

Analyzing Transnational Advocacy Networks Strategy in the Celukan Bawang Steam Power Plant Rejection Movement

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ABSTRAC: This study aims to analyze the strategy of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) in the rejection movement against the Celukan Bawang Steam Power Plant (SPP) in Bali. Using a qualitative method and a case study approach, the research draws on secondary sources including academic publications, civil society reports, media coverage, and court decisions related to the environmental permit dispute. The analysis identifies local, national, and transnational actors involved in the movement and examines their use of the four TANs strategy proposed by Keck and Sikkink: Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics. The findings show that the movement evolved from a local resistance into a broader advocacy network through collaboration among affected communities, environmental NGOs such as Greenpeace, media organizations, and intellectual actors. Information and symbolic strategies played a central role in raising public awareness, while leverage politics enhanced moral pressure on government authorities. However, accountability politics did not lead to policy change due to limited institutional responsiveness. This study highlights both the potential and the constraints of transnational advocacy within developing-country governance contexts and underscores the need to strengthen legal foundations and public participation in environmental decision-making.

KEYWORDS: environmental politics; Celukan Bawang SPP; social movements; transnational advocacy networks

I. INTRODUCTION

Energy availability is a central concern in contemporary global development discourse. Rapid population growth and economic expansion have intensified energy demand worldwide (Albertus, 2021). Indonesia mirrors this trend: with a population reaching 272.69 million in 2021 (BPS, 2022), national electricity demand has continued to rise sharply, reaching 1,728 TWh (Direktorat Jenderal Energi Baru Terbarukan dan Konservasi Energi, 2021).

To address this demand, the Indonesian government has accelerated the construction of power plants. However, not all projects receive community support. In many cases, infrastructure development prioritizes elite or investor interests, placing local communities at a disadvantage and generating prolonged conflict (Muzni & Utari, 2017). This dynamic is evident in the case of the Celukan Bawang Steam Power Plant (Celukan Bawang SPP) in Bali.

Construction of the plant, carried out from 2002 to 2013, was marked by unresolved land compensation and local opposition. Despite incomplete payments and an inadequate environmental impact assessment (AMDAL), the plant began operating in 2015, and further expansion in 2016 intensified controversy. Communities reported declining air quality, reduced agricultural yields, and drastic decreases in fish catches. Early resistance remained small due to the plant's remote location, but the movement gained significant momentum when Greenpeace joined in 2018, providing legal assistance and amplifying the issue nationally and internationally.

The Celukan Bawang case is a compelling example of how a local environmental conflict can evolve into a transnational advocacy effort. This research therefore examines the strategy used by the actors opposing the plant's expansion, situating the analysis within the Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) framework. It also highlights the broader implications of environmental advocacy in developing-country contexts, where legal and political structures shape activist outcome.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Literature Review

Previous studies for research are important to confirm the novelty of the research. In this paper, the literature review is grouped into two clusters, namely (1) social movements in environmental conflicts and (2) transnational advocacy networks (TANs). Research on social movements has long examined how communities mobilize in response to grievances, particularly when state

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policies negatively affect their welfare. Hardinia (2014) demonstrates how local resistance to the Batang SPP was strengthened by civil society participation, including NGOs such as Greenpeace. These findings underscore the importance of alliances between communities and non-state actors. Nizmi (2018) discusses how power asymmetries shape transnational activism, noting that states often maintain structural advantages even when facing international pressure. This insight helps contextualize why environmental movements in Indonesia may struggle to achieve policy change despite international support.

The case study of the Celukan Bawang SPP in Yuliantari (2025) similarly illustrates patterns of resistance. As described in the article, local communities, together with organizations such as Greenpeace, challenged the environmental permit for the Celukan Bawang power plant due to the lack of public involvement in the AMDAL process and the absence of meaningful participation. The lawsuit was rejected by the Denpasar Administrative Court on the grounds that no concrete scientific evidence of harm existed—an important finding that reveals a gap between substantive justice and the application of positive law in environmental protection. Furthermore, Yuliantari (2025) emphasizes the role of the precautionary principle and the necessity of public participation in preventing ecological harm. This perspective aligns with the broader literature on social movements, which asserts that environmental conflicts are not merely technical issues but questions of ecological justice and the right of communities to a healthy environment. Thus, previous literature has not explicitly examined how local movements such as that in Celukan Bawang can transform into transnational advocacy networks through mechanisms of collaboration, information production, and the mobilization of international support.

