

## **Narratives and Green Policy Implementation: A Case Study of the Sea Defence Project in Indonesia**

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### **Abstract**

The research aims to evaluate the implementation of the green policy concept in environmental management through a case study of sea fences in the Tangerang and Bekasi regions of Indonesia based on mass media. This project has received criticism from various parties because it is considered to cause many problems, especially in terms of Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA). The research method uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive approach on databases from the mass media. The data source was obtained from online news reporting on the sea fence case, which was then captured through the capture feature. Data analysis used Commissioned Qualitative Data Software (CAQDS) with the help of the NVivo 12plus device. The data analysis process uses coding techniques to identify narratives originating from three leading actors: the government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the public. The results of the crosstab analysis show that government actors dominate the narrative (54%), followed by the public (25%) and NGOs (20%). The study results show that the dominance of

the government's narrative is even ironically involved in the issuance of 263 problematic Building Rights (HGB) certificates in the project. This project impacts the destruction of marine ecosystems, loss of aquatic life habitat, coastal abrasion, and loss of livelihood of more than 3,800 fishermen, with economic losses of up to Rp24 billion. From the results of this study, the implementation of green policy in the sea fence project shows serious failures, especially in the aspects of supervision, transparency, and law enforcement. Therefore, firm action is needed from environmental violators to realise an innovative environment in a sustainable manner.

**Keywords:** *Smart Environment; Green Policy; Sea Defence Project.*

## **1. Introduction**

In recent years, climate change and environmental degradation have become global issues that have prompted countries to implement more environmentally friendly policies (He et al., 2021; Malau, 2024). Reducing the negative impact caused by human actions on the environment is a response to the concept of green policy (Chandra et al., 2024). The public policy approach known as green policy emphasises using environmentally friendly technology in various development sectors, energy efficiency, natural resource conservation, and carbon emission reduction (Anzarach, 2024). Developing countries, including Indonesia, use these policies to support sustainable development and global agendas such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Barokah, 2025; Kogi et al., 2025).

The implementation of environmental governance plays a vital role in realising a specific green policy (Kriswibowo, 2023). The decision-making, regulation, and involvement process involves various actors in ecological management, including government, the private sector, and civil society (He et al., 2021; Mulyani, 2025). As good environmental governance, it is necessary to ensure that development policies and projects consider the rights of the affected communities and the sustainability of the ecosystem (Rindang Saylendra, Ratu Dian Latifah, Naurah Qanitah Dzakhirah, Edra Satmaidi, 2025). Lack of oversight, overlapping regulations, and public participation in Indonesia are often challenges in environmental governance, especially in national strategic projects that significantly impact the living space of coastal communities and marine ecosystems (Nurma Yunita, Rulyanti Susi Wardhani, Michzan Arobi, 2024).

Although Setyo Amirullah's research has highlighted the weaknesses of public participation and the inconsistency of the construction of sea fences with the provisions of laws and regulations, this study has not

empirically evaluated the extent to which community participation actually takes place, has not quantitatively mapped the socio-ecological impacts, and has not examined how synergy between formal regulations and local wisdom can be implemented so that the rights of coastal communities and the sustainability of the ecosystem are more guaranteed (Amirullah, 2025).

The case of the Pagar Laut project, which was implemented in various coastal areas of Indonesia, is a clear example (Salsabila et al., 2025). The Marine Fence Case project aims to prevent abrasion and flooding (Ummu Aemanah, 2025). Despite the urgency of protecting coastal areas from the impacts of climate change, the project has been criticised by academics, environmental activists, and local communities. From an ecological point of view, the Pagar Laut project is considered to ignore sustainability principles such as in-depth environmental impact analysis (EIA), damage to coral reefs and mangrove ecosystems, and a lack of participation of coastal communities in the planning process (E. B. Wibowo & Fahroji, 2024). This raises important questions about how much the project complies with the principles of good environmental governance and green legislation (Ulfa et al., 2025).

