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Envisioning a Future for Young Balinese
**The move towards sustainability in secondary
education**

**A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University**

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Declaration

This thesis is a piece of original work, based on my own field research in Indonesia. To the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

Martina Jaskolski

Martina Jaskolski

Cairo, 25th June 2007

Acknowledgements

...in Canberra

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Abstract

Sustainability has become a debate of international significance; it addresses how human development clashes with the finality of many resources on this planet and may threaten the well-being of future generations and ecosystems. The debate thus touches on the question of how humans interact with their environment – a prime concern of the discipline of geography.

Behaving in line with sustainability involves changes in human self-conduct. Such change seems to require at least some awareness of and education about development and environmental processes. In fact, the importance of integrating sustainability in the domain of education has become a prominent one. Young people are often described as key players in implementing sustainability. Thus, international sustainability strategies view educating children and teenagers about sustainability as a prerequisite for future sustainable behaviour.

In 2005 the United Nations [UN] Decade of Education for Sustainable Development commenced. In this context, scholars and educators discuss *how* to educate about sustainability. The UN suggests conveying an image of ‘global cooperation’ toward sustainable development in education whilst ensuring ‘local relevance’. Yet, what ‘local relevance’ means and how it can be attained remains unclear. I argue that in efforts to implement sustainability education, both local debates of sustainability and local contexts of education should be examined. Otherwise, international sustainability education efforts may universalise ideas that are superficially portrayed as ‘global’ but that neglect local particularities.

I take up the issue of sustainability education in Bali. On the Indonesian island, debates have emerged that propose ways to move forward amidst increasing environmental destruction and pollution as well as political and cultural change. These discussions aim to

sketch a ‘Balinese way’ of developing sustainably. I focus on how knowledge and debates around sustainability are engaged in secondary education in Bali’s capital city Denpasar.

Informed by poststructural theory, my thesis is that in order to locally implement sustainability in education, processes and institutional arrangements of power, governing, discourse and knowledge need to be assessed. Sustainability education is portrayed as a ‘global cause’, but it is the institutions and discourses articulated in local places that shape how sustainability *can* be implemented locally. In Bali, sustainability meets an educational climate shaped by curricular and political change nationally, regionally and locally. How sustainability is being integrated in this environment is one subject of this research. I examine how high school students in Bali learn about environment and sustainability. How is sustainability framed in Balinese teaching practice? How is sustainability knowledge engaged in teaching and learning at high schools in Denpasar? The research explores the roles created for students in sustainability education and the practices of self conduct these roles effect.

Rather than providing a manual for implementing sustainability education, this work focuses on the conceptual issues around the project of marrying sustainability and education. I show that sustainable development cannot be treated as a neutral policy framework that is easily integrated into existing educational systems around the globe. My argument draws on theoretical discussions around discourse, power, governmentality and subjectivity. I contend that sustainability and education operate as discourses that generate power in multiple ways. Both operate as governmentalities that employ different types of subjectivation. As sustainability ‘meets’ education, this involves the combination of two separate discursive and institutional contexts. How they ‘fit together’ depends on how both sustainability and education are institutionalised in local contexts. I also draw on theoretical debates in environmental education, participation, and action research. I discuss how geographical action research can be employed to research and foster discourse formation, and to explain and create subject positions in sustainability education.

Empirically, I engaged an action research methodology. If young people are key stakeholders in sustainability, then it is critical that they take an active stance in the very debate of sustainability. This is not always the case in sustainability education. During nine months of fieldwork, I researched Balinese debates around sustainability, and Balinese approaches to sustainability education at secondary schools. Additionally, I conducted an interactive workshop program with several groups of high school students in Denpasar and Sanur. In these workshops, I experimented with educational practices to involve students in the formation of youth-based sustainability knowledges and debates. I researched what knowledges, themes, ideas and languages of sustainability, future and environment emerged in the interactive teaching approach of my action research. I was particularly interested how far a participatory research project in sustainability education would evoke agency among students to act towards more sustainable futures and would open spaces for new languages, roles and practices.

Based on my research experience, I argue that understanding how discourse and power operate around sustainability education in place is instrumental to addressing sustainability in 'locally relevant' ways.

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Prologue

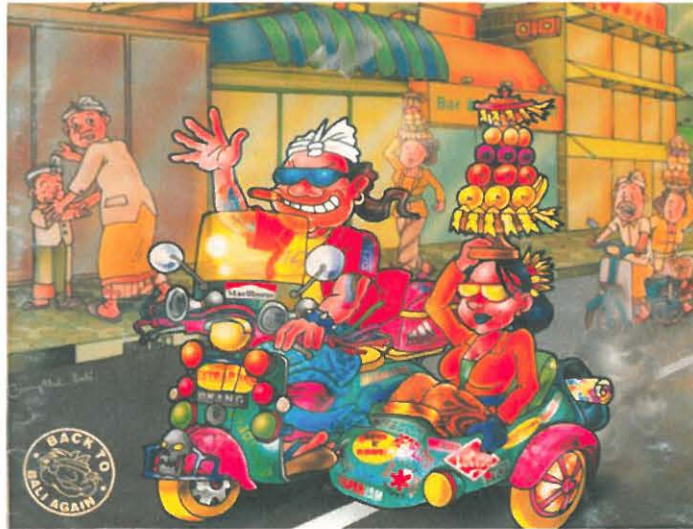


Figure 0: Harmonising modernity and tradition? (GungAbol, 2003 Bog Bog, 20, front cover).

Angga, the 20-year-old employee in the small laundry shop around the corner was a surfer and reggae fan; he was multiply-pierced in his face (all self-made piercings!), occasionally sported dyed blond hair and owned an array of hard rock, reggae and surfing t-shirts. On his free nights, Angga hung out in front of a small 24-hour supermarket along the Sanur tourist strip with a bunch of friends, chatting, playing guitar, buying food from street vendors, smoking, and “whistling at beautiful women”. On a day of a religious ceremony, I came to the laundry to ask whether I could pick up my washing despite the holiday. Angga, sporting a Balinese traditional outfit with *sarung* and a white Balinese headdress, replied with the utmost seriousness: “I am on my way to the temple now to pray. But you can come

and pick up the washing in the afternoon, if you like”. And off he took on his motor bike, in the direction of the neighbourhood temple, smiling at me while letting the motor roar...

Young people residing in Bali's South live culturally diverse, 'hybrid' lives. Their daily realities are shaped by the urbanising environment around Bali's capital city Denpasar, the growing influence of consumerist 'Western' lifestyles, the close proximity of areas of major tourism development, the spirituality of the Hindu world view, and the daily routines of Balinese cultural and religious practices. Teenagers and twenty-somethings manage to create self-images and self-representations that combine the styles and icons of popular culture and youth fashion with the requirements of being 'good' Balinese citizens. The above comic taken from Balinese comic magazine *Bog Bog* (Figure 1) shows a young couple in 'funked-up' Balinese traditional attire transporting offerings to the temple on a rocker-style double seat motor bike. Family life, *banjar* (hamlet community) life, school education, popular culture and religious tradition create a range of influences and fields of socialisation that adolescents in Bali juggle on a daily basis.

The areas of Sanur and Denpasar, where I conducted the field work for this doctoral research on sustainability education in Bali, are a living environment that comprises many of the fault lines and junctures of development, nature, urbanisation and 'tradition' that characterise Balinese urban life. Around Denpasar, tourist resorts line up with highways, fast food restaurants and local residential areas. Hotel beaches are located adjacent to seaside areas for Hindu Balinese cremation ceremonies. The borders between the capital city and adjacent tourist resorts have become increasingly blurred due to urbanisation; and

more rice fields are replaced by urban infrastructure each year. Neighbourhoods with garbage piling up in alleyways and rivers are immediately bordered by clean, green government areas nursed by state gardeners. Thus, the realities and practicalities of life in these urbanised tourist areas require daily negotiations between tourist demands, local economic livelihoods, Hindu religious spaces, urbanisation, pollution and the habits of increasingly consumerist lifestyles. Residents juggle on a daily basis the traditions of their ancestors and the development requirements of a capitalist market economy. The dilemma here is nicely illustrated in a ‘holy tree’-story, perhaps an urban myth, which was recounted to me by several respondents on a number of unrelated occasions:

There was a line of large, holy trees near the terminal building of Denpasar’s Ngurah Rai International Airport. One day, these trees were singled out by the airport management to be felled in order to make room for airport extensions. The managers offered a large sum of money to the company or person who would volunteer to fell the trees. Finally, a Javanese man agreed to take on the job and approached the trees with a chainsaw. Before he could get very far, the brave volunteer fell sick and passed away only days later. The spirits inhabiting the tree had been offended and had made their anger known. After this incident, no person dared to touch the line of trees located near Ngurah Rai Airport ever again...

I was unable to find the trees in question¹ and whether or not this tale was true. Yet, scary stories revealing the bitter consequences for disregarding the rules of Hindu religious conduct loom large in Balinese society. The firm belief on which such stories are based

¹ Each time I happened to pass by the airport during my stay in Bali I looked out for a line of large trees and also asked taxi drivers if they could show me the trees in question. During the entire time of my fieldwork I did not manage to identify the trees that feature in this story.

functions as a social barrier to trespassing rules set up to maintain Bali's spiritual and cosmological balance. The Balinese Hindu cosmos involves spiritual and non-spiritual elements, visible and invisible realms (*sekala* and *niskala*) (Eiseman, 1989). These elements must be kept in balance and harmony (Mitchell, 1994a), even in the face of capitalist pressures of profit and 'development'. According to the Hindu Balinese world view, humans are vulnerable parts of (rather than rulers over) the cosmos, and coexist with visible and non-visible spirits and forces – such as those living in trees. Large trees occupy a position of spiritual power in this cosmos, which gives them a social 'standing' that deserves respect akin to that paid to spirits and deities² (Giambelli, 1998). The airport story shows that religious and spiritual thinking and practice have not been abandoned in Bali's urban areas, even where they stare 'technological development' right in the face. Urban Balinese are not necessarily 'less religious' than their rural counterparts, but are used to negotiating the requirements of cosmic harmony with those of urban 'modernity'. In the above story the man falling victim to his ignorance or disrespect of Hindu cosmological power is a foreigner. Balinese, I was told, would not accept any sum of money for felling a holy tree, as the Hindu cosmic balance had to be kept intact, even in the midst of developed and urbanised areas.

Balinese teenagers learn to negotiate the urbanised environment they live in and the spiritual and religious practices that mark Balinese daily routines – even in the areas of the island 'spoilt' from tourism and urbanisation. Their everyday lives contain events as diverse as watching tourists photograph their schools, attending a ceremony at the

² Many large trees, often but not always banyans, are worshipped as sacred beings. Such large trees often 'wear' a check *sarung* called *saput poleng*, whose black and white checkered pattern represents the balance between good and evil in Balinese cosmology (Darma Putra and Allan, 2004).

neighbourhood temple, being pressured by their peers to own the latest mobile phone model and worshipping the ancestors at the family shrine. Holy trees also form an integral part of the environment of young people. In the tourist area of Sanur, for example, several sacred trees are located along the main road, on hotel and restaurant property, along the beach, near temples, in public spaces and car parks. One particular holy tree became something of a landmark in the course of my fieldwork. The tree stood across the road from my accommodation, guarding the entrance to a tourist bar. The young men employed as bar staff, as well as my 'homestay' family, placed offerings on the shrine attached to this tree every day. The bar staff and members of my host family independently recounted that the tree demanded for its branches to remain uncut: each time hotel staff attempted to trim the branches, large flames would emanate from the leftover stump. As I listened to this story with disbelief, the 19-year old bartender laughed and whispered: "Try cutting it yourself and you will see!"....

Chapter 1

Introduction

Let us hasten to talk of Bali, for tomorrow it will be only a memory, so true is it that men always kill what they wish to love (Vanity Fair, 1932, quoted in Pringle, 2004 155).

Physical and non-physical appearance (culture and social character) of Bali has in effect already changed, to a frightening degree (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 2).

1.1 An island vanishing?

The ‘loss’ of Bali’s culture and natural beauty has been discussed for decades. As the above quote from a 1932 edition of the magazine *Vanity Fair* shows, even in the era pre-dating mass tourism development commentators were worried that the ‘true’ Bali was on the brink of disappearing (Pringle, 2004).

Bali has been created as a paradise of tropical lushness and cultural richness for decades (Vickers, 1989)³. The island has been shaped by the culture and religion of its overwhelmingly Hindu population. *Agama Hindu Bali* (Balinese Hinduism) is a form of Hinduism that only exists in Bali. It is a unique enclave of cultural particularity in the

³ Multiple actors, such as the Dutch colonial power, foreign artists, researchers and academics, tourism operators, the Indonesian government, as well as the Balinese themselves, have shaped an image of Bali as a natural and cultural paradise in danger of being corrupted by outside influence (Picard and Darling, 1996; Robinson and Meaton, 2005; Vickers, 1989). Vickers (1989) argues that the image of Bali as a paradise island was constructed by the Dutch colonial administration to distract from the violent process of the colonial conquest of Bali.

world's most populous Muslim country. Partly due to its cultural distinctiveness, Bali has been made an icon of tropical holiday-making by the global tourism industry, and a national showcase for the richness of Indonesian culture. The island attracts the highest number of tourists of all places in Indonesia. Within the Indonesian state, Bali therefore has a position of economic significance. Erroneously, keeping Bali's image as a paradise treasure seems often misunderstood as synonymous with avoiding change.

My interlocutors in Australia and Bali often asked me why I was not studying the 'real' Bali. Why was I residing in a tourist area and studying student experiences in the 'un-Balinese' capital of Denpasar? Why was I not in a mountain village, following farmers into picturesque rice terraces? I replied with the question why the experiences of Balinese residing around the capital city were any less 'real' or 'authentic' than those of rural Balinese. It seemed there was less legitimation for a study that involved the situation of 'spoilt' urbanised tourist areas than for a study that reflected the image that most people like to have of Bali – rural, luscious rice terraces, palm trees and serene villages. But early in the 21st century, as ever before, Bali is changing – albeit arguably being as 'true' as it ever has been. The life experiences of those living in Denpasar and Sanur are at the heart of those changes and processes that have rapidly transformed Bali's South over the past decade.

As 75 years ago, commentators are worried about change in Bali (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002; Wirata, 2004a; 2004b). Opening *The Bali Post* newspaper at my first breakfast in a Sanur hotel in December 2003, I stumbled across an article that debated ways of 'keeping

Bali truly Bali'. Contemporary challenges such as environmental degradation, urbanisation, increasingly consumerist lifestyles, waste management issues and cultural 'decline' have sparked fierce local debate on how to shape Bali's future. The island's nationally unique role is being challenged and debated amidst democratisation and decentralisation that mark contemporary politics in Indonesia. Reports and commentary in the local print and electronic media, book publications, public seminars and informal debates address a question that has been gaining strength in Balinese public life: How can Balinese take control of contemporary challenges that seem to be slipping out of their hands? How can Bali's natural, cultural and spiritual resources, assets and integrity be sustained?

These local debates are effectively debates about 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' – about how to sustain Bali's natural, cultural, economic and spiritual assets into the future in ways that reflect the hopes and aspirations of the Balinese people. Sustainability has become a popular political term, normative framework and widely debated discourse around the world. Taking its roots in environmental thinking of the 1960s and 1970s in the USA and Europe, the discourse around how to develop sustainably reached international political significance only in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly through the advocacy of the United Nations [UN] and its commissions and conferences (Jacobs, 1999; UNCED, 1992; Yencken, 2000). Balinese concerns about sustaining local culture and assets in the light of local, national and global transformations engage some of the issues that have become prominent within wider discourses of sustainability.

1.2 The research focus

My research focuses on sustainability in Balinese education. Specifically, my enquiry is on the ways in which sustainability has been, and is engaged in this sector. My interest in this research topic has sprung from past research experience in the field of sustainability and community governance. Having spent some of my teenage years residing in Indonesia, I have kept an eager interest in this country, and particularly in the island of Bali. The opportunity to teach at university level during my PhD program and at a youth sustainability conference held in Sydney in July 2003 sparked a personal interest in how young people approach sustainability issues, and in the ways sustainability can be integrated in education. As young people are the generation that will live the sustainabilities created today, they (we) should be included at the very basis of negotiating sustainability. This means students should not only take up a role of knowledge consumers in education, but also be integrated in the very development of knowledge on sustainability. To explore how educational processes could possibly foster such involvement is a personal interest of mine that drove this study.

Through this focus, I contribute research, which I trust is timely, to a debate that has formed an important sub-section of the discussion around sustainability: How to integrate notions of sustainability and normative concepts for the future with the education of young people. The year 2005 was the start of the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO] identified education for sustainable development as the effort “to integrate the principles, values, and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education

and learning” (UNESCO, 2006 electronic source). The international effort to advance education for sustainable development rests on the premise that sustaining the planet is a ‘global quest’. In their indicators and guidelines for education for sustainable development, international organisations universalise a concept of sustainability that has gained momentum since its political embracement at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. Whether such international, ‘global’ ideas of sustainability and development can simply be ‘translated’ into teaching strategies and practices around the world through a decade of international political collaboration, remains questionable. How do ‘global’ visions of sustainability sit with local culture, politics and educational arrangements? Do they even matter in localities in different countries, and if not, how can sustainability education be implemented in these places? Contemporary Balinese discussions around sustainability occur amidst wider debates of environmental, cultural and political change. When looking at education in particular, they also intersect with the debates, politics and institutional frameworks that shape educational contexts. I explore how local concerns of sustainability interact and intersect with those of international politics, national development, globalisation and local culture on the one hand, and with the cultures and environments of education on the other.

To contribute to the above debate, this research examines the case of sustainability education in secondary education on the island of Bali. I concentrate my investigation in three areas. First, in the ways in which sustainability is debated in Balinese public life more generally. Second, in how it is produced and taught in formal and informal education in the city of Denpasar. And third, in reporting the results of an action research experiment with

high school students that tested new ways of engaging sustainability and education. My research takes a mostly qualitative approach. It tells a detailed story about what actually *happens* when sustainability and education are integrated in a Balinese setting. This qualitative approach was accompanied by an action research component that consisted of a set of workshop programs for Balinese high school students. This is a new angle of researching sustainability and education in Bali. While action research has become firmly established within Human Geography (Johnston et al., 2000), previous studies of environmental education at high school level in Bali are limited to quantitative studies measuring students' knowledge and awareness (Tisna, 1998; Yencken et al., 2000).

The research approach and questions are informed by my interest in poststructural thinking and methodology. My thesis is that in implementing sustainability in the field of education in local settings, processes and institutional arrangements of power, governing, discourse and knowledge need to be assessed. Policies implemented as part of a global decade of advancing education for sustainable development meet vastly differing political, institutional and discursive arrangements in locales around the globe. Local actors can be expected to negotiate, assess, rephrase or even ignore local notions of sustainability that may or may not meet those concepts that we have come to understand as 'global concerns'. I use Balinese high school education as a case study of the processes and negotiations that occur when sustainability education is practiced in localities.

Importantly, this thesis is not a description of best practice in teaching sustainability. It is also not an evaluation of educational tools that can be employed to implement

sustainability education. Instead, I focus on sustainability and education in a more contextual sense. My work is a contribution to the research that problematises the very question of whether and how sustainability and education are and can be integrated. Education, here, forms the context for researching how sustainability debates and knowledges are produced, advanced and practiced. I draw on educational theory, approaches and methodologies in my discussion and analysis, and employ pedagogical methods as tools of action research, but do not aim to test or compare their effectiveness⁴.

The thesis does three things: Firstly, it explores how sustainability is debated and *matters* in a localised context. Secondly, it investigates how imaginaries and knowledges of sustainability intersect with the institutional arrangements and practices of Balinese education. This involves research on how Balinese students learn about and engage with issues of sustainability. Thirdly, I offer experiences from a research experiment that tested practical ways in which sustainability can be engaged in Balinese education. This study thereby contributes constructively to the international debate on how sustainability and education can be fused. My research in Bali sought to answer the following questions:

⁴ Although the analysis of my research experiment does contain some insights into the usefulness of educational methods for sustainability education, this is not the main concern of this research.

- How do students in Bali learn about environment and sustainability? How is sustainability framed in Balinese teaching practice?
- How is sustainability knowledge engaged in teaching and learning at high schools in Denpasar?
- What roles of sustainability are created for/by students' in education, particularly in environmental and sustainability education? What are students' practices that reflect ethical self-conduct and sustainability becoming a 'practice of the self'?
- What knowledges, themes and languages of sustainability, future and environment in Bali would emerge in the interactive teaching approach of my action research? How do students envisage a sustainable future in Bali? What youth languages and debates would students tap into and create? What forms of agency would students take up to work towards their imagined future? Where would the program open spaces for new languages, roles and practices to emerge?