Studies by Novaradila and Utomo (2022) and Virgy et al. (2020) apply Keck and Sikkink's transnational advocacy network framework to examine Greenpeace's advocacy efforts, respectively in environmental cases in Riau and in forest deforestation linked to Wilmar International. Keck and Sikkink's (1999) TAN framework highlights how activists across borders coordinate through shared values, information exchange, and political strategies. Key strategies include : information politics by producing and disseminating politically relevant information; symbolic politics by using symbolic acts and narratives to build support; leverage politics by mobilizing powerful allies to pressure decision-makers; and accountability politics by demanding that authorities uphold stated commitments.

Studies by Novaradila & Utomo (2022) and Virgy et al. (2020) show how TANs respond to ecological issues in Indonesia; however, they do not address the Celukan Bawang case. This research fills that gap by examining how local, national, and international actors interacted within a TAN to challenge the SPP expansion.

This study offers novelty by demonstrating how a local grassroots movement in Celukan Bawang evolved into a Transnational Advocacy Network (TAN) involving the media, academics, and international organizations such as Greenpeace. Existing studies on TANs in Indonesia generally focus on national or global issues; thus, this research provides a new perspective on how local dynamics can attract transnational actors.

B. Theoretical Framework

Social Movement

In analysing social movements, scholars emphasise that these phenomena are inherently dynamic, emerging from shifting social conditions and characterised by diverse actors and orientations. This dynamism creates analytical challenges, as noted in paradigm theory, where Kuhn conceptualises paradigms as frameworks through which researchers interpret problems within a field (Rusmanto, 2013).

Historically, social movement studies evolved from classical and neoclassical approaches (1930s–1960s), often referred to as “old” social movement theories, toward the “new social movement” paradigm emerging in the 1960s–1970s in the United States and Western Europe. The classical tradition largely responded to democratic upheavals, such as World War II, whereas new social movement scholars examined movements oriented toward civil rights, welfare, and poverty alleviation.

Within this evolution, Robert Ted Gurr's (1971) theory of relative deprivation provides an important foundation. Gurr argues that collective action arises when individuals perceive a gap between expected and actual conditions, producing dissatisfaction, anger, and the potential for rebellion. Such grievances motivate individuals to align with others and form movements, particularly when deprivation remains unaddressed (in Rusmanto, 2013).

Transnational Advocacy Network

Keck and Sikkink (1999) define Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) as activist coalitions bound by shared values and common aims that facilitate cross-border cooperation through the exchange of information and support. TANs typically emerge to advance the rights and interests of marginalised groups, directing their advocacy toward government institutions as primary policy targets. Local NGOs often collaborate with international counterparts to amplify their influence, a strategy conceptualised as the *boomerang pattern*, wherein external pressure is mobilised when domestic advocacy channels are blocked. While this strategy has succeeded in certain cases, TAN mobilisation does not always guarantee policy change.

Actors within TANs may include domestic and international NGOs, local social movements, the media, religious organisations, unions, intellectuals, and governmental bodies. However, not all networks involve the full range of actors; research indicates that domestic and regional NGOs frequently play central roles as initiators and agenda-setters.

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To compensate for their limited formal power, TANs employ four key tactics (Keck & Sikkink, 1999): Information Politics (strategic use of information to shape political outcomes), Symbolic Politics (mobilising symbols and narratives to build broad support), Leverage Politics (calling upon more powerful external actors to exert influence), and Accountability Politics (pressuring authorities to honour previously stated commitments). Framing processes are also essential, as Snow et al. (1986) describe frame alignment as the construction of meaning to motivate collective action.

This study applies the TANs framework to analyze the strategy used by the rejection movement carried out on the development of Celukan Bawang SPP. The analysis focuses on how the movement employs Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics in mobilizing local and transnational support.