In the current era, one of the sources of the debate on the sea fence case is the national media. The impact of social media on news has implications for the rapid transfer of information to the public, leaving traditional old media behind. (Huang et al., 2021). This is supported by content from the mass media, which is currently making headlines in the public space, and the credibility of the audience is based on implicit awareness (Priadi & Thariq, 2023; Salaudeen & Onyechi, 2020). One of the news items that can be accessed and become a public conversation is about the social movement of a society that talks about a certain topic (Brändle et al., 2022; Earl et al., 2022; Etter & Albu, 2021). Therefore, this correlates with the topic of discussion regarding the case of installing a sea fence, which has become a hot topic and is being discussed by the public and the media. Through this mass media, the public can gather information about the development of this case and how it affects the surrounding environment (ecological aspect).

To assess the consistency between green policies, environmental governance, and project implementation in the field, evaluating marine fence case projects in Indonesia is very important, using an innovative environmental approach in modern ecological governance. This concept relates to using digital technologies, environmental sensors, and geographic information systems (GIS) to improve monitoring, reduce risk, and encourage community participation in ecosystem conservation

(Ramaano, 2024, 2025; Sobirin & Widiartin, 2024). Smart environment-based evaluations protect coastal areas physically and ensure that every infrastructure effort, such as sea fencing, is carried out using spatial data, climate predictions, and real-time marine ecosystem interactions (Kottala et al., 2025; Wulan Santoso, 2024).

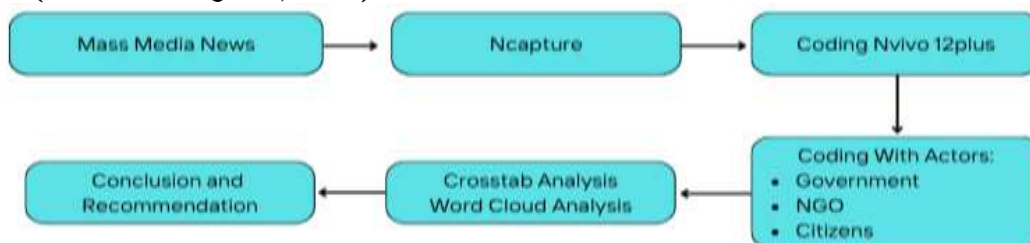
There has been no technology (intelligent monitoring) for monitoring air quality, sedimentation or tracking the impact of development on marine biota populations in the case of sea fences. Gaps in project oversight are caused by a lack of transparent environmental data and information systems. (Syuaib & Lamandasa, 2025). In this case, the smart environment principle is one of the strategic steps to build a participatory and evidence-based evaluation system. This is also in line with the principles of e-governance in environmental management, which is transparent, accountable, and data-driven decision-making (Rohman, 2025; Wu et al., 2023).

The application of a smart environment in the evaluation of sea fence projects also involves various stakeholders of digital platforms (Astri et al., 2025). Coastal communities, historians, and NGOs can participate in monitoring changes in environmental conditions in real time by providing an environmental dashboard that is accessible to the public (Rifka.S.Akibu, 2025). Technologies like the Internet of Things (IoT), drones connecting coastlines, and high-resolution satellite images can bring together changing landscapes and find potential damage (Bayomi & Fernandez, 2023; Vitousek et al., 2023). Thus, cross-sector collaboration and data transparency will strengthen evidence-based oversight and make the construction of sea fences more responsive to the local environment. Evaluating marine fence case projects in Indonesia is essential to assess the consistency between green policies, environmental governance, and project implementation on the ground. This research will produce policy recommendations that are more equitable and sustainable, and focus on ecosystem sustainability and the protection of the rights of affected communities.