This thesis has two parts. The first part considers the theoretical implications that inform my discussion about sustainability education. From a poststructural perspective I argue that diverse notions of power and the concepts of governmentality and subjectivation, which I introduce later in this chapter, are useful tools to understand how sustainability *can* be integrated in education. The second part of the thesis focuses specifically on the experience of my educational experiment at high schools. It explores how power, governmentality and subjectivation shaped the ways in which students engaged with sustainability in my research. The conclusion draws these insights and findings together and shows why integrating sustainability and education may not be as straightforward an undertaking as international sustainability policy documents suggest. But let me begin this story of

Balinese sustainabilities by introducing the challenges and processes that have led Bali's residents to discuss the future and sustainability of their island.

1.3 Bali amongst processes of change and transformation

Change and transformation are not new processes in Bali. However, some of the contemporary issues Bali faces may spiral out of control with greater velocity than they could have done 75 years ago. As Pringle (2004 217) puts it: "[T]here is no doubt that uglification is beginning". Bali is suffering from severe environmental problems related to waste management and the pollution of the ocean, beaches and other natural environments (Warren, 1998a).

Most of the environmental degradation occurred over the past 50 years, and, as Pringle (2004) argues, is partly due to its dense population, particularly in urban areas. With a population of 3.3 million in the year 2003 inhabiting an area of 5,561 square kilometres (BPS, 2005), Bali's population density is five times the national average. Only Central and East Java are more densely populated⁵. By 2003, Denpasar (Bali's capital city), located near the island's Southern tip, surrounded by the district of Badung, occupied an area of 123.98 square kilometres (DIKNAS, 2003) and had a population of almost half a million

⁵ Population numbers rose by 1.92 per cent between 2001 and 2002 and 4.18 per cent between 2002 and 2003 (BAPEDALDA, 2003). However, population growth in Bali has not been as rapid as anticipated. Family planning efforts have been extraordinarily successful. Instead of a population of 4.4 million predicted for 2004, the 2004 census only recorded 3,147,000 inhabitants. While between 1950 and 1971 population growth rates were just under 2 per cent, they dropped to 1.2 per cent between 1980 and 1990 (Pringle, 2004). Interestingly, population numbers in Denpasar fell by 11.39 per cent in 2003 after having grown 4.15 per cent between 2001 and 2002 – according to government authorities this is a result of the tourism crisis generated by the Bali bombings in October 2002 (BAPEDALDA2, 2004).

(BAPEDALDA, 2003). With Denpasar and the adjacent areas of Kuta and Sanur, Bali's urbanised South is home to more than a third of Bali's total population (see Figure 1.1).

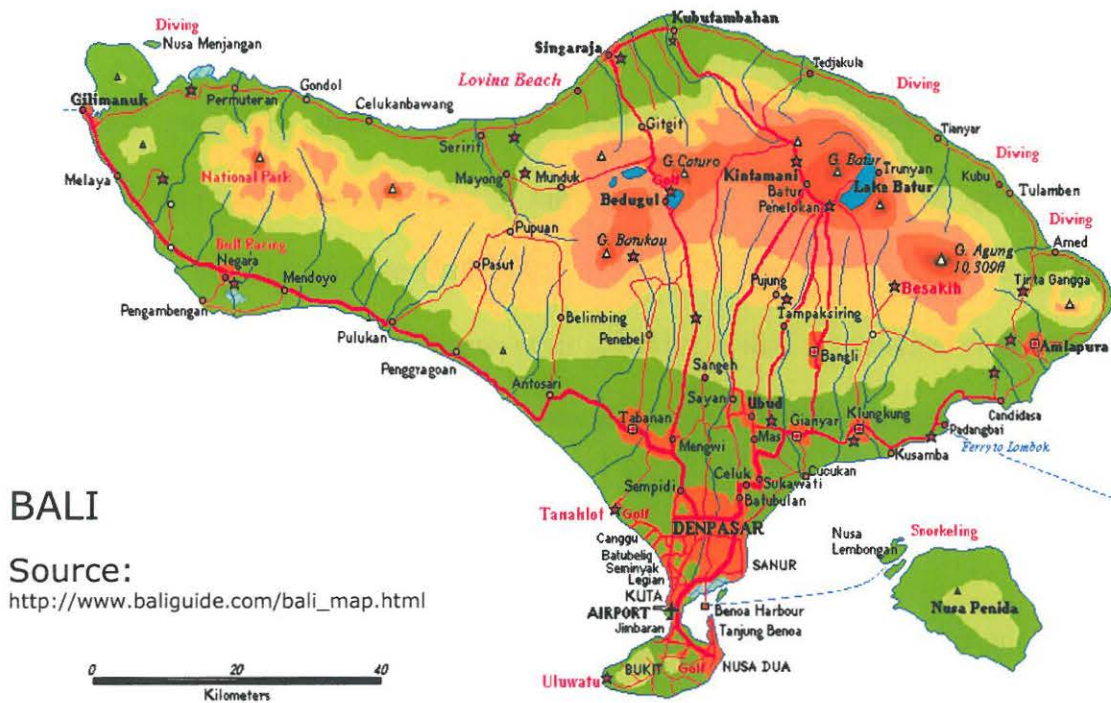


Figure 1.1: The island of Bali. The urbanised areas around Denpasar are marked in red near the Southern tip of the island.

Population, urbanisation and development pressures have led to a rapid loss of agricultural and natural land in Bali. This process has become the subject of intensifying debate in academic, governmental and media circles (BAPEDALDA, 2004b pers. comm.; 2004c pers. comm.; 2004d pers. comm.; Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.; Wirata, 2004b). The area of wet rice agricultural land in Bali has been dropping by almost 1,000 ha a year for the past ten years (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002), for example from 83,562 hectares [ha] in 2002 to 82,664 ha in 2003 (BPSPB, 2005). The sale of land is culturally significant for Balinese, as land is regarded as ancestral heritage: the spirits of the ancestors dwell on a family's

land. “By selling their land, Balinese are selling their own ancestors!”, one of my academic respondents exclaimed (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.). The decline in land for agriculture production also has economic consequences. Bali now has to import rice, and also relies on imports for produce required for ritual practices, such as coconut leaves, flowers and fruit (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002). The rapid land sales occurring in Bali also start to impact the intricate *subak* system, Bali’s well-known communal irrigation system, in which the water needed for wet rice agriculture is carefully distributed among *subak* members. As land is given away, *subak* communities are breaking down and Hindu religious practices that are closely intertwined with the wet rice agricultural cycle have become less and less relevant in increasingly urbanised environments (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

Loss of agricultural land is only one aspect of transformation that Bali has experienced. Amongst the most serious environmental problems in Bali are forest degradation and beach erosion⁶ (BAPEDALDA, 2003). Of Bali’s 130,686 ha of forest, 82.2 per cent (107,442 ha) are classified as being in a critical condition due to wood burning, illegal logging and clearing (BAPEDALDA, 2003 6). Another serious concern is the degradation of coastal ecosystems, particularly the vulnerable mangrove forests on Bali’s Southern coasts⁷.

⁶ Denpasar beaches, which stretch along 8.2km between Mertasari and Padanggalak, are very strongly affected by erosion. Large concrete islands were built near the coast to prevent ongoing erosion. In some areas, the beach had to be equipped with a foundation of concrete bricks and then refilled with sand. The refurbishment of Denpasar beaches through the Proyek Pengamanan Pantai Bali, which has been operating since 2002, is co-funded by the Japanese government (BAPEDALDA, 2003). During my pre-fieldwork visit in November and December 2003, truckloads of sand were incessantly transported to the beach to fill up the sand that had been washed away. NGO staff told me that the beach erosion in Sanur had been exacerbated by the land reclamation project at the nearby island of Serangan. Connecting the island with mainland Bali had allegedly altered the sea currents around the island. As fishermen from the island informed me, this has not only increased erosion along the coast, but also contributed to a major fishing crisis on the island.

⁷ The degradation of coastal ecosystems is exacerbated by destructive fishing techniques (fishing with cyanide and explosives), the unregulated extraction of coral for construction, water pollution, the clearing of vegetation (for example mangroves) and the modification of river estuaries (BAPEDALDA, 2003; Warren, 1998a).

Additionally, insufficiently developed systems for solid and liquid waste management and treatment in Bali have caused an increased pollution of Bali's river and sea waters. Bali produces 1,713,873 cubic metres of rubbish per year, 45.26 per cent of which is generated by Denpasar and Kuta alone (BAPEDALDA, 2003)⁸. Most of this garbage is burnt by households or on garbage tips. Recycling is virtually non-existent in public waste management; informal garbage collectors collect items such as plastic water bottles and sell them back to factories. 'Modernised' agricultural production processes that require pesticides and fertilizers have not only degraded soil fertility, but also increasingly pollute rivers with phosphorus, nitrogen and potassium⁹ (BAPEDALDA/PSLUW, 2004; Pringle, 2004). As the contaminated water flows into the sea, it endangers coral reefs, which already struggle under the influence of the rising ocean temperatures resulting from global warming (Pringle, 2004). Population pressures and industrial activity, which often involve an over-extraction of groundwater, increase the salination of underground aquifers, while the diversion of water from agricultural land to hotel resorts and other development projects leads to increasing water shortages (BAPEDALDA, 2003; Warren, 1998b). Additional environmental concerns in Bali are rapidly increasing traffic congestion and noise levels. The number of cars in Bali has risen by 7.63 per cent a year between 1998 and 2002 from 85,782 to 118,080 (BAPEDALDA, 2003).

⁸ The city of Denpasar generates 775,625 cubic metres of rubbish per year (BAPEDALDA, 2003).

⁹ In the 1970s, Balinese farmers were coerced by the national government to switch from native rice crops to so-called 'miracle rice', which crops three times a year (Howe, 1991 459). While this so-called 'Green Revolution' significantly increased yields, rice cultivation now requires pesticides and artificial fertiliser. The Green Revolution achieved an increase in rice production of 50 per cent between 1969 and 1982 and both Bali and Indonesia could attain subsistence in rice production. In the 1980s the government dropped its stance of pressuring farmers to produce as much as possible and ignoring traditional fallow periods and crop changes. Nowadays, a rotation system is back in place in many areas and planting decisions are made at the *subak* level again. Many Balinese farmers are also switching back to traditional varieties and 5 to 10 per cent of the total crop now again consists of traditional Balinese rice varieties (Pringle, 2004).

Integrating environmental concerns and practices into building and development activity has been a challenge. Many of the above problems are experienced in Bali's South, caused or exacerbated by population growth in the urban centres, *ad-hoc*, insufficiently planned building projects, as well as the daily practices of the region's population. The state of the environment report for Bali for the year 2003, released by the Department for the Environment (Badan Pengendalian Dampak Lingkungan Daerah, short BAPEDALDA) states: "The environmental problems that are occurring are also a result of weaknesses in integrating the concept of sustainable development and an environmental conception into the ranks of implementing development"¹⁰ (BAPEDALDA, 2003 1). Balancing environmental health with development, a growth-based market economy and modern, consumerist lifestyles is a problem in many countries. In Bali, this task takes up a pre-eminent role, as "Bali's economic resource base happens to be dominated to an unusual degree by cultural and aesthetic content" (Pringle, 2004 225). A 'paradise island' with garbage-clogged beaches and rivers is hard to sell to international tourists.

Bali's image as an island of natural beauty, fascinating cultural richness and 'spiritual harmony' is directly linked to its economic performance. After the island's cultural particularity was brought to the attention to the rest of the world by artists such as Walter Spies, anthropologists such as Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson and Jane Belo, and novelists such as Vicky Baum, who visited and worked in Bali in the 1930s, tourism

¹⁰ "Pemasalahan lingkungan juga muncul akibat masih lemahnya mengintegrasikan konsep pembangunan berkelanjutan dan berwawasan lingkungan dalam tataran implementasi pembangunan" (BAPEDALDA, 2003 1).

quickly overtook agriculture as the main source of economic revenue¹¹. As Pringle (2004) points out, in the 1920s Bali was already visited by around 100 tourists a month, a number that more than doubled by World War II. The first tourists in Bali found accommodation in guest houses in Ubud, and even in the courts of Balinese *rajas*. In the 1930s, foreigners established small hotels, for example in Kuta. Large-scale tourism did not start until the 1970s, after the central government had singled out Bali as a location for mass tourism development¹². This policy triggered a rapid growth in both resort building and tourist numbers. In 1969, 86,000 foreign tourists arrived in Bali. This number had grown to 313,000 in 1974, doubled by 1982 and doubled again to 1.5 million in 2002. An equal number of domestic tourists arrived in 2002 (Pringle, 2004). Over the past decades, several large tourist resorts have been developed, of which Kuta, Sanur and Nusa Dua in the island's South are among the most well-known and established¹³.

Tourism dollars brought to Bali steady financial income. While in 1980 the island's per capita income was still two thirds of the national figure for Indonesia (US\$308 compared to US\$456), by 1990 the island had exceeded the national figure of US\$560 with a per capita income of US\$592. In the 1970s and 1980s, Bali's economy expanded steadily by almost

¹¹ Pringle (2004) quotes a percentage of 51.6 per cent for the contribution of tourism to the Balinese financial sector, including both income and investment, in 1998. Picard (2005) claims that, in the late 1990s, tourism actually constituted two-thirds of Bali's regional GDP. Meanwhile, the tourism industry provides 38 per cent of positions in Bali's formal employment (Pringle, 2004); a figure that, taking into account indirect spin-offs, may even reach up to 75 per cent (Picard, 2005).

¹² In 1971 the New Order Government developed a Master Plan (under guidance from the World Bank), with funding from the UNDP and by contracting the French consultancy company SETO (Picard and Darling, 1996; Robinson and Meaton, 2005). The plan set aside areas in which these large-scale developments would be realised (Warren, 1998b).

¹³ Interestingly, not all of Bali's well-known tourist resort areas were included in the original master plan for tourism development. Kuta, for example, developed largely *ad-hoc* and unplanned from a quiet fishing village into one of Bali's most notorious party spots. In 1990, the master plan beaches of Nusa Dua and Sanur boasted 4,600 and 5,000 five-star hotel rooms respectively. Kuta, by this time, was offering 17,600 rooms, yet mainly budget accommodation (Pringle, 2004).

10 per cent a year, topping the growth of the Indonesian national economy by 2 per cent (Pringle, 2004). Thus, the tourism boom turned Bali into a province of comparative wealth, albeit this wealth is unevenly spread across the island¹⁴ (BAPEDALDA2, 2004 pers. comm.). In the mountains of Karangasem, development programs such as the East Bali Poverty Project still struggle to implement basic facilities of education and transportation (EBPP, 2007).

The rapid changes in Balinese land management, landscapes and increasing environmental pollution could eventually have destructive influences on the tourism industry, which still struggles to recover from slumps in tourist numbers after the bombings in 2002 and 2005, the 2003 SARS outbreak, the 2004 Asian tsunami and the 2005/2006 outbreak of avian bird flu¹⁵ (TheAustralian, 2006). Tourists have started to notice environmental damage as well as cultural and architectural change¹⁶. As studies indicate, some tourists are disappointed about Bali not 'living up' to its marketing image (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002). Thus, transformations in contemporary Balinese lives and environments are causing concerns about the long-term marketability of Bali's natural and cultural resources and assets.

¹⁴ As tourism is administered at the *kabupaten* level in Bali, the business tax income of the *kabupaten* of Badung and the city of Denpasar are much higher than of those districts where much less tourism development has taken place. In fact, Picard (2005) claims that only Badung, Gianyar and Denpasar have an adequate income. The payments poorer districts such as Karangasem receive from richer ones as part of a horizontal adjustment scheme (Badung used to provide 30 per cent of their revenue, which was reduced to 22 per cent in 2002 after inter-regional disputes, in which the provincial government agreed to make available some of their revenue) by far exceeds their own district revenue (Picard, 2005).

¹⁵ An article featured in The Australian newspaper in February 2006 states that "Bali has lost most its tourists" (TheAustralian, 2006 16 Feb, 10). The article elaborates that after the 2005 bombings in Kuta and Jimbaran, the number of tourist arrivals did not drop quite as low as it did after the 2002 bombings, but numbers recorded in early 2006 were around 40 per cent less than those registered in early 2005.

¹⁶ Those tourists who have visited Bali over the last decade noted the rapid changes occurring in the landscape. In 1998 and 1999, commentators in the Bali Travel News opinion columns named environmental problems such as garbage and waste management, traffic congestion and the destruction of mangrove forest as well as culturally non-harmonious architecture as the most serious problems facing Bali. In a tourist survey conducted in early 2000, tourists named dirtiness, fraud, traffic jams and the destruction of nature and views as the issues that left the worst impression on them (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002).

Simultaneously, and somewhat paradoxically, some of Bali's most serious environmental problems are direct results of intensified and unsustainable tourism development. The economic growth potential the tourism industry holds has created strong vested interests, for example on the part of investors in Jakarta, in promoting growth-focused and arguably 'unsustainable' development in Bali.

The nature of economic and tourism development are issues that clearly reach beyond the provincial scope in Bali. Political and economic strategies and regulations, orchestrated mainly by the central government in Jakarta, affect the investment and development climate on the island. The boom in tourism development in Bali in the 1980s and 1990s, for example, was enhanced by the pro-foreign development policy of the Suharto government (as opposed to the previous Sukarno government) and the deregulation of the Indonesian banking sector (Warren, 2005)¹⁷. Since the fall of President Suharto's New Order [*Orde Baru*] government in 1998, Indonesia has experienced major political transformations that also impact the structure of tourism development and investment (Forrester, 1999; Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005). Democratisation, decentralisation, the liberalisation of laws (such as freedom of expression), and three comparatively successful democratic national elections have shaped Indonesia's political path since 1998 (McIntyre, 2005). The process of political decentralisation in particular has led to an extensive restructuring of

¹⁷ Foreign and domestic investment in major projects in Bali was catapulted from US\$17 million in 1987 to US\$170 million in 1988, and almost doubled again between 1989 and 1990 (Warren, 2005). The central government also undertook vast projects of dispossessing and displacing local people and claiming community land for development projects and the 'national good' (Warren, 1998b).

administrative organisation across the archipelago¹⁸ (Fitrani et al., 2005; Silver et al., 2001).

One of the most important political changes that affect policy negotiations between political levels in Indonesia is the process of regional autonomy. In 1999, the first post-*Orde Baru* Indonesian Government under President B.J. Habibie drafted regional autonomy laws (*Undang-Undang Otonomi Daerah, 22/1999 and 25/1999*¹⁹) that were implemented in January 2001 (Silver et al., 2001). These new laws aim to dismantle the centralised development efforts of the *Orde Baru* regime by devolving decision-making powers to the administrative level of the regency (*kabupaten*). The laws also entitle regions to retain a larger share of their regional income, which had previously been siphoned off by Jakarta²⁰ (Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005). Indonesian provinces use the regional autonomy laws to re-negotiate their rights and interests with the central government. Since the implementation of the laws, Balinese authorities repeatedly demanded a special autonomy status (*Otonomi Khusus*) for the province of Bali (compared to that granted to the province of Aceh), on the

¹⁸ For example, Fitrani et al. (2005) report that the number of municipalities (*kota*) and districts (*kabupaten*) in Indonesia increased from 292 during the times of the New Order (a number that had remained virtually static for decades) to 434 in 2003 after decentralisation laws had been put in place. The authors propose geographic dispersion, diverging wealth in natural resources, ethnic and political conflict as well as “bureaucratic rent seeking” (Fitrani et al., 2005 57) as reasons for this fractionalisation.

¹⁹ These laws had apparently been under construction for over two decades, and their enactment was eventually sped up by the Asian financial crisis and the change in Indonesian government (Silver et al., 2001). Law number 22/9999 on ‘Regional Governance’ defines the transfer of political powers from centre to regions, such as the formation of regional assemblies and governments (Fane, 2003). Under this new law, rather than being appointed by provincial governors, mayors and district heads are now selected by local assemblies. Law number 25/1999 redesigns the fiscal transfer between central and regional governments in Indonesia (Antlöv, 2003; Silver et al., 2001).

²⁰ Due to the country’s highly centralised taxation system, intergovernmental fiscal transfer in Indonesia accounts for over 70 per cent of regional government revenues (Silver et al., 2001). Fane (2003 159) describes the results of the regional autonomy laws in fiscal re-allocations among regions as “less revolutionary than the 1999 decentralisation legislation envisaged”. Resource-strong regions influenced the government to alter the proposed fiscal gap formula back towards the status quo. Also, as Fane (2003 159) contends, none of the major taxes were actually decentralised, “there has not been much increase in autonomy for the regions”.

grounds of Bali's religious and cultural specificity and its dependence on tourism revenues. Problematically, tourism revenues do not fall under the natural resources included in the national government's new revenue-sharing deal with provinces, and are levied at the district and municipality, not the provincial level (Picard, 2005). Thus, the regional autonomy laws have not significantly changed the economic structure under which tourism profits are negotiated between the Balinese provincial and the national level. The provincial government feels Balinese do not benefit enough from the legislative change (BAPEDALDA2, 2004 pers. comm.). Also, the fact that regional autonomy laws devolve more and more administrative rights and responsibilities to the district (*kabupaten*) level has exacerbated the competition among districts to attract investors (BAPEDALDA2, 2004), which increases tensions and disputes among Bali's *kabupaten*²¹ (Anonymous, 2004; Picard, 2005).