III. METHOD

This research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach. The case examined in this study is the rejection movement against the development of the Celukan Bawang SPP. Data were collected through a literature review using secondary sources related to the topic, including scholarly journals on civil society and social movements, transnational advocacy networks, and resistance to various steam power plants in Indonesia; court decisions from the State Administrative Court in Denpasar and the Supreme Court; official government websites such as Statistics Indonesia and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources; as well as online and printed articles discussing the opposition to the Celukan Bawang SPP. The scope of this research is limited to the movement opposing the development of the Celukan Bawang SPP from its initial emergence in 2015 until 2020. The analysis results are presented as interpretative descriptions compiled in a written report.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Actors In Celukan Bawang SPP Rejection Movement

The Celukan Bawang rejection movement brought together a diverse constellation of actors, including local fishermen and coconut farmers, youth groups, Greenpeace, YLBHI, student organizations, and media outlets such as Mongabay, BaleBengong, Watchdoc, and Reuters. Through their interconnected activities—ranging from legal action and public mobilization to media amplification—these actors formed a loose yet impactful advocacy network that collectively challenged the expansion of the Celukan Bawang SPP.

Domestic and International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO)

Greenpeace, an Amsterdam-based INGO focusing on environmental protection, has operated in Indonesia since 2005 and became formally involved in the Celukan Bawang resistance movement in 2018. Together with the local residents, represented by I Ketut Mangku Wijana, Baidi Sufarlan, and I Putu Gede Astawa, who work as fishermen and entrepreneurs, Greenpeace filed a lawsuit on 16 August 2018 against PT PLTU Celukan Bawang and the Governor of Bali for failing to meet environmental assessment standards, violating the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) standards, and causing ecological harm.

The Denpasar District Court rejected the lawsuit due to incomplete plaintiff identity information and recommended that the local residents file their claims independently rather than in cooperation with Greenpeace (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2023). A subsequent appeal to the Supreme Court on 16 April 2020 was also dismissed on the basis of insufficient legal grounds. Beyond litigation, Greenpeace carried out symbolic actions, including sailing the Rainbow Warrior ship to Celukan Bawang and raising banners reading “END COAL, GO RENEWABLE” (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2018b).

Local Social Movement

Local resistance involved fishermen, coconut farmers, and youth groups who had long experienced unresolved land compensation issues and negative environmental impacts following the Celukan Bawang SPP's initial construction. Residents reported declining fish stocks from 300 buckets to only 10–15 per day, significant reductions in coconut harvests from 1,000 pieces per harvest to only 150–250 pieces per harvest and the disruption of residents' health due to the dust of the SPP. Complaints were submitted to the Buleleng Environmental Agency in 2015, and local testimonies were later documented by Watchdoc (2019).

This resistance represents the community's opposition to the expansion of the Celukan Bawang SPP, which has generated numerous adverse impacts on their environment and livelihoods. Together with Greenpeace, residents pursued legal action in 2018 and subsequently appealed to the Supreme Court in 2020, although both efforts were dismissed due to insufficient legal standing to sue.

Foundations

Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (YLBHI), founded in 1970 by Adnan Buyung Nasution (YLBHI, 2023) served as legal counsel for the lawsuit filed by local communities and Greenpeace on 16 August 2018 against the Celukan Bawang SPP and the Governor of Bali (Direktori Putusan Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia, 2018). YLBHI again represented them in their Supreme Court appeal on 16 April 2020 (Direktori Putusan Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia, 2020).

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Media

Several media outlets, such as BaleBengong, Mongabay, and Watchdoc, played a crucial role in amplifying the movement. BaleBengong provided citizen journalism coverage like the information about the demands made by the community and the impact given by Celukan Bawang SPP to the community (Balebengong, 2023). While Mongabay reported on environmental impacts, legal developments, and project financing of Celukan Bawang SPP (Muhajir, 2018a). Watchdoc produced investigative documentaries featuring affected fishermen and coconut farmers (Watchdoc Image, 2019). Reuters a British media, reported Celukan Bawang SPP's rejection by interviewing Astawa, a fisherman affected by the SPP. Astawa said that the Celukan Bawang SPP has polluted the sea and decreased the fish obtained dramatically (Taylor, 2018).