## **2. Research Method**

This study uses qualitative methods with a descriptive analysis approach from the mass media. A descriptive approach was chosen to explore the narrative of the sea fence case from the perspective of the mass media. Research data was obtained from the mass media with news topics on the sea fence case. The data obtained from the mass media is then captured by the mass media. The next stage is the data that has been captured and then converted into PDF form and imported into the NVivo

12plus software. Then, after the data is imported into NVivo12plus, the data is classified into three narratives, namely NGOs, Government, and Society. Mass media news is captured and encoded into narratives according to the three sector classifications (Dyah Mutiarin, 2024). The highest intensity can then be seen from the results of the highest narrative percentage of the coding results from the NVivo software above. The NVivo 12plus software is used because it has features and a complete menu to see the activity of the narrative of the environmental destruction movement in the case of sea fences. The NVivo 12plus platform is Computer-Assigned Qualitative Data Software (CAQDS) NVivo 12plus (Sukarno & Qodir, 2023). Here is the flow of this research:



**Figure 1.** Research Flow  
Source: Processed by the author

**Table 1.** Data Source Mass Media

Mass Media	Link
Tempo	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/hukum/6-indikasi-pidana-kasus-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-1202505">https://www.tempo.co/hukum/6-indikasi-pidana-kasus-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-1202505</a>
	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/politik/kasus-pagar-laut-di-bekasi-belum-tuntas-1232267">https://www.tempo.co/politik/kasus-pagar-laut-di-bekasi-belum-tuntas-1232267</a>
	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/nusron-wahid-soal-kasus-pagar-laut-bolanya-di-aparat-hukum-1233751">https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/nusron-wahid-soal-kasus-pagar-laut-bolanya-di-aparat-hukum-1233751</a>
	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/pagar-laut-diduga-melibatkan-agung-sedayu-aguan-bungkam-walhi-minta-penegakan-hukum-1196677">https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/pagar-laut-diduga-melibatkan-agung-sedayu-aguan-bungkam-walhi-minta-penegakan-hukum-1196677</a>
	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/hukum/prabowo-sudah-perintah-bongkar-pakar-hukum-kpk-dan-kejaksaan-bisa-usut-kasus-pagar-laut--1197793">https://www.tempo.co/hukum/prabowo-sudah-perintah-bongkar-pakar-hukum-kpk-dan-kejaksaan-bisa-usut-kasus-pagar-laut--1197793</a>
Kompas	<a href="https://www.tempo.co/hukum/serba-serbi-naiknya-kasus-pagar-laut-tangerang-dan-bekasi-ke-penyidikan-1203797">https://www.tempo.co/hukum/serba-serbi-naiknya-kasus-pagar-laut-tangerang-dan-bekasi-ke-penyidikan-1203797</a>
	<a href="https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2025/03/06/14475381/digugat-warga-kohod-soal-pagar-laut-gubernur-banten-serahkan-ke-penegak">https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2025/03/06/14475381/digugat-warga-kohod-soal-pagar-laut-gubernur-banten-serahkan-ke-penegak</a>
	<a href="https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/04/16/14190451/kejagung-kembalikan-lagi-berkas-perkara-pagar-laut-tangerang-ke-bareskrim">https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/04/16/14190451/kejagung-kembalikan-lagi-berkas-perkara-pagar-laut-tangerang-ke-bareskrim</a>