Thus, debates around creating sustainable Balinese futures involve issues as diverse as land transformation, environmental degradation, economic viability and political change.

1.4 Pathways of sustainability

Of course, in pursuing ways to manage assets in a 'sustainable' way Bali is not alone. In fact, the term 'sustainability' goes back at least to the year 1713, when a German forestry official referred to the principle as maintaining logging at a rate which would allow the forest to regenerate (Mueller-Christ, 1998a; Renn et al., 1999). The beginning

²¹ For example, in response to Badung's announcement in 2001 to drop the district's contribution in tax revenue for horizontal fiscal adjustment purposes, the provinces of Gianyar and Bangli retaliated by threatening to impose levies on every tourist passing through their territory. The dispute could only be resolved by the provincial government picking up the financial slack (as described above) (Picard, 2005).

environmental movement in the USA and Europe, marked for example by the writings of Rachel Carson (1962) and Lynn White (1967) in the United States, or the publication of *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972) by the 'Club of Rome' in Europe, created a public awareness of 'Spaceship Earth' as a planet of finite resources. Then, the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development [WCED]²² *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), brought the term 'sustainable development' onto the stage of world politics. The report seeks to find a global common ground for reaching development goals while not depleting the Earth's resource base to an extent that would endanger future life on this planet. Here, 'sustainable development' is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987 43). In 1992, government representatives from around the world debated the policy implications of the 'Brundtland Report's' notion of sustainable development at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development [UNCED / the 'Earth Summit']. The resulting document, *Agenda 21*, was signed by 172 government representatives and constitutes a non-statutory agreement to foster sustainable development in a joint effort (UNCED, 1992).

Since 1992, sustainability has become a much-debated concept. There are now multiple and diverse notions of sustainability that cover a spectrum from weak/conservative/technocratic to strong/alternative/revolutionary (Dahle, 1998; Davidson, 2000; Jacobs, 1999). Davidson (2000) argues that the term 'sustainable development' marks a conservative approach which permits trade-offs between environmental protection and economic growth, accepts

²² The Commission was led by the Norwegian Prime Minister at the time, Gro Harlem Brundtland, and is thus commonly referred to as the 'Brundtland Commission' (Brundtland, 2005; WCED, 1987).

that global redistribution may only be possible to a limited extent, and exercises participation in sustainable development to a limited extent. More ‘radical’ notions of ‘sustainability’, in contrast, emphasise the intrinsic value of environmental assets, the necessity for a substantial redistribution of wealth, our responsibility for future generations and bottom-up, participatory decision-making processes (Dahle, 1998; Davidson, 2000). Sustainable development’s most quoted definition of development as that which “meets the needs of the present without jeopardising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987 9) does not specify what *exact* type of development is ‘sustainable’. Some view sustainability as a ‘target’ that can be reached, an endpoint or ‘level’ of development that, if reached, will not further deteriorate the state of the planet (Mitchell, 1994b). Others see sustainability as a set of development indicators that can be implemented on the ground and that mark the progress toward ‘sustainable’ development (Downes, 1995; Haeusler et al., 1998; Hart, 1999).

In this research, I will use the term ‘sustainability’ rather than ‘sustainable development’. My personal preference for the term sustainability is due to the problematic discourses and practices attached to the term ‘development’, and the potentially absurd, even paradoxical results when pairing ‘sustainable’ with very traditional, managerial definitions of ‘development’. I see sustainability as a process of ongoing debate about our current and future life. This must involve discussion about what type of development we pursue, and may unsettle some of the premises of ‘development’ altogether.

1.5 Implementing sustainability – The role of education

The importance of education and capacity-building for the advancement of sustainable development globally was already outlined in Chapters 25 and 36 of *Agenda 21* (UNCED, 1992). *Agenda 21* requests “that education...incorporates the concepts of environmental awareness and sustainable development throughout the curricula” (UNCED, 1992 25.9(d)). Furthermore, *Agenda 21* identifies young people as key agents in sustainable development, as those who will lead sustainable practices in the future:

Youth comprise nearly 30 per cent of the world's population. The involvement of today's youth in environment and development decision-making and in the implementation of programs is critical to the long-term success of Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992 25.1).

In 2005, the United Nations launched its Decade of Education for Sustainable Development²³. The goals of this international strategy extend the legacy paved by *Agenda 21*:

There can be few more pressing and critical goals for the future of humankind than to ensure steady improvement in the quality of life for this and future generations, in a way that respects our common heritage – the planet we live on. As people we seek positive change for ourselves, our children and grandchildren; we must do it in ways that respect the right of all to do so. To do this we must learn constantly – about ourselves, our potential, our limitations, our relationships, our society, our environment, our world. Education for sustainable development is a life-wide and lifelong endeavour which challenges individuals, institutions and societies to view tomorrow as a day that belongs to all of us, or it will not belong to anyone (UNESCO, 2006 electronic source).

²³ In December 2002, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 57/254, which outlines the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014). The assembly designated UNESCO as the leading agency for promoting the Decade (UNESCO, 2006).

The Decade's self-declared goal is "to integrate the principles, values, and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education and learning" (UNESCO, 2006 electronic source). But *how* can this be done?

The UNESCO (2006 electronic source) suggests that education for sustainable development should address "local as well as global issues" and be made locally relevant. It outlines four main broad "thrusts" that education for sustainable development will instantiate, which are

improving access to quality basic education;...reorienting existing education programmes;...developing public understanding and awareness [and] providing training (UNESCO, 2006 electronic source).

Characteristics of education for sustainability according to the UNESCO include that this education is – "[i]nterdisciplinary and holistic", "embedded in the whole curriculum", "values-driven", "multi-method" and exercising a focus on "participatory decision-making" as well as "critical thinking and problem solving" (UNESCO, 2006 electronic source). The implementation of these characteristics can be based on strategies that include advocacy and vision building; consultation, ownership, partnership, networks, capacity building, training research and innovation (UNESCO, 2006). While the rhetoric of education for sustainable development sounds positive and encouraging, exactly *how* sustainability as a 'global partnership' *can* be thought and taught in school environments around the world remains less clear. What definition of sustainability should the development of "public understanding and awareness' rest on? Whether global sustainability concepts can be made relevant in local contexts around the world remains under-theorised in this strategy. This is

specifically the case as sustainability education will be set within vastly disparate concepts of sustainable living around the globe.

The process of merging sustainability with education is bound to face conceptual as well as organisational challenges. Environmentalists and educational theorists have debated how sustainability can best be integrated into the realm of education (Gruenewald, 2004; Jickling, 1992; Rauch, 2002; Yencken, 2000). Some academics argue for a “global ideology of nature” (Yencken, 2000 23) that can build on similarities between views on nature and environment in different cultures. Others point to the controversial nature of the assumptions sustainable development rests on, which make a universalist application of the concept in education questionable (Jickling, 1992). At a more organisational level, some scholars argue for an incorporation of sustainability into the existing structures of environmental education, while others plead for a more holistic transformation of the educational system according to the principles of sustainable development (Rauch, 2002). In this context, authors debate whether sustainability should be integrated into education, or whether, in fact, education should be fit into the mould of sustainability (Foster, 2001; Gruenewald, 2004; Jickling, 1992). This debate will be revisited in Chapter 4.

Merging sustainability is tricky not only because of the contested nature of sustainability, but also because of the localised and shifting organisational structures and philosophies of the educational system it is to be taught in. Political change in Indonesia, for example, has had a significant impact on the educational system. Firstly, decentralisation laws have changed the ways in which departments of education interact at different administrative

levels in implementing and overseeing education. Secondly, democratisation and political transformation have coincided with the implementation of a new national curriculum in 2004/2005, the *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (KBK), which emphasises more participatory, competence-based learning (DEPDIKNAS, 2003). Such changes in political climate create important shifts in the ways in which education is discursively shaped and legitimised. Under President Suharto's *Orde Baru* government, which significantly advanced the accessibility to basic education in Indonesia, the educational system was used as a means to spread state propaganda and to create citizens that accept and advance the unity of the nation state (Parker, 2002a). In the climate of political change in Indonesia, the educational project is undergoing changes that affect both educational philosophies and teaching practices. The new curriculum aims to increase students' 'life skills' to make Indonesians competitive in an increasingly technical and globalised job market (DIKNAS, 2003b). It also proposes more participatory, practical teaching approaches (DIKNASProp2, 2004), an emphasis that marks a significant rhetorical departure from the traditional Indonesian teaching approach geared towards rote learning (Milner and Quilty, 1996).

As this short overview of debates indicates, sustainability and education are categories that are neither 'objective' nor value free. Both are subject to political lobbying and constructed perspectives of current and future realities. They create languages in which present and future can be imagined and spoken; languages in which young people learn to think about and understand life on this planet. Thus, neither sustainability nor education simply involve debates, policies and practices, but operate as *discourses*. Hajer (1995 44) defines discourse as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are produced,

reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities”. Johnston et al. (2000 180), in turn, speak of discourses as a “specific series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimised”. Thus, discourses create boundaries of what can be thought and is deemed possible and appropriate in a society. “Discourses are...heavily policed cognitive systems which control and delimit both the mode and the means of *representation* in a given society” (Ghandi, 1998 77, original emphasis). In the ways different concepts of sustainability are produced, lobbied and implemented, they operate as discourses. Discourses produce realities and are tied to political interests; in the ways they construct knowledge they engage power. An investigation into the process of fusing sustainability and education, then, requires a closer examination of the modes of power that come into play when these two entities are integrated.

1.6 Poststructural sustainabilities – Engaging geographies of power and governmentality

Language, discourse and knowledge have long been a major concern of poststructural geographical thought (Johnston et al., 2000). In his recent book ‘Lost Geographies of Power’, Allen (2003) reminds us of the importance of geographical inquiry in theorising power. While the use of metaphors of space has increased in geographical work, Allen (2003 1) contends, “we have lost the sense in which geography makes a difference to the exercise of power”. But the author also challenges the way in which geographers conceptualise power. Power is often misunderstood as a dominating force that is ‘held’ by

people in order to oppress or influence others. Allen (2003) argues that power is not a 'thing' or entity that can be possessed or held in reserve, or that can flow in an 'in tact' state between places and spaces. He proposes a diffuse way of conceptualising power by showing that power can take on different modes: it can be *instrumental* in the sense of being exercised over others, and it can also be *associational*, or employed *with* others. While the former form of power takes on a constraining nature and operates at someone else's expense in the form of domination, the second form is enabling and may benefit all those taking part in the exercise of power (Allen, 2003). Allen's diverse typology of power is not only illuminating, but also instrumental to understanding the power of educational and sustainability discourses.

One mode of power that takes up a particularly important role in poststructural thought is that of governmentality. This form of power takes effect neither through instrumentalisation nor through association. Inspired by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1980; 1990; 1991), *governmentality* conceptualises how processes of government operate *through* stimulating subjects to govern their *own* behaviour. This does not happen through the exercise of open domination or conscious deliberation and consensus-building but indirectly – subjects govern their own conduct according to codes of conduct that are produced as ethical, socially acceptable or simply as 'the right thing to do'. Power here is exercised through a subject's thinking, behaviour and own decision-making. In this process, discourse becomes instrumental to governmentality. Discourses create social realities and 'regimes of truth', which influence codes of conduct and thereby enable processes of governing through the self-policing of subjects. Discourse, here, operates as

forms of ‘subjectivation’ – they make individuals internalise regimes of truth that create certain ‘subject positions’ through which they can act.

In this thesis, subject positions are understood as spaces for subjects to perform in certain ways, using discourses and languages that enable these subject positions (Gibson-Graham, 1996; 2006; Johnston et al., 2000). Subjectivity, on the other hand, is a concept that embraces a subject’s experience, personal history and identities; it is shaped by the subject positions a person has performed in the past, and thus constitutes those subject positions he or she can choose to occupy in the present²⁴. Therefore, subjectivity is not a limited or predictable pool of subject positions. As Graham and Amariglio (2006 200) note, “[t]he subject...cannot be referenced simply to a set of identity positions”. Neither is the subject an empty container that pre-exists processes of subjectivation that waits to be filled by these in order to be placed in different subject positions (McKinnon, 2005). By contrast, the subject itself is made by processes of governmentality. According to this take on governmentality and subjectivation, people have agency – they are not only subjected to discourse and power, but actively create and shape subject positions.

As I have outlined above, the starting point of this thesis are discourses of sustainability, which carry imaginaries of certain types of ‘sustainable’ subjects. In the field of education, these discourses intersect with other discourses and subject imaginaries – those of the successful and disciplined student, the loyal Indonesian state subject, or the religiously and

²⁴ Identity, in this context, can be seen as a subset of subject position. Identities are embedded in a subject’s personal history and are constituted by those categories and processes of ‘naming’ and ‘being’ others offer a subject to occupy. Thus, identity only comprises a certain number of the subject positions a subject can inhabit, and only those processes of subjectivation that are identifiable by others or that a subject can ‘identify’ with.

culturally devout Balinese subject, to name a few examples – subject imaginaries that are reflected in discourse change over time. In Indonesia, for example, the *Orde Baru* regime under President Suharto quite openly pursued the politics of producing politically uncritical and disengaged citizens, a so-called ‘floating mass’. The government operated as a totalitarian regime with centralised powers, backed by elections that were mocked by their limitation to only one significant party, limited civil freedoms²⁵ and a heavy involvement of the military in state affairs²⁶ (Sulistiyanto and Erb, 2005). Since the fall of President Suharto in 1998, political rhetoric in Indonesia has emphasised democratisation and the formation of educated, politically involved and critical citizen subjects (Jaskolski, 2005). Meanwhile, in the field of education, recent changes in the Indonesian curriculum have produced a shift towards imaginaries of a more practically capable student subject who has the skills to successfully perform in an increasingly competitive and technical job market. In the context of sustainability education in Bali, imaginaries of sustainable subjects are added to this list of envisioned subject positions that are promoted through discourse and subjectivation. Thus, in sustainability education, processes of subjectivation that are part of different governmentalities operate parallel to each other, but also overlap and intersect. Chapter 3 will explore the subjectivations that occur within intersecting governmentalities in more detail.

The conceptions of ‘power of governmentality’ and subjectivation are important for geographical inquiry as they bear inherent spatial aspects. As Allen (2003 8 and 11, original emphasis) puts it, power is a “relational effect of social interaction” that operates

²⁵ Notably, these included freedom of political organisation and freedom of expression.

²⁶ This double function was called *dwifungsi*, and involved protecting Indonesia against enemies from outside and within the nation state.

through the “interplay of forces established in place..., [it] is more or less *mediated* in space and time”. Thus, Allen (2003 9-10) suggests, “power relations...are always already spatial”. Foucault’s interest in the processes of governmentality emanated from his analysis of “how it was possible for governments to shape and control increasingly disparate and numerous subjects in ways that facilitated effective governance” (Raco, 2003 76). In researching techniques of ‘governing at a distance’ Foucault referred to the strategies and technologies employed to link the vastly spatially scattered points where state government and power connects with everyday life to the governing agendas of states (Rose, 1999). However, state governments are only *one* amongst the “heterogeneity of authorities that have sought to govern conduct” (Rose, 1999 21). Processes of governmentality are exercised by and through discourses and practices around normative concepts (such as sustainability, for instance), social institutions such as education (Tikly, 2003), technologies and objects of everyday practice (Merriman, 2005a), as well as subjects themselves. They thus take effect in a multitude of spatial and discursive settings. Implementing sustainability in education means integrating two complex spaces in which discourse, power and subjectivation are at play.

The contribution of geographers to the debate of how to integrate sustainability and education has been minimal. The spatial and scalar aspects of discourse production and implementation in the context of sustainability education have hitherto been left largely untheorised. While geographers, particularly in the United Kingdom, have researched the ways in which sustainability agendas and messages have indeed influenced individual opinions and behaviour (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2001; Burgess et al., 1998; Hinchliffe,

1996; Hobson, 2002; Merriman, 2005a; 2005b), research on how sustainability is engaged as a technology of governmentality within *education* has been limited.

This thesis makes a contribution to an understanding of how discourse, subjectivation and power interact at the intersections of sustainability and education as governmentalities. Concisely, this research operates at the intersections of discourse, power, governmentality and subjectivation, as they are generated in the context of sustainability education. I use a diverse typology of power informed by Allen (2003) to conceptualise the powers that take effect in sustainability, education and sustainability education. In researching governmentality as *multiple* governmentalities that interact in a micro-geographic context (those of sustainability and education as they intersect in Balinese education), I contribute a novel approach to geographies of governmentality, which largely focus on single, and often broad-scaled processes of governmentality (2005a; Merriman, 2005b).

1.7 Integrating sustainability in Balinese education – An action research experiment

This study is based on seven months of field research in Bali, conducted between July and December 2004, between February and March 2005, in July 2005 and in March 2006. The field research involved mostly qualitative empirical methods. These included face-to-face key informant interviews with teachers, school principals, NGO staff, students, government officials and other acquaintances I made in Bali (see list in Appendix 7); observations of formal teaching and informal education sessions organised by NGOs; a scanning of Balinese teaching policies and materials as well as government reports and media publications. The fieldwork also contained an intensive four-month long action research

component in the form of a series of interactive workshops conducted with three groups of Balinese high school students. This workshop program was carried out partly in partnership with the Balinese non-governmental organisation PPLH Bali (also called ‘the environmental education centre’). The student workshops were carried out with two groups of high school students aged between 12 and 17 and a group of 20 students drawn from 10 high schools in Denpasar who came together at PPLH’s centre to form the ‘Green Team’. The workshops included interactive projects such as photo-voice activities, drama, poster-making, role play and discussion. The Green Team program included two large student-led projects: conducting a quantitative survey on youth waste management behaviour in Denpasar and producing a documentary film on poverty and pollution in Denpasar.

The interactive workshops test an approach called ‘sustainability *as* education’ (Foster, 2001). If young people are to be key players of sustainability, then they need to be given a say in framing the very foundations of a sustainability concept. Educational concepts that are built on this premise could play an important role in fostering the creation of sustainability knowledges that are based on youth interests, concerns and languages. ‘Education *as* sustainability’ aims to create spaces in which students can contemplate, discuss and create their *own* knowledge and opinion of sustainability, as opposed to learning pre-formulated sustainability concepts. By encouraging youth based engagement in sustainability, the educational exercise here becomes itself a process of sustainability.

‘Education *as* sustainability’ supports my understanding of ‘sustainability’ being a *process*, an ongoing debate about how we should live and organise our lives now and in the future,

rather than a fixed concept, definition or end point. It further fits the poststructural underpinnings of this research, which follow a constructivist approach to reality formation – reality is not an objective entity only, but partly created by discourse and the experiences and consciousness of subjects (Johnston et al., 2000; Knorr Cetina, 1993). ‘Education as sustainability’ also creates a discursive openness that may challenge the universalisms that linger in the rhetoric of pushing sustainability internationally through a decade of political activism. It therefore sits well with an action research methodology, which views knowledge as being constructed within the research project by both researcher and research participants. The set-up, procedure and methodological background to this educational action research experiment will be described in more detail in Chapter 5.

In the first part of this thesis, I employ the method of discourse analysis to explore the ways in which sustainability is negotiated in Bali. I explore how sustainability as discourse is produced in public life, in the sector of education, and how students themselves engage with discourses of sustainability. Further, I analyse how discourses of sustainability contribute to concrete practices through processes of subjectivation that operate as part of governmentalities, particularly in high schools in the Balinese capital city of Denpasar. To foreshadow the organisational set-up of this thesis, Chapters 2 through 4 frame the thematic and theoretical underpinnings of the study. They discuss how sustainability as a discourse is debated and produced in Balinese public life and in the educational sector. These three chapters deal with the three main theoretical themes of this research: discourse/power, governmentality and subjectivation. While these three theoretical fields are closely intertwined, each chapter pays particular attention to one of these theories. Chapter 2 delves

into local Balinese discourses that thematise those transformations I have outlined at the start of this chapter. It explores how Balinese discuss their ‘hybrid’ lives and their future among environmental degradation, urbanisation, economic and political change, and how power takes effect in these debates. Chapter 3 looks at education as a project of governmentality, and considers the intersection of governmentalities as sustainability and education are merged. Chapter 4, then, describes how sustainability education is practiced in Balinese secondary education, and how students negotiate the subjectivations that form part of this educational project.

The second part of this thesis engages more deeply with the ways in which sustainability is and can be practiced. Chapters 5 through 7 take a closer look at how my research findings and the experiences of the action research with Balinese students add to these three theories. Chapter 5 outlines the methodological underpinnings of this research as an educational action research experiment. Chapter 6 explores where and how participation in this interactive workshop program led to students’ ‘empowerment’. Chapter 7 discusses the subjectivations of sustainability education from a student point of view. Focussing on the process and outcomes of the Green Team waste management study, it considers how students negotiate the subject positions of sustainability, and whether and how this project led to new subject positions. Chapter 8 describes where and how this action research created student languages and knowledges of sustainability. Based on the Green Team documentary film, I explore how participating in the project affected the ways in which students started to speak about and frame sustainabilities. Chapter 9 provides a synopsis of

Chapter 1: Introduction

the main research findings and discusses how far sustainability action research in education can lead to ‘sustainable outcomes’.