Intellectuals

Intellectual actors involved in the movement included BEM FISIP Udayana University and Pers Akademika Udayana University (Udayana, 2023). BEM FISIP collaborated with Greenpeace Indonesia's climate and energy campaigner Didit Haryo, Udayana University lecturer Gede Kamajaya, the head of YBHII's Bali office, Dewa Putu Adnyana, local residents, and Walhi Bali to conduct a socialization session aimed at increasing students' understanding of the environmental impacts of SPPs. This initiative was followed by an academic review and a direct action at the Celukan Bawang SPP site (Suryantala, 2018). Meanwhile, Pers Akademika conducted interviews with Celukan Bawang youth regarding the impacts they faced and their disappointment with the court decisions at both the Denpasar District Court and the Supreme Court (Pers Akademika, 2020).

Executive and/or Legislative Branches of Government

Government responses were mixed. A member of the Buleleng Regency legislative, Mulyadi, publicly acknowledged worsening socio-economic impacts and urged postponement of the SPP expansion until the contractor resolved the problems (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2018b). However, institutional action remained limited, as reflected in consecutive court rejections of the community's lawsuits.

In theory, social movements emerge as collective responses to issues affecting society. This dynamic is evident in the Celukan Bawang SPP case, where the plant's negative environmental, economic, and health impacts generated widespread opposition. Environmentally, emissions from the plant contributed to declining air quality; economically, fishermen experienced reduced catches and coconut farmers reported significant decreases in crop yields; and the resulting pollution also affected residents' health. These conditions prompted various actors—including coconut farmers, fishermen, Greenpeace, YLBHI, BEM FISIP, Mongabay, Watchdoc, Reuters, and BaleBengong—to mobilize. Consistent with New Social Movement theory, these actors united to defend community rights and address forms of socio-economic marginalization.

B. Strategy Of Transnational Advocacy Networks in The Rejection Of Celukan Bawang SPP

The rejection movement against the Celukan Bawang SPP demonstrates how diverse actors—ranging from local communities to international organizations—mobilized through the strategic mechanisms outlined in Keck and Sikkink's (1999) Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs). TANs typically operate by deploying a set of tactical approaches designed to generate political pressure, shape public discourse, and hold authorities accountable for their commitments. In the Celukan Bawang case, these strategies were activated as local grievances escalated into transnational concerns, enabling the movement to draw upon broader networks of support. The following sections analyze how the actors involved in this resistance utilized the four core TANs strategies—Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics—to challenge the expansion of the Celukan Bawang SPP and to influence governmental decision-making.

Information Politics

According to Keck and Sikkink (2002), the capacity to gather and disseminate information—often unavailable through conventional channels—is a core strength of transnational advocacy networks. Information exchanges link network members across different regions and are strategically used to advance shared values and common objectives. Such information may derive from research, interviews, official documents, reports, and media coverage. In addition to factual data, advocacy networks utilise personal testimonies from affected communities, framing these narratives in ways that evoke moral urgency and shape public perception, particularly among audiences distant from the site of the conflict.

In the Celukan Bawang SPP expansion movement, Information Politics was prominently employed by Greenpeace, BaleBengong, and Mongabay. These actors used their organisational capacities to gather evidence, document community impacts, and circulate information to the wider public. By raising awareness of the environmental and social harms associated with the SPP, they aimed to mobilise public support and increase pressure on the Governor of Bali and PT PLTU Celukan Bawang to halt the expansion.

As an INGO, Greenpeace implemented Information Politics through the publication of investigative reports and articles. In its report *Meracuni Pulau Dewata* (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2018a), Greenpeace detailed the social and economic losses experienced by local residents and highlighted the community's attempts to oppose the project. Throughout 2018, Greenpeace also released several news articles documenting community resistance and the unfolding advocacy efforts.

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Media organisations played a crucial role in amplifying these narratives. Mongabay has consistently reported on the Celukan Bawang case since 2015, beginning with coverage of community complaints submitted to the Buleleng Environmental Agency regarding waste disposal issues (Kertaraharja, 2015a). Mongabay continued its reporting through the 2016 expansion phase and beyond, publishing extensive coverage up to 2022. BaleBengong likewise contributed by publishing news stories and community-authored commentaries expressing concern and resistance toward the Celukan Bawang SPP.