Mass Media	Link
CNN	<a href="https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2025/01/23/061500865/klh-dan-dkp-banten-pastikan-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-termasuk-ilegal-apa?page=all">https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2025/01/23/061500865/klh-dan-dkp-banten-pastikan-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-termasuk-ilegal-apa?page=all</a>
	<a href="https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/04/11/16113321/pagar-laut-dan-kerugian-negara-yang-terabaikan?page=all">https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2025/04/11/16113321/pagar-laut-dan-kerugian-negara-yang-terabaikan?page=all</a>
	<a href="https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2025/01/23/061500865/klh-dan-dkp-banten-pastikan-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-termasuk-ilegal-apa?page=all">https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2025/01/23/061500865/klh-dan-dkp-banten-pastikan-pagar-laut-di-tangerang-termasuk-ilegal-apa?page=all</a>
	<a href="https://regional.kompas.com/read/2025/02/08/175558478/penegakan-hukum-kasus-pagar-laut-perlu-berdasar-data-dan-fakta">https://regional.kompas.com/read/2025/02/08/175558478/penegakan-hukum-kasus-pagar-laut-perlu-berdasar-data-dan-fakta</a>
	<a href="https://www.kompas.id/artikel/pagar-laut-bluewashing-dan-keadilan-akses-maritim">https://www.kompas.id/artikel/pagar-laut-bluewashing-dan-keadilan-akses-maritim</a>
	<a href="https://www.kompas.tv/regional/569850/polda-metro-jaya-sebut-belum-ada-unsur-pidana-dalam-kasus-pagar-laut-tangerang-ini-penjelasan">https://www.kompas.tv/regional/569850/polda-metro-jaya-sebut-belum-ada-unsur-pidana-dalam-kasus-pagar-laut-tangerang-ini-penjelasan</a>
	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20241022202557-12-1158496/hampir-sebulan-kenapa-belum-ada-yang-dipidana-di-kasus-pagar-laut">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20241022202557-12-1158496/hampir-sebulan-kenapa-belum-ada-yang-dipidana-di-kasus-pagar-laut</a>
	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250127103522-12-1191819/heran-mahfud-md-soal-pagar-laut-kok-tidak-ada-penegak-hukum-tegas">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250127103522-12-1191819/heran-mahfud-md-soal-pagar-laut-kok-tidak-ada-penegak-hukum-tegas</a>
	<a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250131183115-20-1193318/ramai-ramai-laporkan-pagar-laut-tangerang-ke-aparat-penegak-hukum">https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20250131183115-20-1193318/ramai-ramai-laporkan-pagar-laut-tangerang-ke-aparat-penegak-hukum</a>

Data sources are obtained from credible national mass media (Kompas, Tempo, and CNN). The three mass media were chosen because they are national media that are trusted in providing information to the public. Data obtained from the mass media with news of nature destruction, with the case of sea fences, by doing Ncapture. Data are taken from mass media news from sources that are relevant to the topic of this research. Data visualisation using crosstab analysis and word cloud analysis. Then, for the output of the data visualisation, namely the evaluation model of the green policy evaluation of the case of environmental destruction on the sea fence.

### 3. Results and Discussion

From the results of the crosstab analysis sourced from the national mass media, it was concluded that the narrative regarding the destruction of nature from the sea fence case showed that government actors occupied

the highest narrative, namely 54%, followed by citizens at 25% and NGO at 20%. From government actors, it can be seen that the media narrative explains that the Tangerang Sea Fence case turned out to be 18 kilometres long and suddenly stood above the sea. This contradicts the government's policy of campaigning for a new economy and sustainable development. Of course, the case of this sea fence is clear evidence of how not; this illegal project succeeded in standing without any reason for Environmental Impact Analysis (EIA) and did not fulfil ecological considerations (Pamulang, 2025).