Chapter 2

Balinese sustainabilities and the geographies of discourse and power

Get “an exhilarating feeling of spaciousness and an affinity with the natural surroundings of rice terraces, lushly landscaped gardens and pools” (LeMéri dien, 2005 electronic source). This is an advertising line for a five-star hotel complex on Bali’s south-east coast. The resort was built in the 1990s under considerable local protest, as it lies in direct view of one of Bali’s most important temples. Now, paradoxically, the resort management feels threatened by the very process it has initiated: economic development in the area. Out of concern that surrounding land could be sold for further development the management recently purchased the land of an entire adjacent *subak* irrigation society. To complete their customers’ satisfaction with picturesque views of lush rice terraces and serene agricultural scenes from their balconies, the hotel management “are [now] leasing Balinese farmers to cultivate the land, plant rice, as a tourist attraction!”²⁷ (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.). The managers continuously seek to perfect the ‘normal’ agricultural scenes wet rice cultivation in Bali has to offer. As I was told, they invited an agricultural scientist to inquire whether it was possible to plant a type of rice on the hotel’s new rice fields that would only grow up to a certain height. According to the management, their guests preferred to see rice fields covered in green, meter-high plants, not the ‘ugly’ brown, harvested rice fields (which, of course, are an integral part of Bali’s wet rice cultivation cycle).

²⁷ “Dia sewa orang untuk mengelola tanah, menanam padi, atraksi untuk turis!” (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

This story was recounted to me by a Balinese anthropologist and illustrates a feeling that he and many of my respondents expressed: that Balinese have become mere spectators in the ‘development game’ on their island. The comic taken from *Bog Bog* magazine below (Figure 2.1) satirically implies a question many Balinese have come to ask themselves: Who, in fact, is taking the island of Bali (and with it, Balinese culture) where?



Figure 2.1: Who chauffeurs Bali? (Rik, 2003 Bog Bog 20, 19).

Increasing pollution, transformations in the natural and built environment, and cultural change have prompted another pressing question that has shaped recent public discourse: Who will ‘save’ Bali (Wirata, 2004a) before development has stripped it of those qualities that Balinese value? I was particularly concerned with how the sustainability of Bali’s natural, cultural and economic resources is problematised in debates that address Bali’s future. Does sustainability *matter* in Bali, and, if yes, *how*?

2.1 Where is Bali headed? Local discussions of sustainability

Determining Bali's future is a challenge that increasingly captures Balinese intellectual circles, government and public. Changing environments and lifestyles are regularly discussed in the Balinese media and public life, as Bali has a growing middle class that is becoming increasingly outspoken. As Picard (2005 113) notes,

despite the tight control exerted by the New Order regime over any expression of dissent and its forced de-politisation of society...one witnessed the emergence on the island of something akin to public opinion.

Such public opinion touches on issues that range from tourism and terrorism to environmental change and regional autonomy. For example, the Bali bombing attacks on October 12, 2002, which caused considerable shock amongst the local population, led Balinese to reconsider their lives, and the development and future of their island (Foster, 2003). Robinson and Meaton (2005 77) suggest that, paradoxically, "by bringing Bali very visibly on the world stage post-12 October" the bombings created a "window of opportunity" for the Balinese population to "initiat[e] alternative paradigms of development". Environmental degradation adds a further incentive to reassess local development, culture and economy. Balinese also seek to reposition themselves amongst the political change of a transforming nation state. Intellectuals and opinion leaders debate the ways in which tourism revenues should be rightfully distributed under recent regional autonomy laws, and where political restructuring leaves Bali as an island of cultural and economic particularity (Picard, 2005). The redefinition of Bali in a changing Indonesian context has economic and political dimensions, but also reflects the search for a Balinese identity that can cope with processes of change in localised ways. Two media catch phrases that were ubiquitous during my fieldwork are *Ajeg Bali* and *Tri Hita Karana*.

2.2 Ajeg Bali and Tri Hita Karana – or “Keeping Bali truly Bali” while pursuing the “three causes of happiness”

In late 2004, hardly a day passed on which the term *Ajeg Bali* did not appear in the Balinese media. Balinese newspaper and TV channels featured *Ajeg Bali* in stories, discussions and commentary on a regular basis (Naradha, 2004b). *Ajeg* is a Balinese word that according to my respondents translates to ‘really’, ‘to stay’, or ‘sustained/sustainable’. A physics teacher I interviewed compared the term to the physical aggregate state of ‘solid’ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.). Others suggested that *Ajeg Bali* meant ‘really Bali’ or ‘keeping Bali truly Bali’; to protect Bali from influences of modernisation that destroy its nature and character; to protect and foster Balinese culture:

[A]jeg Bali is the doctrine of Balinese society...It aims to raise the awareness within Balinese society to always look after Bali and to develop it in the context of national unity of the Indonesian Republic...because the lives of Balinese society are already loaded with the culture of consumerism, commercialisation and commodification²⁸ (Naradha, 2004b iii-iv).

These explanations all contain a nostalgic element of keeping with Bali’s past and tradition, seen as under threat from various contemporary processes and outside influences (Wirata, 2004a). But despite the translation of *ajeg* as ‘to stay’, it was often emphasised to me that *Ajeg Bali* was a dynamic, not a static concept (Naradha, 2004b; Wisnu, 2005 pers. comm.). The phrase should not be interpreted as Balinese society remaining stagnant, but as including flexibility to change: “*Ajeg Bali* means keeping Bali Bali...But not in the sense

²⁸ “[A]jeg Bali merupakan cita-cita masyarakat Bali...Sasarannya, agar tumbuh kesadaran di kalangan masyarakat Bali untuk senantiasa menjaga Bali dan membangunnya dalam konteks negara kesatuan Republik Indonesia...Sebab kehidupan manusia Bali kini sudah sarat dengan budaya konsumerisme, komersialisme dan komodifikasi” (Naradha, 2004b iii-iv).

of Bali as it used to be...no...this is dynamic...in line with the development of our time, but still Bali”²⁹ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

Despite its media publicity, *Ajeg Bali* remains a vague concept. Most of my respondents were familiar with the phrase, but were unsure about its exact origin. Most thought that the *Bali Post* newspaper had invented *Ajeg Bali* several years ago³⁰. Also, my respondents expressed confusion around how to ‘implement’ *Ajeg Bali* in their everyday lives. The recommendations provided by the concept’s spokespeople include calls to implement regional autonomy, develop a social contract that can better cope with conflict, and strengthen the traditional laws and institutions that protect Balinese culture (Naradha, 2004b). But what does that mean in everyday life? To facilitate the implementation of *Ajeg Bali*, its normative idea is often linked to a second concept, which offers a slightly more practical approach to how to behave in line with *Ajeg Bali*. This second concept is that of *Tri Hita Karana* [THK], which during the time of my fieldwork was as prominent in the Balinese media as *Ajeg Bali*. THK is a concept associated with Balinese Hindu belief and translates to ‘three causes of happiness’. THK cannot be found explicitly in any Hindu religious texts, but is allegedly based on principles stated in the Hindu holy books of *Bhagavad Gita*, *Yajur Weda* and *Catur Weda*³¹. THK outlines three relations of harmony:

²⁹ “*Ajeg Bali* itukan Bali tetap Bali...dalam artian tidak seperti Bali dulu...ngak...itu dinamis...sesuai dengan...perkembangan zaman, tetapi tetap Bali” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

³⁰ Some respondents also named the Governor of the province of Bali as being involved in the production of *Ajeg Bali*. Others referred to ‘the government in general’ and named Balinese religious and academic figures who publish on the concept of *Ajeg Bali* in the *Bali Post* newspaper as its origin.

³¹ The *Bhagavad Gita* is the most sacred passage of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*. The *Yajur-Veda* is one of the four major Vedas that have survived until today. It dates from around 1,000 B.C. (Eiseman, 1989). The three elements of THK *atman* (soul), *prana* (energy or power) and *sarira* (body), are based on the *Bhagavad Gita*, Chapter III, Aphorism 10, which mentions *prajapati* (the one and only God), *praja* (humans) and *kamadhuk* (lust, desire/the natural environment) as crucial aspects to achieve a harmonious life. Aphorism 11 and 14 in the same chapter state more clearly that “human, godly and natural relationships might account for harmony if

between humans and their God, between humans and other humans, and between humans and their environment:

In Bali, the concept of harmonious and balanced human relationships with God, fellow beings and nature is united and called Tri Hita Karana. Literally, tri means three, hita goodness/pleasure/joy/perpetuity and karana cause or origin of the cause. Thus, Tri Hita Karana represents the three elements that allow emergence of good (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 5).

The harmony and balance among these three spheres is depicted in the shape of the logo 'Patra Trisula', which is used to visualise THK (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2: The 'Tri Hita Karana Tourism Awards' logo 'Patra Trisula' balances the three causes of happiness (Hilton, 2005 electronic source).

THK requires Balinese Hindus to maintain and foster a balance within and amongst these three relationships on a daily basis. Some of my respondents described THK as the vehicle

resting on *Yadnya* (holy sacrifice)" (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 31). The book of *Catur Weda* further states that three elements together, the life-giving force *atma* (or God), *sukla-swanita* (sperm and ovum) – which represents harmony in the relationships of humans with fellow beings, and *garba saya* (four spiritual siblings), within a preserved natural environment, create harmony (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002).

through which one could make one's everyday behaviour *ajeg*³². Both concepts are based on the same motivation – they are advocated as a ‘Balinese’ response to the challenges of modernisation and globalisation. As Darma Putra and Allan (2004 11) put it, “[d]uring recent years much attention has been paid to *Tri Hita Karana* as Bali struggles to adapt to the influences of international tourism, consumer culture, and mass media”. Thus, as with *Ajeg Bali*, THK is framed as a response to outside influence and cultural change, which, in the opinion of Balinese media commentators, has caused the three spheres of THK to become ‘unbalanced’.

2.3 The power of ‘sustainability’ as discursive practice

Many of my respondents mentioned the concept of THK as their very first comment when hearing that I was undertaking a study of ‘sustainability’. It seems that this association is based at least partly on the production of THK as a way forward into a more balanced Balinese future – a notion that resonates with global concepts of sustainability. *Ajeg Bali* and THK address similar concerns to those that have rendered the sustainable development discourse an issue of international politics. I will show that *Ajeg Bali* and THK operate alongside other discourses and intersect with these in the ways they mobilise power. Before examining sustainability discourses more closely, I would like to take another look at theories of discourse.

³² It is interesting how the terms *ajeg* and THK have found their way into the Indonesian language. In a THK debate I witnessed, the participants even used the verbs ‘men-trihitakarakanakan’ – to ‘Trihitakarana-ise’ and ‘mengajegkan’ – to ‘Ajeg-ise’.

Sustainability is not a given ‘truth’, but a normative concept constructed through discourse. Through the construction of the ‘realities’ of social life, discourses take textual as well as material effect (Johnston et al., 2000). In shaping certain social realities, discourses are “always linked to the exercise of power” (Ghandi, 1998 77). The ways in which discourses effect power reflect the interests of those actors who participate in a discourse’s “production, reproduction and transformation through written and oral statements” (Adger et al., 2001 683). It is here, through discourses’ *effect* and *operation*, according to Allen (2003), that power operates (rather than constituting a resource of substance that is *held* or *stored*). In the manner they engender power, discourses are performative: they enter into formations of the self and the social and “constitute the ‘objects’ of which they speak” (Johnston et al., 2000 180). In this process, “language is the vessel that steers hegemonic ideas into ascendancy and perpetuates a particular vision of the world” (Rigg et al., 1999 581). Through language, discourses construct knowledges and ‘truths’. In what Peet and Watts (1996) refer to as ‘imaginaries’, discourses simultaneously reflect and influence what can be thought and said, and thereby shape the ways in which realities are socially constructed. For example, in the case of the environment, “imaginaries...can be thought of as the ways in which a society collectively constructs, interprets and communicates nature” (McGregor, 2004 594).

Language can work to purposefully recreate ‘familiar’ notions of ‘power as dominance’. Words and discourse can erroneously make the notion of ‘power as necessarily working *over* someone (or something)’ seem ‘natural’. For instance, discourses can be used to create the social realities that serve the ends of certain interest groups in a society. Ghandi (1998),

for example, explains the function of discourses in establishing a status quo in social stratification. Discourses that portray one group or class as ‘higher up’ in a system of social stratification effect power as *domination*: “modes of utterance or systems of meaning which are both constituted by, and committed to, the perpetuation of dominant social systems” (Ghandi, 1998 77). Here, it is not the discourse only, but its social acceptance and conduct that effect its power.

Importantly, Allen (2003) reminds us, power as it is generated by and through discourse should not be equated with domination or seen as necessarily performed *over* others. Instead, power can take *multiple* forms and modalities, such as seduction or manipulation, or power through association *with* others (Allen, 2003). Allen bases his argumentation on theorists such as Arendt (1958; 1970), who argues for a non-domineering and enabling form of power through *association*³³. Power here becomes

a positive gesture in which all those involved benefit in some way...rooted in *mutual action*...[S]omething that holds people together in the pursuit of their common, agreed ends[,]...yet only as long as the effective mobilisation lasts (Allen, 2003 39 and 53, original emphasis).

It is Arendt’s notion of associational power that leads Allen to highlight power *to* and power *with* as modes of power that exist alongside other modalities, such as violence, domination or authority.

I now take a look at some of the imaginaries of sustainability created in ‘international discourses’ and their relevance for sustainability debates in Bali. I focus on three ‘stories’

³³ Arendt goes as far as to argue that in the light of power through association, violence and domination are not forms of power, but in fact mark an *absence* of all power (Arendt, 1958; 1970).

of sustainability, which are deliberately simplified here, to provide examples of *what forms* of power *take effect* through particular discourses of sustainability.

Story 1: A global partnership

The first story is one of success and global partnership, encouraging countries around the world to work together towards a ‘common goal’ of sustainability. The United Nations, for example, who have advocated for sustainable development to become a key issue of international politics, promote sustainability as a “global partnership...based on common understanding of shared needs and interests” (UN, 1997 1). Here, national, regional and local governments as well as citizens, organisations and NGOs are encouraged to make use of the positive powers of increased global connectedness, to network, exchange experiences, goals and indicators for global cooperation for sustainability³⁴. As Adger et al. (2001 684) note:

In the 1990s the discourses of global environmental change moved to the centre ground of environmental debates, leading to global-scale solutions for what are perceived to be significant environmental problems...[T]he rhetoric of UNCED³⁵ was almost exclusively dominated...by the belief that these so-called global environmental problems are in some way ‘solvable’ through globally coordinated action.

Thus, issues of global environmental change, such as climate change, desertification or deforestation, require international cooperation carried out through local action that

³⁴ While also outlining obstacles and persisting problems (Clark, 1997; Strong, 1999), reviews of sustainable development progress for the UN follow-up conferences 1997 and 2002 also reported significant progress. According to a UN survey on the progress of Local Agenda 21 (Agenda 21’s local form) by the end of 2001 “6,416 local governments in 113 countries worldwide had committed to the Local Agenda 21 process” (ICLEI, 2002 24).

³⁵ United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro 1992.

operates *in line with* global goals (UNCED, 1992)³⁶. Indeed, one of the best-known catch phrases used in this sustainability discourse is ‘think global, act local’. Thus, people at the local level are required to tie their local actions to the global sustainability agenda, which suggests making “‘connections’ between one’s (local) experience and conditions elsewhere in the world” (Gough, 2002 1218). The notion of sustainability as a ‘global partnership’ resonates with the vision and goals the UNESCO advocates to mark the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, which I mentioned in Chapter 1. Here, too, a global notion of sustainable development is advertised, which can be used as a guideline to implement sustainability education programs around the globe.

Power, in this ‘global’ discourse of sustainability is intertwined with productions of scale. In this ‘global partnership’, the local is described as holding the power *to act with* others to constitute the power of a global movement. This idea engages a language of local empowerment and action, which resonates with Arendt’s notion of associational power. However, such cooperative action is envisaged to take place under the ‘overarching’ realm of the global: acting *in line with* the universalised values of global sustainability. Thus, globalised discourses, or imaginaries of a global commons, dictate the terms of activism. They hereby exercise power *over* local actors. This power *over* rests partly on productions of *scale* (such as ‘the global’ and ‘the local’). According to this discourse, global problems can only be solved with global solutions that are created on the same scale, but implemented through local action (Yencken, 2000). The assumption that the local ‘down there’ acts for the global ‘up there’ produces an image of ‘the global’ as being bigger, more

³⁶ Chapter 28 of the document specifically singles out local governments, as “the level of governance closest to the people”, to work out local action plans (Local Agenda 21’s) in partnership with their communities.

‘important’, more resourceful and thus somehow ‘more powerful’. This image is served by vertical, hierarchical notions of scale (Brown and Purcell, 2005). Thus, in this story of sustainability as global partnership, power operates by association and simultaneously domination, partly effected through productions of scale.

“Scale is out of fashion!”, is a sentence I sometimes heard from academic commentators when I explained my concerns about scalar politics in sustainability discourses. Indeed, geographers are moving away from the notion of scale (Marston et al., 2005), arguing that, problematically, scale is presupposed to take a hierarchical, top-down shape, and that power associations are seemingly arbitrarily attached to certain scales (Berg, 2004; Howitt, 1998; Taylor, 1982). Nevertheless, sustainability discourses employ languages of scale – for example in framing the local and the global. And this is done for a reason. The advocates of the discourse of ‘sustainability as partnership’ profit from a ‘global’ scaling of environmental problems, as this makes local action comply with ‘bigger’ global goals. Although the practices of sustainability around the globe may look quite different, the discourse of a ‘global partnership’ seeks to *create* a global social reality through language so it can dictate global conditions for sustainable development. Notions of power and scale here serve the discourse’s ends and will not go away, even if we move away from scalar models in geography. I suggest that, rather than arguing that scale does not exist, we should investigate the ‘politics of scale’ (Brenner, 2001) inherent in discourse. This means unveiling the ways in which ‘familiar’, conventional notions of power are attached to certain scales for political reasons.

Scalar politics also emerge in sustainability discourses Bali. During the time of my field research, the Balinese media was flooded with the fundamentally *local* concepts of *Ajeg Bali* and *Tri Hita Karana* [THK]. Although there was less talk about ‘sustainability as global partnership’ or notions of sustainable development, respondents from academic and government backgrounds had a high awareness of the ‘global’ concept of sustainable development (which, in its Indonesian translation of *pembangunan berkelanjutan* has made its way into the language of academia, politics and government planning) (BAPEDALDA, 2003; BAPEDALDA/PSLUW, 2004). Some of my respondents saw the aftertaste of ‘modern’, capitalist development (which led European thinkers to consider the limits to growth in the 1970s, and sustainable development in the late 1980s) slowly occurring in Bali (BAPEDALDA2, 2004; Dewa, 2004 pers. comms.)³⁷. Simultaneously, my respondents acknowledged the achievements in environmentally sound technologies and behaviour in the ‘West’. There was a notion that, even though in terms of modernisation, urbanisation and ‘development’ Bali was heading towards the problems many ‘developed’ countries encounter – yet, the Balinese had not acquired the discipline that, according to one respondent, triggered environmentally sound choices and behaviour in many other countries (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.; Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.)³⁸. Local discourses do not set up local responses to Balinese challenges as part of a global strategy, but there was still a sense that sustainability efforts in Indonesia follow a global pattern.

³⁷ In Indonesia, according to a biology teacher I interviewed, technological development was only just taking place, and the necessary links between industrial lifestyles and environmental destruction still needed to be made: “In Bali technology is double edged, like a knife. On the one hand it is good for health, on the other hand it is for killing”³⁷ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

³⁸ A Balinese anthropologist I spoke to put this problem down to a lack of social control. In ‘Western’ countries, the social control for environmentally sound behaviour was achieved by effective and respected law, another respondent stated. In Indonesia, however, such behaviour was based on religion, the main source of social control: “In the West maybe they seldom go to church, but the law is so powerful that it can function as a mechanism of social control. In Indonesia, religion is that social control”³⁸ (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.). This, however, was not enough to engender environmentally conscious behaviour.

Despite the fundamentally local outlook of Balinese sustainability discourses, the Balinese I interviewed did not see sustainability as envisaged in *Ajeg Bali* or THK as being *opposed* to global ones. Instead, local discourses are set *in relation to* global concepts, as “Bali cannot escape from globalisation” (Wirata, 2004b 17)³⁹. Some of my respondents saw the concepts of sustainable development and THK as clearly linked: “Yes, this is one of the concepts of sustainable development, *Tri Hita Karana* is perceived as fitting in [with sustainable development]”⁴⁰ (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.). When asked whether he thought THK was close to the idea of sustainable development, a government official from the provincial Department of Environment replied:

Yes, very close indeed. Many of its concerns also figure in Agenda 21 for example, which is about nature, culture and social aspects, about balance and about local knowledge and concepts. *Tri Hita Karana* is also about minding the links between spheres, the natural and spiritual, finding a balance between these two (BAPEDALDA, 2004 pers. comm.).