Intellectual actors, including the Student Executive Board of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (BEM FISIP) and Pers Akademia Udayana University, also participated in Information Politics. BEM FISIP organised an open discussion involving FISIP lecturers, Greenpeace Indonesia, the Bali Legal Aid Institute (LBH), affected residents, and Walhi Bali. This event aimed to increase students' understanding of the environmental impacts of SPPs and stimulate academic engagement with the issue. Pers Akademia contributed by reporting on youth involvement in the resistance movement and documenting their experiences.

Collectively, these efforts illustrate how actors strategically framed information to shape public reactions—an essential component of Information Politics. Greenpeace's publications, the media coverage by Mongabay, BaleBengong, Reuters, and Pers Akademia, as well as the academic discussions facilitated by BEM FISIP Udayana University, all helped disseminate accumulated information to broader audiences, thereby fostering public sympathy and support for the resistance movement.

Symbolic Politics

Activists utilize symbolic techniques to explain the issues they want to advocate. They do this by giving new meaning to symbolic activities or customs that occur in society. Activists build narratives by identifying and providing convincing explanations of symbolic events that have a strong impact. Symbolic interpretation is one of the persuasion processes used by transnational advocacy networks to create awareness and expand support (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). Efforts to shape interpretations are not carried out in one or two forms of symbolic action but are carried out in certain patterns to encourage the public to change their views and take action. The labeling and framing of issues in symbolic form to change public perception of the symbol can be referred to as Symbolic Politics.

Greenpeace brought the Rainbow Warrior ship to Celukan Bawang. Bearing a name derived from the prophecy of the Cree Indian Tribe from the United States, the Rainbow Warrior sails the oceans as a form of resistance to environmental crimes globally (Greenpeace, 2011). The arrival of the Rainbow Warrior in Celukan Bawang was welcomed by the local community, who held a Hindu ceremony on the ship. The Celukan Bawang community sailed with Rainbow Warrior in the Celukan Bawang area as a form of Greenpeace solidarity in the effort to reject the expansion of Celukan Bawang SPP (BaleBengong, 2018). Rainbow Warrior is often used by Greenpeace as a symbol of resistance to environmental damage around the world and now its presence in Celukan Bawang brings the spirit of togetherness given by Greenpeace to the Celukan Bawang community.

In addition to Greenpeace, the rejection movement was also carried out by BEM FISIP and Watchdoc. Continuing the results of the previous discussion, BEM FISIP together with other students held a demonstration to reject the expansion of Celukan Bawang SPP. The Watchdoc production house also showed their resistance by making a documentary video entitled *Sexy Killers* (Watchdoc, 2019) which tells the story of several SPPs in Indonesia - one of which is Celukan Bawang SPP- and its environmental impacts. This proves that the presence of the Rainbow Warrior from Greenpeace, the demonstration from BEM FISIP, and the documentary from WatchDoc prove that their presence produces a symbolic political action.

Leverage Politics

Activists within international advocacy networks prioritise political effectiveness, which refers to their capacity to influence policy change in governments, international institutions, and transnational corporations. Achieving such influence requires convincing and mobilising actors who possess greater power or authority (Keck & Sikkink, 2002). By securing the involvement of stronger actors, transnational advocacy networks (TANs) enhance their ability to pressure decision-makers. Keck and Sikkink (2002) identify two principal forms of leverage: Material Leverage and Moral Leverage.

Material Leverage involves linking an issue to other concerns—often related to economic resources, funding, or material consequences—in order to persuade powerful actors to act. Moral Leverage, by contrast, seeks to pressure influential actors by exposing contradictions between their professed values and their actions; because powerful actors often seek to preserve legitimacy and moral authority, such reputational risks can motivate policy change.