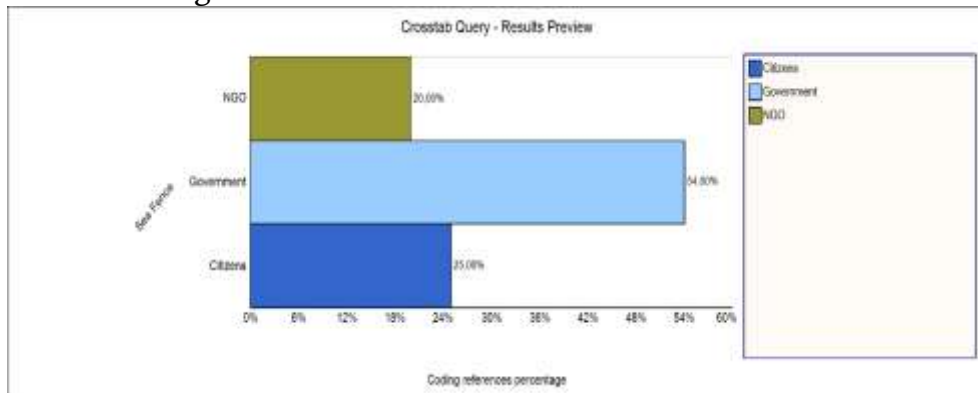
In Law Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management, it has been explained that there is a policy to protect the marine environment as stipulated in Article 63, paragraph (1) (Kadarudin et al., 2021). However, this sea fence construction project has gained legitimacy through the Building Rights (HGB) certificate, which is considered problematic and tends to show how the interests of these entrepreneurs are prioritised in terms of environmental sustainability. (Prayogo & Nasution, 2025: Cahyani, 2020: Mohammad & Lie, 2023).

Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning Nusron Wahid admitted that 263 HGB certificates were problematic. However, this was answered even with the arrest of the village heads and secretaries (Tempo, 2025). Meanwhile, the Banten Provincial government said "leave it to law enforcement", even though thousands of fishermen experienced billions of rupiah (Kompas, 2025). From this case, of course, it impacts the loss of fish migration, fishermen's livelihoods, and unstable coastal sedimentation. Explicitly, the interests of entrepreneurs and environmental sustainability must be combined so that they do not impact fishermen and the environment (Ramli, 2008: Johar, 2021).

From this case, it was found that officials had sacrificed the people for the sake of the rulers. Nusron Wahid's responsibility as the ATR BPN minister actually caused a stir. As the Minister of ATR, Nusron Wahid, even surprised everyone by admitting that his 263 HGB certificates were problematic (Singgih, 2025). But instead, he threw the responsibility to law enforcement rather than being transparent. To make matters worse, only the village chief and village secretary could be arrested by the police, while high-ranking officials and cukongs who might have been involved in the matter were left at large (Kompas.com, 2025). Even though thousands of fishermen have suffered billions of rupiah losses, the governor can only say, "Leave it to law enforcement." The new President takes action after an accident (CNN, 2025).

This case shows a vivid example of how humble officials sacrifice the environment and small people for the benefit of a few individuals (Febriani

et al., 2021; As'ad et al., 2023). They play like cats, sharing tasks, while the fishermen who are victims continue to suffer. All parties involved, from the bottom to the top, must be judged decisively. It's not just the little people who are always the victims. The results of the research are illustrated in figure 2:



**Figure 2.** Crosstab Analysis Result  
Source: NVivo 12plus (2025)

In addition to the government voicing this, environmental NGOs such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) are also actively voicing the case of installing a sea fence, which suddenly worries the community (Tempo, 2025; Petriella, 2025). The installation of this sea fence is carried out by two companies that have two branches and have a Building Rights (HGB) certificate in the sea area. The companies are PT Intan Agung Makmur and PT Cahaya Inti Sentosa, which are considered companies that have violated the law (CNN, 2025; Tempo, 2025).

However, the actions taken by these ecological violators disrupt local communities due to the interests of these corporations (G. A. Wibowo et al., 2024). Walhi stated that the actions taken by this corporation have threatened the ecology and marine and coastal ecosystems, and caused obstruction of access to fishing or coastal communities when mobilising. In addition, it also has an impact on the damage to the dredging aquifer, which is the same process as the reclamation and installation of sea fences, and damages mangrove habitats, seagrass meadows, and fish spawning areas.

Another ecological effect is that land certificates that appear in the sea are considered legally invalid. Land rights in the sea area should have permits and legality that have been legitimised by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries and meet the rules of the Constitutional Court Decision Number 3 of 2010 and Article 65 paragraph (2) of Government



Regulation No. 18 of 2021 (Nugroho, 2019). The KKP is required to obey the administration, but is even suspected of violating spatial planning, and the area where the sea fence is installed does not have an official permit. In addition, according to the Banten Province RTRW, it was explained that the area planted by the sea fence was an aquaculture area rather than a property area (Tempo, 2025). This can be seen from the visualisation of the following sea fence project.