Despite notions that local and global sustainabilities are not opposed, the idea that local action serves as part of a global partnership is only relevant to a limited extent. Balinese sustainabilities are seen as operating in harmony with global goals, but not necessarily as part of a globally concerted effort. Thus, the politics of scale that produces the global as the overarching framework for sustainability do not affect Balinese sustainabilities in a significant way. In Bali, the production of the ‘local’ as a marker for scalar politics is important, as I will show in the remainder of this chapter. I now turn to a second story that

³⁹ “Bali tidak mungkin melepaskan diri dari globalisasi” (Wirata, 2004b 17).

⁴⁰ “Ya, itu salah satu dari konsep pembangunan sustainable itu, sustainable development, *Tri Hita Karana* dianggap cocok, ya” (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

focuses less on scalar arrangements, but more on the geopolitical and economic effects of discourse.

Story 2: Smothering the local or the hidden agendas of a global partnership

The second sustainability story to some extent forms a counter-discourse to the notion of international collaboration for sustainable development. According to this story, 'global' discourses of sustainability conceal interests of geopolitical power and economic dominance that call the very terms of an alleged 'global partnership' into question. The sustainable development discourse presented in UN-commissioned reports clearly harmonises sustainable development with economic growth and capitalist economic development (WCED, 1987). Increased standards of living, achieved through economic growth and capitalist trade and production, are portrayed as potentially negotiable with the goals of sustainable development, and are even seen as a precondition for environmental investment and behaviour (UNCED, 1992; WCED, 1987). Thus, Doyle (1998) sees the sustainable development process as a strategy of capitalist and industrial interests of the North to support their own agenda, while silencing the environmentalist opposition. Several authors have described sustainable development as a 'Western' agenda of conservative environmentalism, disguised in a 'cloak of globalism' (Doyle, 1998; Nygren, 1999; White, 1992). In its global approach, sustainable development may override local lifestyles and land management systems in 'developing countries', which (according to sustainability's own 'cutting-edge' indicators) may have been 'sustainable' for centuries (Nygren, 1999).

Similar to the first sustainability story, power here operates *over* actors in developing nations, hidden behind the rhetoric of associational power *with*. This power is constituted by the alleged economic and financial dominance of industrially developed countries over less ‘developed’ countries on the stage of world politics. Power envisaged in this discourse takes effect as domination: global discourses (produced as hegemonic), paired with economic and political power, dominate local or ‘indigenous’ livelihoods.

I must admit that this second story of sustainability drove my own pre-fieldwork assumptions. Knowing that most funding for non-governmental sustainability programs in Bali is derived from ‘Western’ donor agencies, I embarked on my fieldwork with some concern that ‘Western’ sustainability agendas might dominate Balinese sustainability discourses through the avenues of development aid. During my interviews, I could not sense such concerns on the part of Balinese. I definitely did detect some almost defensive self-positioning that at least indirectly reflected a discursive resistance to something that is portrayed as ‘bigger’ or ‘more powerful’. My respondents conveyed a sense that in THK Bali possessed a spiritual and philosophical knowledge that went back to long *before* the ‘West’ had developed concepts such as sustainable development. The Balinese had simply forgotten about their endemic wisdom in the turmoil of development and modernisation. As various respondents outlined, Bali definitely did not need a ‘Western’ concept of sustainability, since it already had its own locally and culturally deep-rooted concepts. Despite recognising ‘Western’ achievements in ‘sustainable behaviour’, my respondents saw environmental standards and practices ‘from the West’ through the lens of Balinese concepts:

[W]e should understand...people outside our island, like people from...more developed countries, even though they don't have [the] THK concept, in every day life, they already act as what THK concept told us here (Putra, 2004 pers. comm.).

In the realisation that people elsewhere apply similar strategies to THK, the local yardstick of THK was applied to make sense of, and to some extent, measure international sustainability efforts.

The advocates of THK go even further. Many of my respondents pointed out that while THK was a truly Balinese concept, it was allegedly acknowledged by *all* Balinese (not just Balinese Hindus). Furthermore, it was a *universal* concept (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002) that could be applied anywhere in the world and in several religions (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.). As one respondent put it: "We already have very good concept about harmony in life. Why don't people from other places follow to act like what is the meaning of THK in everyday life?" (Putra, 2004 pers. comm.). A government official, in turn, stated: "*Tri Hita Karana* is already there in Bali, so why not build on this again and make it a global concept, as it is in fact globally relevant?" (BAPEDALDA, 2004 pers. comm.). An officer from the Department for the Environment in Denpasar claimed that, indeed, THK was already being applied in other Asian countries and even in Europe. Thus, while highlighting the endemic nature of THK, respondents repeatedly emphasised that THK could confirm international approaches to sustainability.

The portrayal of THK as a globally relevant concept does not remain at the discursive level only. There are pro-active efforts to internationalise and export THK as a Balinese

approach to sustainable living. Since the year 2000, the publishers of the *Bali Travel News* magazine have staged THK tourism awards each year (Figure 2.3). Here, around 80 hotels in Bali compete in their THK performance (Ashrama, 2000; Ashrama and Ingham, 2002)⁴¹. The organisers of the THK tourism awards are urging for the concept behind these awards to be globalised and accepted at national and international levels. The THK tourism awards team has taken up the motto: “Safeguard the world through *Tri Hita Karana*. We have already started in Bali” (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 7). The authors of the brochure further claim that THK might be a concept that can address issues of sustainability at local as well as global levels:

[W]e are...confident that by implementing THK we will not only be capable of safeguarding [the] local physical environment, but we can take active part in resolving four global issues: environment, democratisation, fundamental human rights, and intellectual rights (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 4-5).

⁴¹ The hotels are given a questionnaire and are also visited by a jury of academics and other ‘experts’ who volunteer for this evaluation task. Evaluation is based on indicators in the areas of environmental, social and spiritual performance. The categories of evaluation are divided into three groups, the cultural element (e.g. existence of a holy place and symbols of Hindu religion in the hotel complex, the implementation of Hindu ceremonies and religious activities and application of Balinese architectural concepts); the community element (inter-employee and employee-management-relations, company-community relations, intra-company social organisation and manpower composition, human resources development and sympathy for humanitarian causes); and the environment element (environmental quality and management, waste management, architectural style and participation in addressing local, national and international environmental problems). The goal of the THK tourism awards program is to make hotels comply with THK values while promoting Bali’s hotels as protectors of culture and environment, both locally and to national and international customers (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002; Pujaastawa, 2004; Wisnu, 2005).

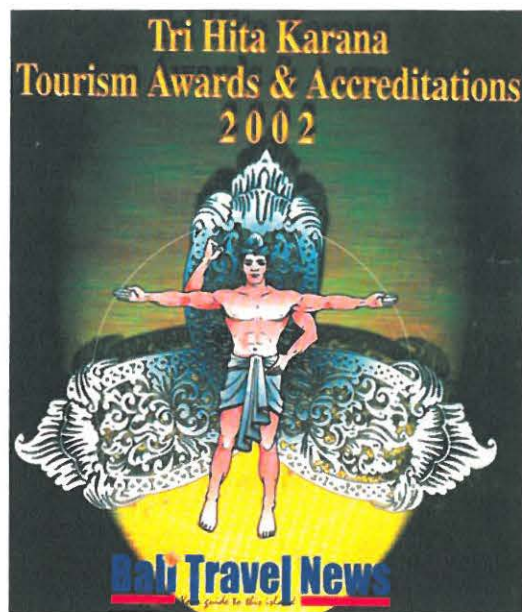


Figure 2.3: The Tri Hita Karana Tourism Awards brochure 2002, publishing the awards winners. The THK tourism awards logo symbolises the three balances required by THK (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 front cover).

During the time of my fieldwork, the THK tourism awards as a hotel accreditation system were officially endorsed by the World Tourism Organisation (BaliPost, 2004 8 Oct, 10; BTN, 2004 Oct 22 - Nov 11, 1 and 2). As the local press announced at the time: “*Tri Hita Karana sudah mendunia*” (BaliPost, 2005 Oct 5, 11), which translates to ‘THK is already becoming global’. The next goal for the contest organisers is to make THK one of the ASEAN hotel classification standards (Wisnu, 2005). THK is thus an example of a local discourse that is actively shaping international practices.

It becomes evident that Balinese sustainability discourses are far from being dominated by a globalised concept of sustainability as suggested in the ‘second story of sustainability’. In contrast, through the internationalisation of the THK Tourism Awards, Bali’s three causes of happiness are effectively globalised. Thus, in the Balinese context, the power

sustainability agendas are seen to have *over* ‘developing countries’ are transformed into power *to* in Bali. *Ajeg Bali* and THK highlight local particularity as Balinese independence from Western paradigms, and proactively seeking to affect the global, Balinese academics turn the alleged hegemony of the ‘global’ over the ‘local’ on its head.

Story 3: The ‘traditional’ roots of sustainability

According to the third story, ‘Western’ ideas of sustainability are mocking the deep and sophisticated knowledge of balanced and harmonious lifestyles many cultures on this planet have been practicing for thousands of years (Armitage, 2003). Balinese ‘traditional’ land management, anchored in Hindu Balinese belief and practices, has been described as ‘sustainable’ – before development agencies from the ‘West’ advocated the Green Revolution (Lansing, 1987 pers. comm.; Mitchell, 1994a; 1994b)⁴². In this third story, the ‘contemporary’, globalised concept of sustainability is portrayed as a regurgitation of ancient, local knowledge; erroneously advertised as an achievement of critical thinkers in the so-called ‘West’. Meanwhile, indigenous people and their knowledge and practices paradoxically fall victim to the global, capitalist economy advanced by the West (here is the link to story number 2). This story of sustainability emphasises the limitedness of Western ‘rational’ thinking (Peat, 1997) and points to the injustices of development agendas: developed nations have encouraged ‘developing’ nations to adopt capitalist market-based economic development (for example through structural adjustment programs), often by marginalising local knowledge. Yet, the minute ‘developed countries’

⁴² For example, a positive correlation between ritual and ecology has famously been established by Rappaport (1984). While Rappaport’s broad-sweeping idea that “ritual is *the* paradigmatic means of establishing obligation” and of generating social and ecological order (Grimes, 2003 41) has since been criticised, the relationship between ritual and ecology (and sustainability) remains a focus in anthropological research.

saw the potentially catastrophic results of a worldwide level of development based on their own standards, they turned around and pointed to the need for ‘sustainable development’. This third story is linked to the second one in the “lament that global and national forces are imposing damaging environmental policies on local people and ecologies”⁴³ (Brown and Purcell, 2005 612). In the third story of sustainability, again, power is seen as being exercised by ‘the global’ or ‘the West’ *over* indigenous people and their knowledge. Simultaneously, the story seems to argue for an indigenous power *to* defend their traditional knowledge against Western discursive imperialism.

It is this third sustainability story which resonated most strongly with the ways in which I found sustainability to be produced in Balinese discourses. *Ajeg Bali* and THK are discursive celebrations of an alleged endemic, local wisdom. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine the relevance of this third story more closely in the context of Balinese sustainabilities. I critically engage with the notion of ‘indigenous knowledge’ and the ways in which it can be seen as a unified, harmonious force that represents the ‘true’ knowledge of sustainability. But before moving on, let me recapture what the three stories of sustainability I introduce here do for the argument of this thesis.

The three stories are clearly simplified accounts of sustainability discourses that have emerged over the past decade or so, and lump together streams of arguments that are obviously far more complex and nuanced. I have selected these three stories as they emphasise some points that are crucial in discussing the concept of sustainability. First,

⁴³ In turn, there have also been critical approaches to the hegemonisation of the local. Perreault for example argues that rather than focussing on the local level only, indigenous groups should ‘scale up’ and become involved in “multiscalar networks” to counter their marginalisation (Perreault, 2003).

sustainability is not a clear-cut model with quantifiable indicators or guidelines, but a debate that consists of various, competitive and potentially conflicting discourses. Second, these discourses employ and produce power in the ways they imagine sustainability as a concept and foster sustainability implementation. They also engage notions of scale – for example of the ‘local’ and the ‘global’, as well as categories such as ‘indigenous’ and ‘Western’. These discursive categories reflect the different interests that drive sustainability as a political project – as a global partnership, or as a local sanctum, for example. The notion that many localities can serve ‘the global’, or that local knowledge is somehow more ‘sustainable’ than global knowledge, attach associations of power to spatial categories and geographical scales. Thus, language plays an important part in the ways in which power takes effect in these various, at times contradictory, discourses of sustainability.

So, if sustainability is a debate that contains disparate discourses and is seen to include an array of ‘local’ and ‘global’ knowledge, then the idea that sustainable development can be a universally agreed, globally relevant concept, implemented in localities around the world, seems doubtful. Adger et al. (2001 682) argue that “since global discourses are often based on shared myths and blueprints of the world, the political prescriptions flowing from them are often inappropriate for local realities”. Rather than striving for the local adaptation of a globally accepted ‘common goal’, it seems more sensible for sustainability as a contested, normative concept to be unpacked in its localised validations, functions and complexities. These complexities can add to sustainability as an ongoing process of debate – rather than smothering such debate and diversity with the universalisation of one global idea. Poststructural analysis provides us with the tools to make visible the importance of

language, discourse, power and truth embedded in stories and productions of sustainability. I now want to use these tools to critically unpack the discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK, especially in the ways they engage power.

2.4 Balinese stories of sustainability and the effects of power

Inventions of sustainability: The power of authority

Balinese discourses produce traditional practices as ‘sustainable’. If integrated into everyday practices, *Ajeg Bali* and THK are advocated as providing a path to sustainable, ‘truly Balinese’ futures. The production of sustainability approaches as profoundly local fits in with the third story of sustainability I described above, which portrays local knowledge as ‘more sustainable’ than Western knowledge. As a definition of local knowledge, Ellen and Harris (Ellen and Harris, 2000) establish a list of characteristics of what they refer to as ‘indigenous knowledge’: being rooted in place, holistic in character, orally transmitted, and resulting from practical engagement with everyday life concerns and the practices of trial and error. Arguably, many societies on this planet have highly valuable environmental knowledge deeply rooted in local culture. They also sustain a closer and more intensive, ‘balanced’ relationship with the environment than most ‘Western’ societies. In the case of *Ajeg Bali* and THK, Balinese tradition, cosmology and Hindu religion, which strives for a balance between the human, the environment and the spiritual, could be an example of such a ‘balanced’ relationship.

Problematically, local or indigenous knowledge is often portrayed in dualistic terms, on the one hand as subordinate to and less scientific and sophisticated than Western, ‘global’

knowledge (Gross and Levitt, 1994); on the other as a source of balanced, sustainable living (Nygren, 1999) in danger of being eradicated by globalisation and modernity. Constructing local knowledge as sustainable *per se*, however, creates a perceived harmony and denies the ‘unsustainability’ of many local practices (against ‘Western’ standards, this is). It further eclipses the internal contestations and complex hierarchies of gender, class, religious and political differences in which local knowledges are entangled (Nygren, 1999). Accounts of alleged harmonious lifestyles of local cultures downplay the complexities of contemporary realities in many developing countries. This is indeed true for Bali’s urban South, where Balinese lead lifestyles that represent a mix of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ elements. The mystical story surrounding the line of holy trees at Denpasar airport, which I recounted in the prologue to this thesis, is only one example for the complex interplay of the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’ in Balinese urban realities.

The poststructural approach of discourse analysis enables us to look beyond the dichotomy of ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ in local sustainability discourses by making visible the language and power that contribute to creations and imaginaries of social reality. Descriptions of sustainable and balanced local lifestyles that are facing ‘modern’ invasion neglect the fact that ‘tradition’ is often an invented, contested and shifting entity (Baviskar, 2000; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Nygren, 1999; Sundar, 2000; Vickers, 1989). *Ajeg Bali* and THK are presented as fundamentally local concepts, deeply grounded in Balinese tradition and Hindu religious philosophy. Citizens are persuaded that the norms these concepts convey are ‘traditionally Balinese’, and that dutifully pursuing them will improve the island’s future. Upon questioning the origins of the two catch phrases, it becomes clear

that, in fact, they are *inventions* of tradition. The phrase *Ajeg Bali* was recently coined by the Balinese media. THK, as such, is also not an ancient Hindu tradition. The construction of THK allegedly goes back to a 1969 effort of I Gusti Ketut Kaler, the director of the Provincial Office of Religion at the time, to “protect village communities from the ‘pollution’ of communis[t] indoctrination’ and remind them of their Hindu religious roots”⁴⁴ (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002). According to Ashrama and Ingham (2002) THK was then re-enacted in 1997 in an effort to strengthen Bali’s position in negotiations of regional autonomy. Thus, by contrast to their own claims, *Ajeg Bali* and THK far from represent ancient wisdoms of balance and harmony; they are politicised concepts that were invented in Bali’s recent history.

Although it should be evaluated as positive that the Balinese media has become an engine for local debate and that through letters to the editor, Balinese can and are voicing their commentary and opinions on local issues, the *Ajeg Bali* and THK discourses are authoritative and dominated by Bali’s educated elite. Those involved in the invention of ‘tradition’ and its publication through media commentary appear to be a small group of well-educated Balinese: academics, religious figures, government officials, social commentators and *adat* (Balinese traditional law) leaders⁴⁵ (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002). Notably, one and the same core group of ‘experts’ are actively involved in developing and

⁴⁴ This move by the Balinese Office of Religion occurred in a climate of anti-communist tension that surrounded the extreme political violence and anti-communist massacres following the coup that brought President Suharto to power.

⁴⁵ Members of the THK Tourism Awards jury, for example, are described with attributes such as “active advisor in the fields of art and culture” or “regular contributor to a number of mass media” (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002 65 and 68).

advocating *both* the THK and *Ajeg Bali* discourses⁴⁶. Thus, to some extent the production of local futures discourses is an elitist exercise; respected intellectuals ‘lead’ others in their opinion about Balinese present and future challenges. Although they operate as separate discourses, *Ajeg Bali* and THK are closely linked and are, at least to some extent, part of the same political project. Both concepts are heavily politicised discourses that use the language of tradition and religion as a means to promote the values a faction of the Balinese elite would like to see sustained as ‘truly Balinese’.

In the publicising of *Ajeg Bali* and THK, power takes effect as authority. Power as authority depends on recognition – figures of authority are recognised in a society for one reason or another, for their charisma, political appeal, or other characteristics attributed to leadership personality (Allen, 2003). Thus, power as authority can only take effect as long as subjects recognise this authority and are ready to subsume themselves under it⁴⁷. Schoenfelder (2004) shows that ‘experts’ (for example high caste priests) have historically played an important role in producing ideology and symbolism in Bali⁴⁸. Balinese look up to their religious leaders and intellectuals for guidance on the challenges of modernising life. And intellectuals only too willingly respond to these expectations. As Pringle (2004 184) remarks tongue-in-cheek: “[I]t sometimes seems that to qualify as a Balinese intellectual one has to question relentlessly the premises of modernity and the meaning of

⁴⁶ For example, a chief executive of the Bali Post Group and editor of the book “*Ajeg Bali: Sebuah Cita-Cita*”, published by the Bali Post in 2004, is also a member of the THK tourism awards jury (Ashrama and Ingham, 2002).

⁴⁷ Weber sees this authority as the main form of power on which bureaucratic organisation is based (Allen, 2003).

⁴⁸ Schoenfelder (2004) discusses the function of cultural experts in the process of ‘materialisation’, which aims at lending ideology a ‘concrete form’ in which it can be communicated to society. He focuses especially on the productions of ritual symbolism for certain sacred objects in Bali, which shifted and were purposefully reproduced over time, partly with the help of Balinese ‘experts’.

being Balinese in a globalised setting”. Future discourses in Bali are granted increased authority and promotional success through the fact that they are promoted by ‘experts’ and “educated Balinese...claiming to be the mouthpiece of an incipient Balinese ‘civil society’” (Picard, 2005 113) in influential newspapers.

The authority of local discourses also draws on the economic and political influence of the media. To publish their ideas, advocates of *Ajeg Bali* and THK have access to a large and influential part of the Balinese media, the *Bali Post Group*, which “is the biggest media business in Bali” (Putra, 2004 pers. comm.). The *Bali Post* has the widest readership among newspapers in Bali (Wisnu, 2005 pers. comm.). Generally, newspapers in Bali are shared among friends, work colleagues, nightwatchmen, waiters, vendors and groups of men ‘hanging around’ on the street. At the cost of only Rp2,500 (about 35 Australian cents⁴⁹) the *Bali Post* is relatively affordable for Denpasar citizens. While the *Bali Post* has committed itself to advertising *Ajeg Bali*, the *Bali Travel News*, an English language magazine that updates tourists on cultural highlights (also owned by the *Bali Post Group*), has taken on the promotion of THK. It regularly features articles on the origin and practices of THK and their importance for Balinese culture. Thus, the *Bali Post Group* makes sure that the two concepts are granted a permanent place on the Balinese media stage. And, indeed, *Ajeg Bali* and THK are publicised in such a repetitive way that the Balinese urban public can hardly avoid coming into contact with them in one way or another. Under the influence of both media and spiritual leaders, the provincial government has taken the discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK on board, including them in legislation and government projects. The Balinese building code, for example, now rests officially on the principle of

⁴⁹ <http://www.oanda.com/>, conversion performed in Jan 18, 2006.