In the Celukan Bawang case, the community undertook several efforts to gain support from more influential actors. One such effort involved appealing to legislative representatives. The Chairman of Commission II of the Buleleng DPRD, Putu Mangku Budiasa, stated that he had requested a postponement of the SPP's inauguration until local grievances were resolved, though these efforts did not yield substantive results (Kertaraharja, 2015c). Similarly, DPRD member Mulyadi noted attempts to summon the plant's directors, but acknowledged that their capacity to intervene was constrained because key permits—including the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)—were issued at the provincial level, limiting local legislative authority to address the issue (Greenpeace Indonesia, 2018a). Although supportive, legislative actors ultimately lacked the institutional power necessary to effect significant change.

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The community had voiced concerns since the plant began operations in 2015, reporting environmental and livelihood impacts to the Environmental Agency, though these early complaints produced no meaningful response (Kertaraharja, 2015b). Despite ongoing media coverage, the issue remained relatively marginal until Greenpeace released its 2018 report, which significantly broadened public attention and enabled the community to escalate the matter into legal proceedings.

The Celukan Bawang community's attempts to mobilise governmental actors illustrate the use of Material Leverage—seeking institutional authority to strengthen their bargaining position. Complementing this, Greenpeace's involvement generated substantial Moral Leverage. As a prominent transnational environmental organisation, Greenpeace amplified the legitimacy of the community's claims and drew national and international attention, including coverage by global media such as Reuters. This support increased reputational pressure on the plant's operators and government authorities by raising questions about environmental accountability and governance.

Through these combined efforts, the Celukan Bawang movement demonstrates how local actors strategically utilized both Material and Moral Leverage to strengthen their resistance against the SPP expansion, consistent with the mechanisms described by Keck and Sikkink (2002).

Accountability Politics

According to Keck and Sikkink (1999), once Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs) succeed in influencing policy commitments, they must ensure that governments honour these commitments and do not abandon their stated responsibilities. TANs employ Accountability Politics by using information to expose inconsistencies between governmental statements and actual practices, thereby generating public pressure for authorities to fulfil their obligations.

In the case of resistance to the Celukan Bawang SPP, Greenpeace and the local community sought to obtain government accountability through formal legal mechanisms facilitated by LBH Bali. Together with three community representatives, Greenpeace submitted a lawsuit to the Denpasar Administrative Court (PTUN), challenging the Governor of Bali—who issued the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) permit—and the directors of the Celukan Bawang SPP. After the PTUN rejected the complaint, the advocacy network pursued an appeal to the Supreme Court; however, the appeal was also dismissed, and the court found no legal basis to support the plaintiffs' claims.

Although the advocacy network attempted to engage in Accountability Politics, their efforts were hindered by the absence of enforceable government commitments and the limitations of the legal process. Without a clear legal foundation to compel compliance, the network lacked the leverage necessary to pressure government actors or the company to address the community's concerns. Nonetheless, these actions demonstrate that attempts to pursue Accountability Politics were made, even if they did not produce the desired outcomes.

C. Analysis

The resistance to the Celukan Bawang SPP expansion demonstrates how a localised environmental conflict operates simultaneously as a New Social Movement and a Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs). From a new social movement perspective, the mobilisation emerged from concerns over environmental degradation, threats to community health, and the erosion of local livelihoods—issues central to identity, quality of life, and ecological justice rather than material redistribution. Fishermen, coconut farmers, youth groups, and students mobilised not through formal political structures but through shared experiences of harm, cultural expression, and growing environmental awareness, illustrating the new social movement emphasis on lifestyle politics, identity formation, and symbolic meaning.

At the same time, the involvement of Greenpeace, YLBHI, national media, and international outlets such as Reuters transformed this local struggle into a transnational advocacy effort, reflecting TANs dynamics. The use of Information Politics—through Greenpeace reports, Mongabay coverage, BaleBengong publications, Watchdoc documentaries, and student journalism—converted dispersed testimonies into politically actionable knowledge, strengthening both movement legitimacy and collective identity. Symbolic Politics, exemplified by the arrival of the Rainbow Warrior, student demonstrations, and the *Sexy Killers* documentary, created compelling narratives that linked the Celukan Bawang conflict to broader global struggles against coal dependency, thereby increasing emotional resonance and public visibility.