**Figure 3.** Visualisation of Sea Fence  
Source: CNN (2025)

However, they instead asked the government to stop cultivating land in the marine area, pursue the land mafia, and stop reclamation that endangers coastal communities and the environment. From the perspective of NGOs, the case of the sea fence has shown that weak governance of marine resources and the interests of corporations are more important than the interests of the people and the environment.

The sea fence project shows the contradiction between the principles of green environmental governance and the reality on the ground. Instead of prioritising caution, public participation, and ecosystem sustainability, this development actually destroys coastal habitats, limits fishermen's living space, and prioritises corporate interests. In addition to weak government supervision and assertiveness, the sea fence project shows that the goals of sustainable development and a smart environment are difficult to achieve (Maghribi et al., 2025).

The results above show that the application of a smart environment in the sea fence case indicates that the government is not serious about eradicating the mafia, both contractors and government actors within

themselves. The conception of a smart environment focuses on sustainable development and comfort of life (Nurlukman & Basit, 2023; Lega & Karim, 2020). This smart environment has the concept of a smart environment, attributes of innovation, and the role of the community. However, it is precisely from the results of the above approach that it can be seen that the community and NGOs loudly conveyed that this sea fence case caused a lot of harm to the environmental sector (Sembiring, 2022). This is also seen in the following figure 4:



**Figure 4.** Word Cloud Analysis  
Source: NVivo 12plus (2025)

This was also conveyed by people who voiced that in their areas in the coastal regions of Tangerang and Bekasi, which became a national operation related to the environment and economic conditions. The fence that stretches for 30.16 KM in Tangerang waters was built without a permit (Merdeka.com, 2025). However, community groups known as the Pantura People's Network (JRP) stated that ecological data in the field showed ecological problems and abrasion that caused coastal erosion and damaged the ecological ecosystems.



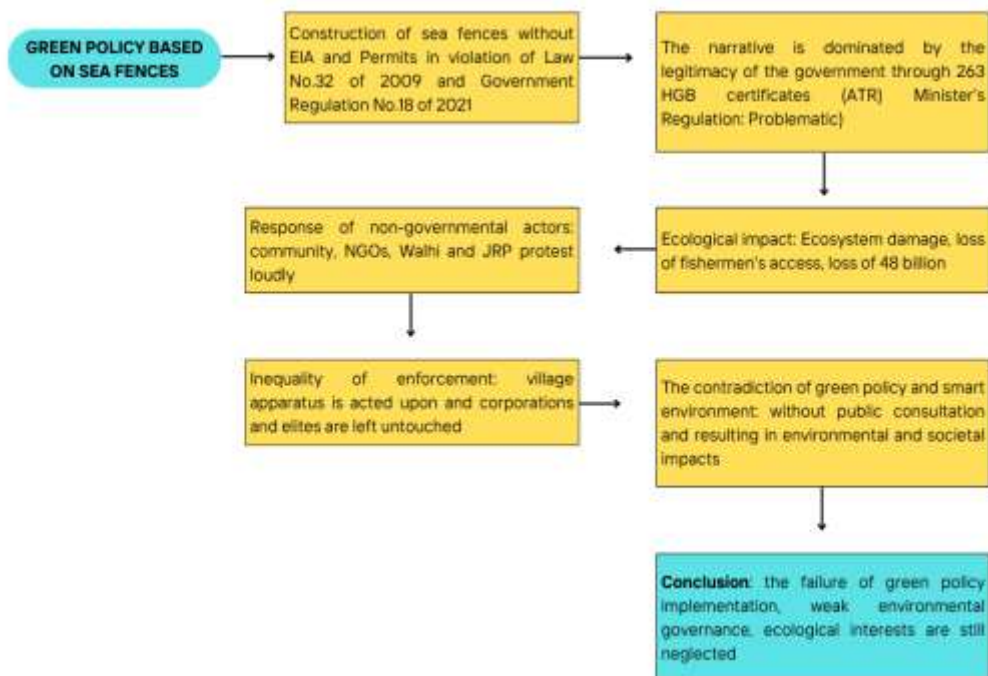
**Figure 5.** Banner from the Ministry of KKP  
Source: Antara News (2025)