THK⁵⁰ (BAPEDALDA2, 2004). Thus, partly through media pressure, the concepts are given political legitimacy by local authorities.

The language that assists power as authority as it is exercised in *Ajeg Bali* and THK involves a deliberate use of jargon. *Ajeg Bali*, for example, is a catchy phrase that Balinese can easily relate to. The need ‘to keep Bali truly Bali’ is something most of my respondents agreed with. THK, in turn, has been similarly successful as rhetoric and is now widely accepted as a part of Balinese tradition. Balinese have internalised the ‘three causes of happiness’ because of their cultural relevance and rhetorical smoothness. “THK is very good,...good to read, good to say”, an academic remarked (Dharma, 2004 pers. comm.). With their choice of language and topics the inventors and commentators of THK ‘hit a nerve’ in Balinese society. The discourses tap into longstanding fears that Balinese culture may disappear due to outside influence. When I asked one of the editors of *Bali Travel News* why the Bali Post Group promoted *Ajeg Bali*, he replied:

...Because there are thousands of immigrants coming to Bali, our culture is now disappearing, that’s what is happening. We are so afraid! And the only institution that can move / change something is the media. There are many cultures that, maybe the one in America, Inca, yes the Inca culture...That culture has already disappeared. It’s disappeared. We are afraid of that.

Many of my respondents expressed a similar fear of being ‘swamped’ by *pendatang* (immigrants or ‘newcomers’), and expressed worry about the detrimental effect increased immigration may have on the sustainability of Balinese culture and religion. Between 1992 and 93, between 60,000 and 80,000 people immigrated to Bali – mainly domestic

⁵⁰ THK was fully embraced by government officials I interviewed and has been incorporated into regional planning law, such as the Rencana Umum Tata Ruang (RUTR) Wilayah Bali⁵⁰ (Peraturan Daerah No.4/1996 and No.4/1999).

immigrants attracted to the island by its booming construction and tourism industries⁵¹ (Warren, 1998b). The increased share of ‘domestic’ foreigners among Bali’s population causes fears of changes to the island’s social and cultural fabric. Domestic immigrants are claimed to be of low socio-economic standing and “end up in petty business, for example, as street vendors” (Putra, 2004). In Bali, it was argued, they only caused trouble and refused to mingle with the Balinese population. These immigrants simply knew nothing about ‘doing things the Balinese way’, they only cared about their own profit and economic well-being, not about the future of Bali, many of my respondents argued.

This perception leads to binary constructions of locals as ‘insiders’ versus immigrants as outsiders. If immigrants are of Muslim faith, there is a particular tendency towards seeing their presence as a slow cultural invasion, undermining Balinese cosmic and social order, which is deeply rooted in Hindu religion. The politisation of Islam in Indonesia’s post-Suharto era, as well as the terrorist attacks of 2002 and 2005, carried out by Islamic extremists, increase a covered but lingering suspicion towards Muslim faith (Picard, 2005). Immigrants are often victims of prejudice and associated with negative developments and incidents, such as crime⁵². The perceived cultural invasion of domestic immigrants is seen as adding to outside economic domination.

⁵¹ This is regarded as unfair as the Indonesian government persuaded unemployed Balinese citizens to migrate to other islands, while job-seeking domestic immigrants are freely entering Bali to find work. Plans to construct two bridges connecting Bali and Java and Java and Sumatra that emerged in 2002 caused an outburst among Balinese, who saw the potential for an even larger influx of immigrants (Picard, 2005).

⁵² The 2002 Bali bombings have to some extent increased an undercurrent of animosity towards Muslim immigrants. Although efforts of local authorities to soothe anti-Islamic tendencies post-bombings prevented any serious conflict, an increasingly hostile attitude towards especially those immigrants of Muslim faith has been observed by other scholars as well (Picard, 2005). While such recent dynamics require more in-depth academic research, informal conversations I had with Balinese suggested that, at least colloquially, Muslims are often thrown into one pot. An acquaintance of mine kept saying: “Muslims are all fundamentalists”. Although this did not result in practical animosity towards Muslims on his part, whenever Muslims were

The discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK tap into this latent Balinese fear of slow, cultural disintegration, and use the concerns of the Balinese public as a means to generate support for their political cause. The jargon of fear and concern, here, become instruments of mobilising power through discourse. Returning to Balinese roots, cultural and religious harmony resonates with local longing for cultural consistency and integrity. Local discourses conjure an image of ‘togetherness’ and associational power. Simultaneously, the conditions of such ‘togetherness’ are partly produced through authority, economic and political dominance *over* others. In this sense, at a local scale, *Ajeg Bali* and THK are not too different from the international sustainable development discourse – only that ‘togetherness’ here is not based on hierarchical scale, but on images of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’. These images undermine the very ‘harmony’ these discourses claim to foster.

The ‘harmony’ of local sustainability

Balinese sustainability discourses appear strong, local and assertive. They emphasise the harmony among cosmic forces that Balinese culture and religion have historically fostered. This harmony, *Ajeg Bali* and THK assure, will create a path into a more sustainable future in Bali. Yet, creating such harmony on the inside rests to some extent on excluding the ‘outside’. The two catch phrases conjure an image of a Bali that proudly combats ‘outside intervention’. As one of my respondents explained: “The goal [*of THK*] is that Bali stays

mentioned in connection with a problem, I would almost inevitably hear “I told you, all fundamentalists...”. Economic success of domestic immigrants is met with jealousy. An acquaintance of mine, a Muslim immigrant from Java, opened a successful *warung* (small and simple restaurant) during the time of my fieldwork. After a few months he decided to close down this viable business as his wife, who ran the restaurant during the day, could not stand the neighbours’ open and aggressive animosity.

harmonious as it used to be when Bali first became a tourist destination in the 70s...to make that feeling of Bali stay, because tourism is an outside influence”⁵³ (Wisnu, 2005 pers. comm.). Simultaneously, these discourses define who and what ‘on the inside’ is allowed to play a part in the creation of harmony, and in the culture that is to be sustained in Bali. How productions of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ sit with the harmony these discourses proclaim I want to unravel in this section.

Bali is a dominantly Hindu island situated in the largest Muslim country in the world. Dimensions of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ have played a vital role in Bali’s history, as the island struggled to assert itself against outside cultural, economic and geopolitical interest (Reuter, 1999). Exploring recent debates and discourses that emerged in Bali after the October 2002 bomb blast, Robinson and Meaton (2005 77) observe a dissipation of inside/outside binaries in Bali:

At the current juncture it would seem wise to place more emphasis...on conflicts between and within communities in Bali rather than what may well prove to be a somewhat outdated and increasingly less relevant dichotomy between outsiders and insiders.

While also noting increasing inter-regional conflict in Bali, Picard (2005 118) conversely claims that “public discourses...remain clearly framed in terms of insiders versus outsiders”. My findings indicate that the creation of dichotomies between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ is far from irrelevant in the construction of contemporary Balinese discourses of the future and sustainability. I suggest that the categories attached to the labels of ‘insider’

⁵³ “Tujuannya itu supaya Bali ini tetap harmonis seperti...pertama kali dia itu menjadi...daerah tujuan wisata tahun 70an... jadi membuat...feeling Balinya itu supaya tetap ada. Karena...pariwisata ini, pengaruh dari luar itu”.

and ‘outsider’ may be shifting, but that a general trend to create such dichotomies remains. While Robinson and Meaton (2005) refer mainly to dichotomies between ‘outside tourists’ and ‘inside locals’, *Ajég Bali* and THK produce dichotomies of ‘outsider’ and ‘insider’ in more complex and nuanced ways.

Ajég Bali and THK are profoundly inward-looking and to a certain extent conservative. The discourse of *Ajég Bali* has been described as “a conservative movement romanticising Bali’s past”⁵⁴ (van Bemmelen, 2005 pers. comm.). As Naradha (2004a 47), the editor of a recent *Ajég Bali* handbook, outlines, *Ajég Bali* addresses the “social ills” of criminality, prostitution and gambling, the hedonistic attitude of the Balinese population, commercialisation, commodification, unregulated immigration and capitalist attitude. These ills are all unanimously posed in opposition to the positive forces of Hindu religion and Balinese culture and spirituality, which operate ‘within’, as Bali’s “inner power” (Naradha, 2004a 30). The emphasis on looking inward in the face of outside influence is a prominent feature of Balinese history. Balinese historically had to assert themselves against the dominance of powerful outside influence and invaders, most notably powerful Javanese kingdoms⁵⁵. As Reuter (1999 155) points out:

⁵⁴ In her presentation at the 4th International Symposium of the Journal *Antropologi Indonesia*, ‘Indonesia in the Changing Global Context: Building Cooperation and Partnership?’ in Depok, Indonesia, 12–15 July 2005, van Bemmelen also pointed to the danger that conservative ways of paving Bali’s future may be a step backwards towards Balinese traditional gender division that largely exclude women from the political arena. Calls for the establishment of a Hindu Balinese court that, according to van Bemmelen, have been expressed as part of the *Ajég Bali* discourse, may mean a significant drawback on women’s rights.

⁵⁵ This power relationship was reproduced through productions of ‘neo-Javanism’ by post-colonial Indonesian governments (Rigg et al., 1999). The power emanating from the central government in Jakarta, and from Java as the most-populated island in the Indonesian archipelago marked especially the government era of the New Order. Rigg et al. (1999 588) describe in Suharto’s self-production as head of state as a representation of “traditional Javanese kinship set in the modern era”.

Like many island cultures of the Southeast Asian Pacific region, Balinese have lived in anticipation, between hope and fear, of whomever would arrive next from across the sea to trade or invade their shores.

Balinese origin myths, for example, reflect the image of the powerful outsider who invades from the sea and gains control over the indigenous population. These myths “locate the origin of political power and its human representatives at an external source” (Reuter, 1999 163). The colonial experience of the Balinese, after Bali had completely surrendered to the Dutch colonial authorities in 1908, deepened the trauma of outside invasion and the perspective of needing to strengthen the ‘inside’ against a foreign ‘outside’: “[T]he colonial encounter...helped the Balinese to conceive a notion of themselves as a ‘people’, a neatly bounded entity” (Picard, 2005 117) that responded to the outside pressure of the colonisers⁵⁶.

In contemporary Bali, constructions of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ remain. Recent versions of the invasive outside ‘other’ threatening Bali include the perceived creeping cultural ‘invasion’ fuelled by immigration as well as outside economic investment. Foreign economic investors from within and outside Indonesia, and the national government, hold a growing stake in the Balinese economy, especially in the tourism sector (Pringle, 2004). The dominance of foreigners in planning and staging large scale development projects leaves Balinese feeling left out of the development of their own island (Pujaastawa, 2004), becoming mere “spectators” or “objects of play” in development processes (Wirata, 2004a

⁵⁶ As Reuter points out, the notion of asserting oneself against a powerful outside ‘other’ also operates on a smaller scale within Bali itself. The *Bali Aga*, for example, a highland village population often described as Bali’s ‘true’ indigenous population, have to withstand development pressures exercised by the rest of Bali’s population as well as by the Indonesian nation state: “They are seen as impediments to the national agenda; an agenda informed by global discourses on economic growth and modernity...The power of the nation-state presents itself to the *Bali Aga* with a Balinese face” (Reuter, 1999 168 and 171).

5). Villagers are often unable to control major development decisions that affect their lives directly, or to contribute to planning decisions in meaningful ways (Mitchell, 1994a; Wall, 1996).

Public dissatisfaction particularly arises *vis-à-vis* those tourism ventures planned ‘from the outside’ that conflict with Balinese cosmology and cultural practices. Although national and provincial governments committed themselves to the strategy of ‘cultural tourism’⁵⁷ (Robinson and Meaton, 2005), conflicts between tourism development and Bali’s cultural integrity continue. In public opposition that increasingly emerged in the 1990s, tourism development was compared to a ‘rape’ of Bali’s natural and cultural resources (Warren, 1998b). In media commentary today, critical voices about the invasiveness of tourism linger. The following comic (Figure 2.4), featured in a 2004 issue of the *Denpost* newspaper, outlines the disenfranchisement Balinese feel in regards to development and planning decisions:

⁵⁷ Balinese authorities framed this tourism strategy out of fear that national government plans to develop Bali into a destination for mass tourism might negatively affect Bali’s culture. ‘Cultural tourism’ involves “using culture to attract tourists while fostering culture through the revenue generated by tourism” (Picard, 2005 112) In effect, this strategy aims to foster the accommodation of a certain type of target group of tourists: high-end-of-market tourists who are interested in Bali’s culture rather than partying on the beach (BAPEDALDA2, 2004).



Figure 2.4: Investment and the limits of public opinion (Suaria, 2004 Denpost, 08 Oct 2004, 5).

The shorter person in the first picture exclaims: “Mister, I am protesting!” In the second picture he goes on to explain the reason for his anger: “That tower is too high...we are afraid...!”⁵⁸ (In Bali, buildings are not supposed to be higher than, and consequently ‘looking down on’, temples – this disturbs cosmic harmony). The taller person, dressed in traditional Balinese outfit (possibly to suggest his position as an official or *adat* leader), replies: “Don’t let your protest send the investors running, though!!!”.

As Robinson and Meaton (2005 69) contend: “[T]here is an increasingly voiced need for the fuller incorporation of local realities into future development paradigms in Bali”. The dissatisfaction of Balinese with outside-induced tourism developments culminated in protest against the “megadevelopments” (Warren, 1998a 235) that marked the last years of President Suharto’s *Orde Baru* government. Warren (1998a) describes the protest movements that followed the announcement of the *Garuda Wisnu Kencana* (GWK)

⁵⁸ Building regulations in fact forbid constructions that are higher than about 15 metres, the approximate height of a palm tree. As depicted here, the communications tower in fact by far overlooks all surrounding trees.

project in the early 1990s. This project involved the plan to build a mega-sized golden statue of the Hindu God *Vishnu* riding the mythical bird *Garuda*, Indonesia's national symbol. Scheduled to be built at Bukti Ungasan on the South Balinese peninsula of Bukit Badung, the *Garuda* was meant to become the "world's tallest statue" (Pringle, 2004 194) and was envisaged to be clearly visible for arriving tourists during their plane's descent into Bali⁵⁹. There was a considerable amount of resistance among the Balinese public to this plan, voiced in the local media (Warren, 1998b). The development was finally abandoned, partly because of the fall of the Suharto government in 1998 (Pringle, 2004). What was built instead was the GWK cultural centre on Bukit peninsula, which features a much smaller indoor *Garuda* statue.

While the protest against GWK never developed beyond the stage of public debate, another development project, the building of the Le Méridien Nirwana Golf & Spa Resort⁶⁰ near the Tanah Lot temple on Bali's south-west coast triggered a protest wave that "reached boiling point" (Warren, 1998a). In 1993, the building of the resort had already begun when the public finally became aware of the project and resistance erupted (Warren, 1998a). The public was outraged that the resort would be located in direct view from Tanah Lot, one of Bali's oldest and most important temples, and thus desecrate the sanctity of the temple. In

⁵⁹ The monument was to have a capacity for 20,000 visitors per day and was to be built at an estimated cost of 80 billion Indonesian Rupiah, which converted to US\$ 40,000 at the time. The complex was envisaged to function as a cultural and recreational centre, featuring a museum, theatres and an exhibition space as well as containing restaurants and other recreational facilities. With the sheer scale of this development the government sought to symbolise Indonesian state authority and power as well as showcasing the technological sophistication of Indonesian developers (Warren, 1998b; 2005).

⁶⁰ Planning of the resort began in 1991 and was backed by a Jakarta-based conglomerate of wealthy business men (Pringle, 2004).

the public protests⁶¹, environmental concerns (for example about the immense water supply needed to run a golf course in the midst of water shortages) were fused with those of the cultural opposition (Warren, 1998a 253). Warren (1998a) describes the process of resistance in the case of the Nirwana Resort as "a watershed in Bali's history under the New Order", especially considering the generally de-politicised character of Balinese society following the trauma of the 1965-66 political killings⁶². The protests could not stop the building of the resort. The Le Méridien Nirwana Golf & Spa Resort opened in 1999, covering an area of 100 ha (LeMéridien, 2005) or the area of six local *subaks* (irrigation societies) that were converted into hotel property (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.)⁶³ (the same ones that featured in the introductory vignette to this chapter). Nowadays, according to the story at the start of this chapter, the same resort experiments with tourist-friendly rice varieties.

With the resignation of the Suharto government, *Orde Baru*-inspired mega-developments ended. Yet, as Picard (2005) notes, an increased inter-regional competition for tourism dollars has since inspired a new round of 'regional' mega-projects in more remote areas of

⁶¹ Beside an extensive media debate, protests involved a petition organised by 96 farmers, who claimed developers had deceived and forced them into selling their land. Networks of student groups and NGOs, scholars and respected public personalities organised demonstrations and marches. Although the development ultimately went ahead, it was halted for eight months and some changes were forced onto the project scope through an environmental assessment process.

⁶² The massacres of the years 1965-66, following the coup that resulted in the establishment of General Suharto as President of the Republic of Indonesia, aimed at wiping out alleged followers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Of the estimated one million people who lost their lives in the course of this atrocity committed by a military faction under Suharto's command, supported by its civilian allies such as Muslim militia groups, 80,000 people were killed in Bali alone (an equivalent of 5% of the local population at the time). These killings were often based on (not always justified) rumours of a person's involvement with the PKI and have caused an intrinsic fear and scepticism on the part of the Balinese population to flag their political affiliation (Robinson, 1995; Warren, 2005).

⁶³ According to Warren the development was originally planned to hold 401 five star rooms and 450 residential units. The current hotel contains 278 rooms and boasts to be the "only hotel in Bali with its own 18-hole, Greg Norman-designed golf course" (LeMéridien, 2005 electronic source).

Bali. Recent ideas for controversial contemporary mega-developments include the building of a Formula One race course in the Western Balinese *kabupaten* Jembrana, a casino on the island of Nusa Penida, and a 10 km long scenic aerial cable car in Buleleng. While some of these projects are still in their planning stages, they have already caused an outburst of opposition by environmentalists, NGO workers, community leaders, the Governor of Bali and the head of the Tourism Office (Picard, 2005). Paradoxically, the Balinese population seems to feel just as left out of these ‘regional’ development schemes as of Jakarta-induced projects in the 1990s. One of the editors of the *Bali Travel News* magazine mentioned an example that illustrates the ongoing exclusion of Balinese from tourism development. In this story, a well-known international hotel chain that recently advertised in the local press for staff for their new Bali-based hotel, explicitly encouraged non-Balinese to apply. As my respondent recounted: “The new hotel said Balinese were taking too many holidays...That caused an outrage. Outrage!”⁶⁴. Opening a hotel in Bali completely without the involvement with Balinese was the final insult, this respondent felt. Thus, even in the times of regional autonomy, the search for a ‘truly’ Balinese tourism that grants Balinese control over their soil and resources continues.

Local sustainability discourses tap into long-standing fears of having to assert oneself against an overpowering outside influence. While the content of the category of ‘outside invaders’ may have shifted from expanding Javanese kingdoms and ‘white skinned’ tourists to tourism investors and immigrants, the category of ‘outside invader’ remains an important one in Bali. The discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK reproduce notions of a ‘vanishing Bali’ and ‘degrading culture’ and explicitly link them to outside influence.

⁶⁴ “Hotel datang bilang orang Bali banyak libur...Itu ribut! RIBUT!” (Wisnu, 2005 pers. comm.).

Problems brought in from the outside, these discourses suggest, have to be met in *local* ways. The discourse of THK emphasises the need for harmony between humans and God, humans and the environment, and amongst humans. But as I have shown, despite their rhetoric of balance and harmony, in their operation these discourses recreate discursive boundaries between the inside and outside. *Ajeg Bali* and THK engage a language of power as *resistance*, putting up a strong ‘united front’ against those forces that are seen to undermine Balinese culture. These include both outside domination (of tourism, for example) and inside penetration (by increasing numbers of immigrants).

