in communication activities. Local Balinese people interact through speech or words (verbal) and body language (nonverbal) to respond to their environment. The communication behavior of indigenous peoples in rejecting the Benoa Bay reclamation plan can be seen in the messages they convey when communicating, both through words, intonation, and body language. This communication behavior reflects the actions of indigenous peoples in opposing the Benoa Bay reclamation plan. The communication behavior of indigenous communities can influence the actions of other indigenous communities in rejecting the Benoa Bay reclamation project through verbal and non-verbal communication.

Speaking of indigenous peoples must be distinct from the linkages between communication and culture, which influence one another. According to Mulyana (2016), culture is an essential element of communication behavior because communication has a role in determining, maintaining, developing, and passing on culture. Balinese culture in the history of the movement against the Benoa Bay Reclamation plan has its privileges because a strong culture can encourage the success of the Balinese social movement, Rejecting the Benoa Bay Reclamation. Culture can strengthen collective identity in resistance movements because culture, from the perspective of indigenous people, cannot be separated from the linkages between communication and culture, which influence one another. According to Mulyana (2016), culture is an essential element of communication behavior because communication has a role in determining, maintaining, developing, and passing on culture. Historically, Balinese culture, the movement to reject the Benoa Bay reclamation plan, has its unique features because a strong culture can encourage the success of the Balinese social movement to reject the reclamation of Benoa Bay. Culture can strengthen collective identity in resistance movements because culture, from a developmental communication perspective, is an expression of a sense of togetherness Flor and Cangara (2018).
Development as an expression of a sense of togetherness Flor and Cangara (2018). The struggle of the indigenous people in the Kedonganan Traditional Village to make local wisdom values the foundation in rejecting the reclamation of Benoa Bay. This rejection shapes people's verbal and non-verbal behavior, which makes this movement alive and forms solidarity with indigenous peoples through collective movements with other traditional villages. It is in line with the theory of shared culture put forward by Littlejohn and Foss (2009:108); social forces influence individual communication behavior. The assumption in this theory places the power hierarchy only owned by the dominant group with access to that power, so marginalized communities need a strategy in their communication behavior to negotiate and gain access to this power. At the empirical level, in rejecting the Benoa Bay reclamation plan, youth or yowana from the Kedonganan Traditional Village who are aware of and have concern for cultural and environmental sustainability in Benoa Bay form a small group. "Support is personal without coercion," said the chief of the Kedonganan customary village. "....Before 2018 there were more individuals, more young people because they participated in movements such as NGOs through FORBALI, because of friendship...." (IWS (45), Bendesa Adat Kedonganan)

The traditional youth or yowana of the Kedonganan Traditional Village has a role as a media in bringing together the actors who initiated the Bali Movement Against Benoa Bay Reclamation with the Head of the Kedonganan Traditional Village. The Traditional Village Bench often carries out discussion activities for the 2013-2018 period with the ForBali Coordinator. Communication is carried out directly (interpersonal) in the Kedonganan Traditional Village. The shared vision eventually led the Kedonganan Traditional Village, represented by its Customary Village Head, to declare that the Kedonganan Traditional Village condemned the reclamation of Benoa Bay and joined ranks so that a relationship could form a network between organizations. The formation of relationships between Traditional Villages and the ForBali Coordinator is social capital formed to achieve the same goal. The formation of a relationship is a concept of social capital. According to Hapsari (2016:31-32), social capital is a resource that individuals can utilize to achieve their goals. Apart from that, social capital also plays a vital role in forming mass movements. Harsasto (2020: 21) explains that social capital includes elements of trust, networks, and norms, which form the basis of relationships between community members in social interaction.

Social capital as a foothold in the communication behavior of the Kedonganan indigenous people to criticize the proposed reclamation plan in Benoa Bay. Belief is a power to protect culture and natural preservation owned by indigenous peoples, often called the East Coast by the Kedonganan indigenous people. The east coast is the area of the traditional village of Kedonganan, which is in the waters of Benoa Bay, which includes the Desa Temple, Ratu Ayu Temple, Penyawangan Temple, and the Cemetery or other similar places. Figure 2 describes the communication behavior of the Kedonganan people to criticize the Benoa Bay reclamation plan and as a form of protecting the Kedonganan area from threats.

![Figure 2. Communication Behavior of Indigenous Peoples in Rejecting the Reclamation Plan.](image-url)
The communication behavior in Figure 2 explains that the indigenous community in criticizing the proposed reclamation plan in Benoa Bay is based on an interpersonal communication process carried out between the youth and the For Bali community, then the ForBali coordinator with the Indigenous Bendesa and the Traditional Village Benza with the Kedonganan community directly so that effective communication can be formed. Interpersonal communication is carried out to reduce obstacles in conveying the message as a design for rejection before it is conveyed to the broader indigenous community. Galuh (2016:82), in his research, found that delivering messages is more effective than using social media. It is the view of Littlejohn and Foss (2009: 887) that from a social action perspective, media content does not have essential meaning, nor does the explanation of media use or effects come from individual exposure to the message, so that effective media use is tailored to the target audience.