The community also considers that this sea fence has also changed the ecosystem and the lives of coastal communities (Santoso, 2025). This is due to limited access to the sea, water movement routes, unnatural sedimentation, and marine space that does not function as a traditional fishing ground for thousands of fishermen in the vicinity. According to a report from Kompas, it is stated that there are at least 3,888 fishermen who are directly affected by the existence of the sea fence and economic losses, which are estimated to reach 24 billion. In addition, this action also includes illegal encroachment activities in public spaces that are supposed to protect natural resources but are actually destructive.

The company that installed the sea fence without a permit has been imposed an administrative sanction by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (KKP) of 48 billion. Environmental damage and violation of the rights of coastal communities are among the main problems that this administration has not addressed. So this indicates the main issue because it is considered that controlling marine space is illegal.

This case shows that Indonesia's legal system still considers state financial losses more critical than environmental losses. This is demonstrated by the fact that the investigation and determination of criminal status against the perpetrators lasts a long time. This happens even though Law No. 1 of 2014, Article 75, expressly states that the use of marine space without a permit has criminal consequences (Katiandagho,

2020). This case shows that Indonesia's legal system still considers state financial losses more critical than environmental losses. This is demonstrated by the fact that the investigation and determination of criminal status against the perpetrators lasts a long time. This happens even though Law No. 1 of 2014, Article 75, expressly states that the use of marine space without a permit has criminal consequences. The following is the flow of the results of this study, which shows that environmental governance and green policies reviewed from the mass media show that the government has not responded responsibly to the impact on the environment from the community. This can be seen in the following chart:



**Figure 6.** Flowchart of Research Results

It is essential to take firm legal action, according to the ombudsman of the Republic of Indonesia, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and national figures such as Mahfud MD (Kompas, 2025). Mahfud MD stated that this sea fence case must be included in the category of environmental crimes and corruption because it contains elements of encroachment on public space, collusion in the issuance of illegal certificates, and economic losses to the community.

#### 4. Conclusion

The dominance of the mass media shows that the sea fence case in Bekasi is dominated by the narrative of the government, then NGOs and finally the community. This sea fence project has great implications for green policy, which should prioritise the protection and social welfare of the local community, but actually damages the marine ecosystem. The consequences of the project are the disruption of mangrove forests, seagrass beds, disruption of fish migration, coastal abrasion, and potential losses of up to 24 million for 3,800 households.

National media reports such as Kompas, CNN Indonesia, and Tempo confirmed that this project was carried out without an EIA, without a marine space permit, and contrary to the Banten RTRW, which directs the area for aquaculture, not commercial exploitation. WALHI and other civil society organisations consider the project to be a symbol of socio-ecological inequality and a systemic form of space grabbing. The lack of policy innovation, low public involvement, and absence of ecological accountability show the failure of the state in implementing the principles of good environmental governance. This case shows that the green policy narrative built by the government has not been followed by a real commitment to its implementation, so governance reform is needed that is in favour of environmental justice and sustainability.

The green environmental governance policy recommendations from the sea fence case are to strengthen the enforcement of EIAs, integrate smart environmental technologies, and improve inter-agency coordination. Avoid redundancy in describing sanctions (Rp 48 billion) and focus on policy lessons for sustainable governance. Highlighting the role of the media and civil society in holding institutions accountable, in line with the study's emphasis on transparency and stakeholder participation.

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