The emphasis on finding ‘truly’ local responses to outside influence, however, excludes those Balinese who do not share the ‘truly’ Balinese heritage. Local discourses of sustainability are effectively only directed towards a certain part of the population: Hindu Balinese (or Balinese of other religious backgrounds who comply with Hindu religious practices). As Naradha (2004a 30 and 46, emphasis added) affirms, *Ajeg Bali*, although described as guarding an “inclusive, multicultural Balinese culture” is “selective to outside influence” and aims to both acknowledge and socialise “Bali’s inner power, which is identical to *Hindu* inner power”⁶⁵. Thus, efforts to unite Balinese to work towards a more desirable future based on cultural integrity do not include those Balinese citizens who do not share these (partly invented) cultural roots. They simultaneously divide the public by establishing discursive boundaries between those entitled to participate in shaping Balinese futures and in fighting the invasive ‘other’, and those who are not. This language may be seductive to Hindu Balinese, as it discursively reinforces their feeling of being ‘right’ in

⁶⁵ “[B]udaya Bali yang bersifat inklusif, multikultur dan selektif terhadap pengaruh-pengaruh luar”; “memahami, menghayati dan mensosialisasikan *inner power* Bali yang identik dengan *inner power* Hindu” (Naradha, 2004a 30, original emphasis).

their fears and worries of outside domination and inside penetration. *Ajeg Bali* and THK produce Balinese tradition and Hindu religion as sustainable, harmonious and peaceful. This *seduces* Hindu Balinese to acknowledge their superior position in sustaining Bali over those who are seen as endangering Bali's cultural integrity. It also shows that 'local sustainability wisdom' is far from traditional and harmonious.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter was informed by the question of how sustainability *matters* in Bali. The prominence of discourses such as *Ajeg Bali* and THK in the media and Balinese public debate shows that the sustainability of Bali's natural, cultural and economic integrity and sustainability is seen as a pressing issue. Increasing environmental degradation, rapid urbanisation, tourism developments (the control of which is seemingly out of the hands of the local population) and a perceived erosion of Bali's culture (partly due to increased immigration) have forged the emergence of local discourses that construct *local* responses to these worrying developments. At the start of the chapter I introduced three imaginaries of sustainability; first to show that sustainability is not a coherent concept, but consists of competing discourses; and second to show that these discourses engage different modes of power in their operation.

I used the tool of poststructural discourse analysis to unpack the sustainability discourses that operate in Bali. Local discourses of the future and sustainability present Balinese traditional religion and practices as the way into a sustainable future in Bali, and as a harmonising force posed against that which endangers the sustainability of Balinese

culture. What seems, on the surface, a local response to matters debated on the international arena is, at closer examination, a much more complex interplay of politics, power, scale and spatiality. First, local discourses produce an imaginary of social reality; they invent Balinese tradition and portray this tradition as ‘authentic’. Second, these discourses engage multiple modes of power *over* and power *to*, from domination and authority to seduction and more associational power *with*. Local discourses of sustainability deliberately recreate vocabularies of *dominance* and invasion to use public fears for their own ends. They are also *authoritarian* in the ways they are presented and publicised; they are exclusionary in the ways they define ‘inside’ local culture; and they are entangled in political and economic interests as well as the strong market presence of large media enterprises. But the discourses also engage more associational modes of power *with*, in the vision that Balinese will act *together* to defend local culture against outside influence. A diverse understanding of power following Allen (2003) helps to make these diffuse processes visible.

A poststructural reading of Balinese sustainability discourses reveals that local discourses are inventions of tradition that engage different modes of power in the ways they take effect: authority, domination as well as seduction and the power *to*. What I have tried to show by unpacking Balinese discourses of sustainability with the tools of poststructural thinking is that these local discourses are far more complex in their operation than any of the three stories of sustainability may suggest.

Sustainability discourses in Bali also show that in politics of scale, scale is not a linear dimension, but operate in multiple directions. Those involved in the production of

sustainability discourses in Bali see Balinese sustainabilities as *both* local and global and do not explicitly associate ‘more power’ with either scale (see also Kelly, 2000; Lerner and Walters, 2002). The local and global are set in relation to each other in complex scalar arrangements, while global notions of sustainability discourses cannot be found to dominate local discourses – by contrast, Balinese are seeking to globalise their sustainabilities. In negotiating solutions to Bali’s current and future challenges, Balinese transform “the other into the self and the self into the other” (Reuter, 1999 158). Or, as Gibson-Graham (2002 9) argue: “1.The global *is* local, in that it refers to processes that touch only certain (local) parts of the globe...2. The local *is* global, and place is a ‘particular moment’ in spatialised networks of social relations”.

The complex interplay of power inherent in the operationalisation of sustainability discourses in Bali make the portrayal of sustainability as a straightforward, globally overarching concept, which can be transported into different regions of the world and implemented locally, look simplistic and short-sighted. It is thus problematic to advertise the implementation of sustainable development on a world-wide scale, for example in education, without examining *how* sustainability *matters locally*, and how it is produced through discourse in localities. Understanding the ways in which sustainability discourses operate locally and generate processes and modes of power is instrumental to the ways in which sustainability is and can be engaged in education. This is particularly the case as education operates as a discursive environment as well. In this chapter I have focused on power as domination, authority, seduction and as an associational affair. Chapter 3 focuses

on power as governmentality and the ways in which educational discourses create 'regimes of truth' according to which students govern their own behaviour.

Chapter 3

Subjects, education and the technologies of governmentality

If a teacher cares about the environment, it is usually a calling from here [the biology teacher points to his heart]. If I see the environment, I am sad if the environment is destroyed, I am sad... To this day I am not able to fell a tree. In Bali there is a ceremony where you traditionally kill a chicken. I just do not dare to do this. I eat it, but killing it with my own hands – I can't! Therefore if there are any [environmental] activities, even though they are not paid, I am ready to come and participate⁶⁶ (2004 pers. comm.).

I get up and have a *mandi* [washing at the water basin using a plastic ladle to pour the water]..., which takes me about 15 minutes. Then I pray for about 10 minutes. After breakfast, I say goodbye to my family and leave for school, which is a 20-minute journey that takes me through [the government district of] Renon. I learn at school for about 8 hours until 2... When I get home I change clothes, eat and have a sleep. In the afternoon, I get up again, watch TV and have another *mandi*. Then I have lessons until 8. When I get home after that, I study. Then I sleep, while listening to the radio...⁶⁷ (Rino, extra-curricular program of 'nature lovers', SMA6).

⁶⁶ "Kalau guru yang tindakan peduli lingkungan, itukan dasarnya kepanggilan dari sini (he points to his heart). Kalau saya melihat lingkungan, itukan saya sedih kalau lingkungan rusak, saya sedih... Sampai sekarang saya tidak berani potong pohon. Di Bali ada upacara, harus potong ayam. Saya ngak berani itu... saya makan, tapi kalau potong – jangan!... Sehingga kalau ada kegiatan, walaupun tidak dibayar, saya bersedia datang" (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

⁶⁷ "Bangun tidur langsung mandi 15 min; sembahyang 10 min; sarapan 10 min; panitan berangkat sekolah 20 min lewat Renon; belajar di sekolah 8 jam pelajaran sampe jam 2 pm; perjalanan pulang 15 min; ampe rumah ganti baju, makan, tidur; sore bangun, nonton TV, mandi; les ampe jam 8; ampe ke rumah belajar; tidur – sambil dengar radio" (direct quote from description of students' daily activities, SMA6).

3.1 The facets of a subject

Balinese teachers and students juggle the subject positions, discourses and subjectivations that form part of the institutions and environments they move in each day. The first quote is taken from an interview with a Biology teacher, who explained his fascination with sustainability, and the reasons why he was trying to instill a similar fascination in his students. This teacher negotiates the subject positions of a ‘devout Balinese Hindu’, whose duties include slaughtering a chicken from time to time, and that of an ‘environmentalist and nature lover’ who protects all living beings. The second quote cites Rino, one of the students who participated in my workshop program, describing a day of a Balinese high school student. Balinese students spend a large amount of time at school, as lessons are held six days a week, plus extra-curricular activities on afternoons and sometimes on Sundays. Consequently, the school environment forms a prominent part of socialisation and subjectivation⁶⁸. But Rino also spends time with his family, prays, listens to the radio, and travels through different parts of the city⁶⁹. So, in the course of one day, students move through an array of places, spaces, and environments that are all shaped by different discourses. These include religious rituals at the house shrine as well as listening to the ‘top of the pops’ on the radio.

⁶⁸ I was surprised to hear that Balinese students go to school up to seven days a week. Their ‘time to play’ is reduced significantly by the heavy time investment schools demand. Students pursue many sport and fun-time activities in the school environment as part of the vast array of extra-curricular activities schools offer. The number of programs offered depends on the school. Schools that participated in my program offered between 10 and 15 extra-curricular activities. Programs ranged from language classes to Balinese music, a marching band, flag waving groups, Balinese singing and dancing to sport classes such as basketball and volleyball. For many students Sunday afternoons is their only chance to spend time with their friends outside the school environment, to go to the beach or go to a mall.

⁶⁹ Students who participated in my program confirmed that they usually pray at least once a day, at home or at school, watch TV for up to 4 hours a day, and read local papers and youth magazines.

Education is a process that involves subjects. These subjects encounter a multitude of discourses and subjectivations that happen both within and outside the educational context. Some of these discourses are discourses of sustainability. In Chapter 2 I have shown how sustainability operates as discourse. Now I want to look at how sustainability works as governmentality – how subjects govern their own behaviour according to the norms and practices sustainability discourses create as desirable. Sustainability operates not only as discourse but also as an ethical politics, a debate around how we should live, both now and in the future (Gardner, 1999). It requires some change in norms, values and behaviours, the development of an ethics that will assist with sustaining those things and processes seen as *worth* sustaining into the future (Mueller-Christ, 1998a). It thus forms a discursive framework for subjects to govern their behaviour. In the case of the Balinese teacher, his love for nature and animals, and his consciousness as an environmentalist are stronger than the religious discourses that require him to govern himself as a Balinese Hindu.

In this chapter I focus on the educational context that discourses of sustainability ‘meet’ as they are integrated in education. If ‘sustainability education’ is to be implemented ‘worldwide’, then it is essential that we look more closely at the discursive environments that already operate in the field of education. Education is a process through which subjects are formed, and through which students attain values and learn to practice ethical behaviours that are deemed appropriate. As formal education in most countries is based on national school curricula, it becomes a ‘state project’ (Parker, 2002a). Education is an instrument for states to create certain types of citizens, and thereby, to *govern* populations (Tikly, 2003). Foucault’s interest in developing the concept of governmentality was to

explore how large populations can be governed ‘from a distance’, and education is one sector in which this takes place. By deciding which types of knowledge and practices are conveyed to students, states can influence the formation of ‘state subjects’ that are useful to support both a state’s rationale and a government’s political agenda. Thus, education is ruled to a certain extent by political agendas and power. It is also shaped by the agency and behaviour of the subjects involved in the educational process, such as school teachers, principals, and students themselves.

I argue that sustainability education cannot be seen as a single, but in fact as a *multitude* of governmentalities. It involves the merging of disparate discourses, which each have their own institutional arrangements and practices and engage power as governmentality. Both sustainability and education are processes that influence the formation of certain types of subjects or ‘citizens’. Before moving on to the *merging* of sustainability and education in the Balinese context, which is the focus of Chapter 4, I explore how education as governmentality was shaped by various government regimes through the process of Indonesian history. Understanding the context of Indonesian education and its institutionalisation in Bali is critical when considering the implementations of sustainability education. But before turning to the Balinese context, I want to make a few more points about the process of governmentality and the ways in which both education and sustainability operate as governmentalities.

3.2 Sustainability and the technologies of governmentality

Foucault's (1976; 1990; 1991) concept of 'governmentality' examines the ways in which government becomes possible through the subject. Subjects govern their own behaviour according to codes of conduct that are constructed as socially acceptable through discourse. As Rose (1999, 8) points out, "the activity of government is inextricably bound up with the activity of thought. It is thus both made possible by and constrained by what can be thought and what cannot be thought...". Discourses create the boundaries for what can be thought and 'done'.

Discourses also create boundaries for imagined subject positions. They thus effect *what subject positions* are there for subjects to inhabit when performing power-as-governmentality and establish the 'rules of behaviour' associated with a certain subject position. Sustainability, for example, is a discourse that envisions norms and behaviours of 'sustainable subjects'. I have argued that these subject positions differ among the discourses of sustainability. The subject position of a 'sustainable subject' created in international sustainability debates is founded on the laws of scientific rationality, backed by scientific data on environmental change (Luke, 1995). This 'sustainable subject' makes ethical choices and polices his or her own behaviour in line with what international scientific and political discourses portray as 'environmentally sensible' – for example to catch the bus instead of driving a car, or composting organic waste rather than throwing it in the normal bin (Hobson, 2002; 2006). Further, the sustainable subject envisaged is both aware of and educated about global environmental processes, and ready to link his or her everyday behaviour to concerns about the planet as a whole. In the context of Bali, living as

a 'sustainable subject' is much more connected to categories of local religious piety, spiritual integrity and 'cultural confidence'. Here, the 'sustainable subject' is one who is respectful of Balinese (read Hindu) culture, and who makes an effort to align his or her everyday behaviour to philosophical and spiritual approaches described as both 'sustainable' and 'traditionally' Balinese. The subject positions of sustainability are multiple, and also shift over time (Darier, 1999, 27). They alternate with the cultural and discursive environments in which they are created, as "knowledge is relative to the historical context from which it emerges" (Darier, 1999, referring to Foucault's 'Archaeology of Knowledge').

But governmentality-as-power takes effect *through* the subject not only through discourse, but also through the ways in which discourse is institutionalised. For Foucault (1976; 1990; 1991) the 'technologies of governmentality' describe how discourses are enacted in social institutions. The technologies of governmentality range from government practices such as laws and taxes that sanction the behaviour of a population, to economic processes, market mechanisms, the influence of consumer behaviour, and the media. One technology of governmentality Luke (1995; 1999) looks at is science. Scientific environmental knowledge is often employed by governments as the 'factual' basis that justifies sustainability policy discourses, as well as the legal instruments used to govern populations (Luke, 1995; 1999). By employing science as the basis for laws and regulations, as Luke (1995 69 and 76) argues, a government may become an "environmentalising regime [that] re-operationalises many of its notions of governmentality to environmentality". Sustainability, implemented as technology of governing through laws, policies and

regulations effects the ways in which individuals can behave and shape their lives and thus “exert[s]...power over life”⁷⁰ (Luke, 1995: 76). While Luke (1995) speaks of ‘environmentality’, it may be more appropriate to talk of ‘sustainability’ in this context. The concept of sustainability is wider-reaching than ‘environmentalism’ and contains social, cultural, economic and spiritual values as well. Thus, ‘expert knowledges’ on social, economic and cultural values – not ‘science’ only – provide a discursive basis for implementing government policies that pave the way for an institutionalisation of ‘sustainability’. In the case of Balinese discourses, for example, the opinion of spiritual leaders on religious integrity plays a pivotal role in the institutionalisation of THK and *Ajeg Bali*.

But governmental institutionalisation is not the only way sustainability can be implemented through technologies of governmentality. The interplay between consumers, the market and technological innovation is another technology through which sustainability can be effected as governmentality. Indeed, unsustainable consumption patterns are identified as a major setback for sustainability progress in Agenda 21 (UNCED, 1992). Hence, Agenda 21 encourages sustainable choices through the development and marketing of green

⁷⁰ Darier bases this on Foucault’s notion of ‘biopower’. In his concept of ‘biopolitics’, or ‘biopower’, Foucault is concerned with the “control of all aspects of human life, especially the conditions for human biological reproduction”, partly through an advancing scientific gaze into their ‘nature’ (Darier, 1999: 23). Through the production of knowledge and scientific evidence, the sciences provide the project of governing with the discursive power to regulate human biological conduct, sexuality and health. The concept of biopower, according to Darier (1999: 28), can be extended to include environmental discourse and policy, where not just human life, but “all life-forms become objects of scientific enquiry” (Darier here refers to Rutherford (1999)). The link between Foucauldian theory and environmentalism is not a straightforward one. In fact, poststructuralism has been described as “profoundly anti-naturalistic” (Levy, 1999: 203), as it allegedly sees environmentalist language as romanticising, potentially reactionary and anthropocentric/humanistic (a school of thought poststructuralism fervently opposes). Indeed, Foucault himself was not very interested in the environment, and, as Darier (1999: 6) claims, even “detested” it (Darier refers to Éribon (1991: 46), who quotes Foucault as reacting to a colleague showing him the natural wonders of the Italian Alps by saying : “My back is turned to it”).

technologies. In fact, conservative and ‘techno-centric’ understandings of sustainable development see the transformation of consumer goods through technological innovation as *the* hallmark of advancing sustainability (Davidson, 2000; Hobson, forthcoming). The products of ‘green technology’ effectively operate as technologies of governmentality by reaching down to the level of single objects used in everyday life. These range from environmentally friendly packaging, green electricity, to environmentally conscious investment opportunities – all promoted through instruments of market, policy and the media. Hobson (2006), for example, investigates how technical objects of domestic use, such as light bulbs or recycling bins, affect the ways in which citizens modify their behaviour in order to act ‘sustainably’. Technical objects become “collaborators in ethical environmental self-governance” (Hobson, 2006: 9), and their possibilities and limitations shape the ways in which humans and objects *can* interact to implement behaviours of sustainable self-government.

In the Balinese context, policy and market instruments of sustainability only have limited relevance. While THK has become the framework for building regulations and has thus started to influence concrete development practices on the island, the use of market instruments to foster ‘sustainable’ consumer behaviour is underdeveloped to non-existent. The advertising of technological items and consumer goods on the basis of their ‘eco-efficiency’ was something I did not come across during the time of my fieldwork. To some extent, the THK tourism awards are an attempt to instrumentalise the governmentalities of Balinese sustainability in the domain of the tourism industry in Bali. The awards also create sustainable market choices. But although environmental performance forms part of the

competition's assessment criteria, the awards' focus is on Hindu religious and cultural integrity. A technology of governmentality that has more immediate relevance in shaping 'sustainability' in Bali is the media. I have shown that the media plays a crucial role for the ways in which *Ajeg Bali* and THK are promoted. The Balinese media can thus be seen as a technology of governmentality (in addition to mobilising power as authority and seduction as outlined in Chapter 2) – it promotes discourses that shape the self-government of Balinese citizens according to those norms and values produced as desirable and 'traditionally Balinese'.

Alongside government laws, policies, market instruments and the media, educational practices can also be seen as technologies of governmentality. Through curricula, teaching regulations, the institutional set-up of education, the training of teachers, pedagogical approaches and assessment tools, education functions as a governmentality in its own right. Education is based on state policies that aim to shape governable subjects (Parker, 2000). Marxist theories of social reproduction⁷¹ even go as far as suggesting that education affirms state social hierarchy and class through a domination of knowledge production. Through control of the means of *mental* production, "the dominant class is able to produce and transmit a set of coherent ideas which then become those of subordinate classes" (Howe, 1991 445). Studies on social reproduction carried out mainly in the 1970s claim that

⁷¹ Katz (2001 711) defines social reproduction as encompassing "daily and long term reproduction, both of the means of production and the labour power to make them work". This reproduction includes the biological reproduction of the labour force as well as services to its 'maintenance', such as the provision of food, shelter, and basic needs for existence. However, social reproduction also includes "the reproduction of the labour force at a certain (and fluid) level of differentiation and expertise" (Katz, 2001 711), thus shaping the moral awareness and consciousness of the labour force.

schools reinforce...the cultural, linguistic and symbolic privileges of the bourgeoisie through reproduction of the particular familial cultural styles and habits of that social grouping (Arnot, 2002 351).

Here, education becomes a direct technology of the ruling classes to maintain control over a state's means of production. Problematically, the argument of social reproduction is based on a structural theoretical approach that views power mostly in form of domination.

In a more poststructural vein, Ferreira (1999) explores how, by employing environmental education as a teaching subject at schools, educational policy can become an instrument or a technology for implementing the sustainability agenda of a government. As Ferreira (1999 31) points out,

certain pedagogies in environmental education enable students to see themselves as the subjects of ethical concerns and equip them with the practical mechanisms of conduct that will allow them to live in an 'environmentally sustainable' manner.

Here, sustainability operates as governmentality through education.

Governmentality differs from domination as it works *through* the subject and his or her behaviour. In consequence, subjects *decide* how the powers of discourse can take effect through their self-governance and behaviour (either consciously or subconsciously). Subjects have agency to shape his or her relation to rule (McKay, 2006; McKinnon, 2005; Parker, 2002a). This is a pro-active take on subjectivation and power that is not ubiquitous in poststructural thinking. Poststructural approaches to subjectification have emerged in resistance to humanist social theory. Humanism sees humankind at the world's centre;

'man', "in order to be fully human, has the ethical responsibility to act autonomously, to claim his agency" (Johnston et al., 2000 802). As Tuan (1976 267) points out, the humanistic perspective as expressed in the humanities focuses on "thoughts and acts that are uniquely human". Furthermore, both Renaissance and Enlightenment Humanism define humanity through knowledge and rationality⁷², highlighting the ability of the human species to act consciously and rationally and to shape both its natural and built environments (Ghandi, 1998; Tuan, 1976). By contrast, poststructuralist social theorists such as Foucault started theorising the networks of discourse, power and knowledge that facilitate government through the subject. According to Foucault, subjects are not fully autonomous in humanist fashion, but subjected to rule; while simultaneously facilitating the implementation of such rule. Because of his move away from humanistic 'agency', Foucault's work has been accused of evoking "hostility to the subject" (Bevir, 1999 65) and for understating the agency of the subject. Rose (1999 4) argues that "[t]o govern humans is not to crush their capacity to act, but to acknowledge it and utilise it for one's own objectives". Here, subjects seem to be 'vehicles' of power 'utilised' to someone else's end. Foucault (1988 27) defines 'modes of subjectification' as "the ways in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognises himself as obliged to put it into practice". This definition implies the possibility that the subject may in fact decide not to put it into practice at all (Bevir, 1999). And as Allen (2003) points out, subjects enjoy the *freedom to act* within the limits created by discourse in governmentality.