Interpersonal communication looks at the intensity of communication carried out by the Kedonganan Traditional Village Leader with the For Bali Coordinator so that cohesiveness is formed between groups, which is also influenced by the accuracy of interpersonal perception both verbally and non-verbally (Rakhmat, 2018, p. 109). The formation of this cohesiveness then gave birth to a non-violent social movement strategy, both verbally and non-verbally. The Kedonganan indigenous people carry out non-violent social movements to represent Balinese customs and culture. Non-violent movement is carried out verbally and non-verbally through symbols and values of Balinese teachings. The Samin indigenous people once carried out a non-violent movement to reject the construction of a cement factory. Darmastuti’s research (2015) explains that non-violent resistance movements carried out peacefully actually produce extraordinary impacts. His research also describes the movements carried out through tembang. Tembang, as a traditional Javanese art in the form of songs, is used as a medium to convey messages to the community so that they protect and preserve the motherland. By song, efforts to build a cement factory in Sukolilo were thwarted. This strategy is also carried out by the Kedonganan traditional community peacefully by introducing the uniqueness of the Kedonganan Traditional Village through “Pesolahan Sesuhunan Ida Ratu Ayu, Ratu Rangda, Ratu Nini and Kobar Api.”

The uniqueness in terms of culture is the ceremony in Bali, which is related to the Panca Yadnya, and we have a suhunun known as Barong or Ida Ratu Ayu. The public believes Ida Ratu Ayu can protect and protect health.” (IWM (57), Head of Kedonganan Traditional Village).

Ida Ratu Ayu’s pesolahan is carried out as a form of gratitude for protecting the village's manners from various kinds of danger and maintaining the welfare of the Kedonganan Traditional Village’s manners. Sesuhunan is located on the East Coast or the waters of Benoa Bay, precisely at Prajapati Temple. This belief encourages the people of Kedonganan to continue strongly condemning the Benoa Bay reclamation project. IKAS (44) thought that when reclamation occurred, it would create the Kedonganan Traditional Village area, so we peacefully refused by holding a cultural parade. Cultural parades featuring dances or performances are a form of communication that does not use words (nonverbal). The body movements in the dance are accompanied by gamelan or gongs as a form of message conveyed from generation to generation to maintain the character of traditional villages.

"Trage dies buin pidan dadi continues to be reclaimed ento continues to flood the Kedonganan gene, disappears gumi
Kedonganan, and the era is nyen nto, now that is what we are considering. We maintain the character of the traditional village that has been built by our ancestors" (IKAS (44), Resident of Kedonganan Traditional Village). Suppose later we die, and it turns out that the reclamation of Benoa Bay occurs and the Kedonganan Traditional Village is lost. In that case, we will not be blamed by our children and grandchildren who live in Kedonganan Village. That is what we will use as a consideration to maintain the character of the traditional village that our ancestors built.

Starting from the framing or message to maintain the character of the traditional village, the people of Kedonganan, especially the elderly, carried out peaceful resistance using the slogan of the spirit of brotherhood. This spirit of brotherhood is the basis that the Balinese people are brothers and will continue to defend their homeland of Benoa Bay at a fixed price so that their ancestors maintain what has been built. This message is a form of verbal communication to explain the nonverbal communication used in resistance. *Semangat “Paras Paros Sagilik Saguluk” persaudaraan kita pegang* (IPAPS (73), Ketua Majelis Desa Adat Provinsi Bali)

This slogan also leads the Kedonganan indigenous people to embrace enemies to become brothers so that the message to maintain the sustainability of the environment, traditions, and culture in Benoa Bay can be achieved. The head of the Kedonganan customary village introduced that Kedonganan has a temple in the eastern region that has a cemetery or setra as a place for the cremation ceremony—showing how the preservation of the mangroves surrounding the temple and cemetery can be protected from abrasion. This approach led the people of Kedonganan to a temporary victory, so Benoa Bay has not been reclaimed until now. The Kedonganan indigenous people believe that what cannot be conquered by investors is Bali's strong and still culturally solid identity. ".....the belief in Bali still knows its customs are strong" (ARS (25), Youth of Sidakarya Traditional Village) One of the things they couldn’t regulate from the TWBI was social culture, which they couldn’t subdue, that's why they lost." (IKAS (44), Kedonganan indigenous community)

The Kedonganan traditional community hopes that reclamation will not be carried out by introducing the uniqueness of traditional villages, one of which is Sesuhunan Ida Ratu Ayu, which is located on the East Coast or the coast of Benoa Bay. Thus, communication carried out through messages, both words and actions, is a process of meaning formation that starts from within to influence the Kedonganan indigenous community at large so that the indigenous community group becomes more solid. Communication has several principles related to the formation of meaning that involve other people, such as society, in a broad context.

**CONCLUSION**

Communication behavior is an act of communication that is visible in interaction through the use of words (verbal) and body language (nonverbal) as a response to the surrounding environment. The local community's opposition to the planned reclamation project in Benoa Bay was based on an interpersonal communication process carried out between the youth and the ForBali community, then the ForBali coordinator with the Bendesa Adat and the Bendesa Adat with the Kedonganan community directly so that effective communication was formed. The message conveyed is to maintain the characteristics of traditional villages given from generation to generation from the threat of reclamation. Interpreting this message produces a subtle social movement by upholding the principle of
communication starting from the individual (self) and involving others, such as society, in a broader context.

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