The movement also relied on Leverage Politics, using Greenpeace's international reputation, media attention, and legislative engagement to amplify local demands. This reflects Keck and Sikkink's argument that less powerful actors seek "stronger allies" to pressure state authorities. However, efforts to pursue Accountability Politics—through lawsuits against the Governor of Bali and the SPP directors—were impeded by weak institutional responsiveness, resulting in repeated legal dismissals. This outcome highlights structural constraints typical of developing-country contexts, where governmental commitments are difficult to enforce even when advocacy networks successfully mobilise.

Overall, the Celukan Bawang case illustrates a hybrid new social movement –TANs mobilization. New social movement dynamics account for the cultural, identity-based, and community-driven foundations of the movement, while TANs strategy theory explains how these local grievances were elevated through national and transnational alliances. The resulting advocacy network clearly reflects the characteristics of a transnational advocacy network, as demonstrated by the involvement of cross-border actors

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and the use of strategies identified by Keck and Sikkink (1999)—including Information, Symbolic, Leverage, and Accountability Politics—to pressure the government in line with shared values and principles. The distinctive feature of this network lies in the ability of a highly localized resistance to attract cooperation from international actors such as Greenpeace. Nevertheless, the participation of these actors has not yet produced meaningful policy change for the community, highlighting the structural challenges faced by TANs operating in governance environments with weak accountability mechanisms. Our findings further indicate that the movement's limited success does not stem from inadequate mobilization but rather from the absence of governmental legal commitment, thereby enriching scholarly discussions on the weaknesses of accountability politics in developing-country contexts. This finding contributes to the literature by demonstrating both the potential and limitations of new social movement - and TANs-driven environmental advocacy in Indonesia.

V. CONCLUSIONS

This study demonstrates that the rejection movement against the Celukan Bawang Steam Power Plant (SPP) represents a hybrid mobilisation combining the characteristics of New Social Movements and Transnational Advocacy Networks. New Social Movements dynamics explain the cultural, identity-based, and community-driven foundations of the movement, wherein local actors mobilised in response to environmental degradation, threats to health, and declining livelihoods. TANs strategy theory, in turn, illustrates how these local grievances were elevated through national and transnational alliances, enabling the movement to employ Information Politics, Symbolic Politics, Leverage Politics, and Accountability Politics as identified by Keck and Sikkink. The resulting advocacy network reflects the defining features of TANs: community members, NGOs, media outlets, intellectuals, and international actors such as Greenpeace coordinated their efforts to pressure government authorities and challenge the SPP expansion. A distinctive aspect of this case is the ability of a highly localised environmental struggle to attract cross-border support. Nevertheless, despite strong mobilisation, these efforts have not yet produced meaningful policy change, primarily due to weak governmental commitment and limited accountability mechanisms.

Practically, the findings suggest that the effectiveness of environmental advocacy efforts depends heavily on strong legal foundations. NGOs and local communities should therefore strengthen legal preparedness from the outset, including ensuring the completeness of documentation and securing adequate legal representation. Local governments may draw on these insights to improve licensing procedures and enhance the transparency of environmental impact assessments (AMDAL) to prevent prolonged conflicts. Media actors can also assume a more strategic role as intermediaries that connect affected communities with the wider public. Collectively, these implications provide a basis for designing more responsive and equitable environmental advocacy strategies and policies.

This study is not without limitations. First, its reliance on secondary data restricts the ability to capture the motivations and internal dynamics of government and corporate actors directly. Second, the temporal scope ends in 2020, excluding more recent developments that may have influenced the movement's trajectory. Third, while the TANs framework offers a clear analytical focus, it limits engagement with alternative theoretical approaches that might yield additional perspectives. These limitations open opportunities for future research. Subsequent studies may extend the analysis by incorporating developments after 2020 to assess whether the movement adopted new strategies or engaged with additional networks. Future research could also include in-depth interviews with provincial government officials, members of the regional parliament and SPP management to obtain a more balanced understanding of decision-making processes. Comparative studies involving other coal power plant cases in Indonesia or Greenpeace campaigns in different countries could deepen insights into the effectiveness of TANs across varying political contexts.

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