⁷² While Renaissance humanism equates humanity with the content of its knowledge, with what man knows, Enlightenment humanism focuses on the epistemology of knowledge, regarding humanity as a "function of the way in which man knows things" (Ghandi, 1998 29, original emphasis).

In policing their own behaviour, subjects *negotiate* their relationship to these processes of subjectivation, and act by embracing, enacting, resisting or rejecting subject positions. These subject positions may shift significantly as people move between places and spaces and negotiate which subject positions to inhabit in which situation. McKay (2006), for example, argues that Filipina migrants face a number of identities or subject positions placed 'on offer' by colonial and national discourses of femininity as well as by stereotypes applied to migrant workers abroad (even by other migrants and Philippine citizens abroad). "For migrants, as for the rest of us,...forms of subjectivation demand that individuals fit themselves into specific subject positions, paradoxically becoming dependent on a discourse they have not chosen for their identities, and then finding that these discourses initiate and sustain their agency nonetheless" (McKay, 2006 9-10). Although subject positions may be created for subjects through discourse, subjects selectively *choose* their response to processes of subjectivation and technologies of governmentality (Parker, 2002a). Subjects resist and find alternative avenues of reacting to power (Jennaway, 2003; Ong, 1987; 1988). They have the power and agency to escape dominating discourses and processes of governmentality (Gibson et al., 2001), and may even consciously take up and develop certain subject positions if they are convenient in serving their own political ends (Murray Li, 2000). Subjects can simultaneously employ multiple subject positions and identities (Gibson et al., 2001), exercising their power to switch between these subject positions in different circumstances. Thus, while discourse and power influence the ways in which subject positions are placed 'on offer', subjects themselves shape the ways in which power-as-governmentality can take effect through them and their behaviour.

I have argued that both sustainability and education function as governmentalities. Education can be seen as one among many technologies of sustainability-as-governmentality. Sustainability, in turn, can be seen as one technology of governmentality the educational sector engages. This study contributes to an understanding of how discourse, subjectivation and power interact at this very intersection of sustainability and education as governmentalities. This chapter will focus on the technologies of governmentality that sustainability 'sits within' in the context of Balinese education. What subjects does the educational process in Indonesia envisage? How are these subject positions promoted through discourse, subjectivation and technologies of governmentality? I provide a short overview of the history of education in Indonesia to show how political interest, state rhetoric, and institutional arrangements have shaped the discursive and institutional environment of education, which set the framework in which power-as-governmentality could take effect. The educational model as it exists in Indonesia today reflects the influence of a succession of governments. These governments envisaged different subject positions for the Indonesian 'student subject' and employed different modes of power to implement these in education.

3.3 The subjects of Balinese education – Colonial roots

The Dutch colonial power introduced 'Western style' education for the Indonesian 'native population' in the 1920s as part of its so-called 'Ethical Policy'. This colonial policy was established in 1901 as a way to politically justify colonialism through arguments of humanitarianism. The Dutch administration acknowledged their ethical responsibility for improving economic and social well-being of the 'natives' and fostered a discourse of

colonisers as ‘developers’ (Chalmers, 2006). The Ethical Policy resulted in projects such as the improvement of transportation and health infrastructure, as well as the initiation of a mass schooling system (Milner and Quilty, 1996; Parker, 2000) in Bali. This system consisted first and foremost of primary schools in which education was carried out in Balinese language. Dutch was used as the language of instruction only at a few secondary schools, graduates of which were eligible to pursue tertiary education in the Netherlands (Milner and Quilty, 1996).

By fostering the establishment of formal education in Indonesia, the colonial power sought to create ‘governable colonial subjects’ who would acquire a base level of Dutch knowledge, values and cultural etiquette. Moreover, the colonisers could now educate natives to occupy the lower ranks of the colonial civil service in Indonesia (Parker, 2000). The knowledge taught in these schools “was presented as being ‘rational’ and ‘scientific’”, and was constructed as allowing access to the ‘sophistication’ of the coloniser (Milner and Quilty, 1996 21). The colonised population, however, only resonated partly with this ‘subject position’ created by the colonial administration. In the initial stages of formal education in Bali, education had to be ‘forced onto’ the local population. The Dutch established the first school in Bali in 1875. The eventual conquest of the entire island of Bali in 1908 facilitated an expansion of the schooling system under the Ethical Policy. Yet, initially, colonial officials had to coerce the local population to send children to school. According to the 1920 Dutch census, merely 6.78 per cent of boys and 0.25 per cent of girls between five and fifteen years of age⁷³ attended school (Parker, 2002b). Simultaneously,

⁷³ The same census reports 8.01 per cent of indigenous males and 0.35 per cent of females over fifteen years of age in Bali and Lombok as literate (although the language of literacy is not specified). Parker (2002b)

education was seen as a ‘privilege’ of the ruling classes. The Balinese *rajas*, for example, were among the first to send their children to colonial schools (Parker, 2000). The ‘upper class’ Balinese responded to the subject position created by the Dutch: Dutch colonial education and Dutch language skills offered a higher status within the colonial bureaucracy and opened pathways to good careers and increased wellbeing (Parker, 2000). Somewhat paradoxically, it was at these colonial schools where some Balinese were to attain the education that would later help them lead the Indonesian independence movement against the Dutch (Pringle, 2004).

After the 1920s, the initial low attendance of schools could be increased significantly. Eventually, education became “popular with the colonised population” (Parker, 2000 48). School attendance rates eventually rose quickly⁷⁴ (Milner and Quilty, 1996) – although this rise can only partly be credited to the Dutch. Some of Bali’s early schools were built by Balinese *rajas* [kings] with the help of the subjects in their kingdom. Other private schools were founded as part of special-interest groups and popular movements dominant in Bali in the 1920s and 30s. These groups included religious and Hindu study groups⁷⁵, socially critical groups that advocated radical openness and disapproved of social hierarchy in Bali, as well as schools founded by Javanese cultural-nationalist organisations, such as for

highlights that the historical evidence of female literacy in Bali is contradictory. It suggests female literacy might have been high in pre-colonial times, but possibly dropped during colonialism, and certainly lagged behind other Indonesian provinces until the 1980s. Parker argues that this historically low female literacy was at least partly due to the cultural and religious construction of literacy in Bali, where female access to religiously powerful texts has been restricted over the centuries (Parker, 2002b).

⁷⁴ The growth rates even surmounted those of Islamic religious schools or *madrassahs* in the 1920s, at which material knowledge was taught alongside religious knowledge. These schools reflected the influence of Middle Eastern religious reformers in Indonesia (Milner and Quilty, 1996). In the overwhelmingly Hindu Bali the Islamic influence was much less prominent than for example in Java.

⁷⁵ At the schools opened by Hindu religious organisations the language of instruction was Balinese. One school was established by a young educated woman committed to advancing girls’ education and questioning existing gender roles influencing access to education in Bali (Parker, 2000).

example *Budi Oetomo*⁷⁶. Early education in colonial Bali thus envisaged a range of ‘colonial’, ‘Indonesian’, and Balinese subjects, depending on the political agendas of those institutions that founded the respective schools. The reasons for both establishing and attending schools ranged from “royal responsibility and the loyalty of subjects, concerns with caste and religious identity, political interests, nationalist ambitions, [to] the desire to be modern” (Parker, 2000 65).

Class and caste played an important role in the way early education could function as a technology of governmentality and reach the subjects it aimed to ‘govern’. Firstly, in 1910, the colonial administration itself decided to ‘solidify’ the Balinese caste system, which historically had been in a state of flux, by standardising caste distinctions and regulating the rights of and interactions between castes (Howe, 1991; Schulte-Nordholt, 1986). This formed part of the policy of ‘divide and rule’ the Dutch pursued all over Indonesia during their colonial reign. In the context of education, descendants of higher castes in Bali had easier access to colonial schools than those of lower caste, as the Dutch colonial lords were interested in employing high caste Balinese for more senior positions in the colonial administration (this, however, did not prevent lower castes from permeating the school system as well). At the same time, high-caste Hindu conservatives were concerned about the possible break-down of class distinction in the operational practices of the colonial

⁷⁶ *Budi Oetomo* founded ABC courses to combat illiteracy in Bali in 1919 with Malay as the instructional language. In 1935, I Gusti Ayu Rapeg, committed to advancing girls’ education in Bali, founded a girls’ school named Meisjes Vervolgschool in Denpasar. Another Javanese nationalist organisation, Ki Hadjar Dewantara opened *Taman Siswa* schools in Bali in the 1930s (Parker, 2000). The *Taman Siswa* movement had commenced in Java in 1922 as an effort to open ‘truly indigenous’ schools by “combining modern European-style education and traditional Javanese arts” (Ricklefs, 1981 168).

school system⁷⁷. Where Dutch was used as the language of instruction, the different language levels that mark the interaction between different castes in Bali were levelled. The physical set-up of the classroom that positioned all students at the same vertical ‘level’ violated the rules of caste-interaction (Parker, 2000).

Howe (1991) shows how education and socialisation in a wider sense replicate caste structure and hierarchy in Bali. Children learn from an early age what is socially appropriate and acceptable, in the context of caste division, and what is not:

⁷⁷ According to Eiseman (1989), the Balinese caste system developed in the first millennium A.D. under the influence of Indian Shaivite Hindu culture and religion. Hinduism came to Bali when the dynasty of Hindu Majapahit (1293-1520) fled their Javanese kingdom in the 14th century. There is some archaeological evidence that Indian influence in Bali may even go as far back as the first century A.D. (Howe, 1991).

Importantly, only parts of Indian Hinduism were adopted in Bali, and the similarities between Indian and Balinese Hinduism are only loose. As Schoenfelder (2004: 399) remarks, *agama Hindu Bali*, in its current form a mixture of different religious influences including Hindu, Buddhist and animist influences, is “more a cousin of Indian Hinduism than a full sibling”. The Balinese caste system resembles the Indian system in that it also features the *warna* system of castes divided into *brahmana*, *satria*, *wesia* (collectively referred to as *triwangsa*) and *sudra* (Eiseman, 1989; Howe, 1991). According to Howe the group of *triwangsa* is represented by between six and ten percent of the population in Bali (Howe, 1991). Balinese language contains different levels and a double vocabulary for most terms – a *lumrah* term that is used when a member of a high caste is addressed, and a *kasrah* term that is used when interacting with members of the *sudra* caste. The caste system (the word comes from the Portuguese *casta* – ‘division’) is a system of social organisation originally founded on the base of social function, or professions (such as farmer, priest, warrior), but its legitimisation was ingrained with the doctrines of Hinduism and became a reflection of the Hindu concept of *dharma*, or the “organisation that governs the universe as a whole, the relationships between various parts of the universe” (Eiseman, 1989: 12). Keeping the balance and order of the universe and avoiding *adharma*, or disorder, is partly achieved through the social organisation of caste. In contrast to the Indian system, the Balinese system only contains four castes and does not feature a caste of ‘untouchables’. Also, it impacts on the exercise of professions only to a limited extent. Nevertheless, full-time Balinese priests are usually of the *Brahmana* caste (their part-time equivalent are the *pemangkus*, ‘commoners’ associated with a specific temple who obtain their post through community consensus) (Schoenfelder, 2004). There was a dispute within the Indonesian Hindu Council (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia) in 2000 that addressed the relationship between caste and priesthood. Important non-caste clans seized control of the council and sought legitimisation for an appointment of priests regardless of caste. The opposing group of high-caste members in return seized control of the Balinese provincial council and resisted the decision of the national council (Pringle, 2004). Although the Balinese caste system contains clear rules for the interaction between members of different caste (in terms of marriage and use of language, for example), it is sometimes described as ‘less strict’ than the Indian one (Chalmers, 2006). While in-caste marriage is preferable, it is allowed for women to ‘marry up’, but not for men to ‘marry down’. In modern times this rule is increasingly neglected. I asked some of my students what would happen if they fell in love with someone from a different caste, and most assumed that their family would tolerate it. One of the three students of high caste descent in this group, however, stated that ‘marrying down’ would potentially cause family problems.

[W]hen children are born they grow up in a world drenched in hierarchy...It is bred into children from a very early age in the forms of manners of speaking, body posture, praying positions, layout of compounds; the ranking of metals, plants, colours, foods, animals, directions and so on...Young children begin to learn and use the distinctions of language before they understand the hierarchical implications of what they are doing. Later, the idea that different people deserve different verbal forms becomes accepted as an axiomatic cultural presupposition. At an early age, too, children are made to pray...and to address the gods with the right phrases, and these are often in the same verbal register that they would use towards high castes (Howe, 1991 452 and 461).

So, in Bali, it is caste, not so much class, which becomes a primary concern for social reproduction and for colonial education – although Howe makes an argument for the close linkages between caste and class in Bali⁷⁸.

The time of the Japanese occupation in Indonesia between 1942 and 1945, which ended the colonisation of Indonesia for the Netherlands, increased the rate of school attendance amongst the Balinese population (Parker, 2000). With the political change, the subject imaginaries of formal education shifted from ‘governable colonial subjects’ or ‘devoted subjects of Balinese kingdoms’ to subjects of Japanese militarism. The Japanese interim government strengthened youth movements to fight in the Japanese interest, opening training schools, youth paramilitary groups and auxiliary police corps where young people

⁷⁸ Howe (1991 446) argues that in Bali material factors of domination are intertwined with, and sometimes eclipsed by, ideological dominance: “economic and political relations are couched in a religious and ritual ideology which partly conceals the underlying material base of these relations”. Howe (1991) argues that in Bali ideology and material power are linked to stabilise hierarchy and social relations, for example through connections forged between rice cultivation, divinity and high caste. Simultaneously, access to agricultural land has been linked to high caste land appropriation and control, a fact that is concealed in the construction of religious ideology (Howe, 1991). High caste members in Bali are perceived as purer and closer to the Gods and also have a special status in heaven. Members of high caste descent in Bali still enjoy high levels of authority. In the context of the promotion of sustainability discourses in Bali I have already referred to the authority of ‘experts’ and spiritual leaders. These experts are often high caste descendants, a fact that adds to their perceived authority.

received the same training as Japanese soldiers⁷⁹. After the end of the Japanese interim government in Indonesia, education entered the constitution of the new republic. The 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia stated the attendance of primary school as every Indonesian citizen's right (Ricklefs, 1981). With Indonesian independence, the subject positions of education shifted again, as education became dedicated to the creation of citizen subjects who identified with the somewhat arbitrary construct of the independent Indonesian nation state. Class and caste lost their influence, at least in national discourses of education.

3.4 The classless subjects of unity in diversity

Since independence, education in Indonesia has been based on the national rhetoric of 'unity in diversity'. During Suharto's 30-year reign over Indonesia's *New Order* between 1965 and 1998, mass education was instrumentalised to shape citizen subjects. These ideally complied with the state philosophy, accepted the legitimacy of the government and participated in development in ways that matched government policies. The national trends that formed the background to educational policy of the *New Order* were industrialisation, economic growth and an opening to foreign investment (Chalmers, 2006; Dirske et al., 1993). Between the years 1986 and 1999 alone, the Indonesian economy experienced a 50 per cent growth. During this time, the labour force's share in the manufacturing sector more than doubled from 6 per cent to 13 per cent (Duflo, 2004). The Suharto government's

⁷⁹ Constituting the first serious challenge to Dutch rule in Indonesia, the Japanese occupying forces sought to politicise the Indonesian population and work against revolutionary developments that threatened their conquest. They did this by "subjecting Indonesia to the most oppressive and devastating colonial regime in its history", and "indoctrinated, trained and armed many of the younger generation" (Ricklefs, 1981 188).

educational policy focused on the provision of a skilled workforce that would meet the demands of technical and financial development (Milner and Quilty, 1996).

The oil boom of the 1970s provided the Suharto administration with the necessary financial resources to invest in a broad-scale expansion of the schooling system as part of the presidential development agenda (Milner and Quilty, 1996). Between 1974 and 1979 alone, the Indonesian government erected 61,000 primary schools as part of its educational expansion policy, the Sekolah Dasar INPRES program (Duflo, 2004). This policy significantly improved children's access to primary education (Jones and Hagul, 2001). Strong economic growth of 7 per cent annually (Suryahadi et al., 2005) sustained this trend in the 1980s and 1990s. In the late 1990s, before the onset of the economic crisis⁸⁰, enrolment in primary education in Indonesia was "close to universal": In 1996, 95 per cent of Indonesian children between the ages of five and twelve were attending primary school⁸¹ (Milner and Quilty, 1996).

⁸⁰ The Asian economic crisis of the years 1997-98 drew the fast economic growth in Indonesia into a sudden slump. In 1998 alone Indonesia's GDP, which had been rising steadily by 7 per cent a year (Suryahadi et al., 2005), fell by 12 per cent, and remained at the same level in 1999. Meanwhile, the consumer price index (CPI) increased by around 80 per cent, mainly as a result of declining subsidies in basic consumer goods, such as oil and rice (Thomas et al., 2004). During the time of the economic crisis, household spending on education in Indonesia decreased, particularly among the poorest households. The national trend of increasing enrolment figures was reversed during the years of the economic crisis. Amongst ten-year-olds, for example, the share of those not enrolled in schools in 1998 was 35 per cent higher than the trend of previous years had suggested (this trend changed with increasing age) (Thomas et al., 2004). Thomas et al. (2004) found that heads of poor households sought to protect the education of their older children at the expense of that of younger ones. The results of the economic crisis also impacted on the school operations, as schools had to cope with a sudden drop in resources.

⁸¹ Jones and Hagul (2001) note that such high enrolment figures obscure the fact that 30 per cent of Indonesian children do not *complete* their primary education, and that improved access often correlates with less-than-satisfactory quality of education. Of all school-dropouts, 95 per cent occur as early as primary school (Suryahadi et al., 2005).

By enabling ‘near-complete’ access to schools as well as providing unified, standardised delivery of education, unitary mass education served the state’s development goals as well as its political legitimisation. Mass schooling became an important avenue for spreading state ideology. The *Pancasila*, the Indonesian state ideology, to this day is a compulsory subject of school education, learnt and memorised by students across the archipelago (Milner and Quilty, 1996). Across Indonesia, students learn the same facts of national history, learn to admire the same ‘national heroes’, and collectively raise the Indonesian flag in a ritual ceremony each Monday morning⁸². Another technology for creating ‘unity in diversity’ has been the introduction of Bahasa Indonesia as the language of instruction in the Indonesian school system. Indonesia’s national language is a standardised construct that aims to unify a nation which consists of approximately 300 ethnically and linguistically distinct groups (Sunarto, 2004). To create Indonesian citizens that all speak the same language, all school proceedings are to be carried out in Indonesian language⁸³. Some schools forbid the use of any other local language altogether, first to comply with the national goal of unity, and second to avoid conflict between local groups at school (Therik, 2004). The use of *Bahasa Indonesia* in the school environment remains a unifying force that connects students Indonesia-wide and remains an important aspect of forming an ‘Indonesian identity’. As Milner and Quilty (1996) point out, the national language is a constant reminder for students that they are part of the Indonesian nation state. Schools become an important technology of governmentality, efficiently spreading and installing

⁸² The unifying nature of the centralised Indonesian education system comes at a cost; it neglects cultural diversity and potentially threatens the sustainability of Indonesia’s rich local cultures (Therik, 2004).

⁸³ The danger of such strict exclusion of local languages is an extinction of these languages in the long run. In addition to Bahasa Indonesia, students are required to learn at least one foreign language at high school level (Sunarto, 2004).

the discourse and ideology that leads Indonesian subjects to govern their own behaviour according to state norms.

The subject position envisaged by the Suharto government, and to a large extent subsequent governments as well, is quite different to those that shaped the colonial beginnings of formal education in Indonesia. The nationalist rhetoric of unity and equality altered the classed and caste-divided subjects of colonial education to classless subjects of unity and nationalism. Discrimination by caste is now banned by law in Indonesia (Eiseman, 1989). Accordingly, caste was 'phased out' as a marker of social stratification in Balinese education, at least in 'politically correct' rhetoric. My respondents from within and outside school institutions unanimously confirmed that Balinese education was 'neutral to caste'. As with Dutch as the language of instruction during colonial times, Bahasa Indonesia now hides the caste differences that are expressed through the different language levels in Balinese language. My young respondents, in particular, pointed out that the importance of caste was waning in Balinese society generally, and was least relevant in the context of education (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.; SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.).

While class and caste have disappeared from educational discourse in Indonesia, this does not mean they do not exist in educational practice. Although the state covers educational fees for basic education to enable 'universal' school access, this does not mean that access to schooling is totally equal. Sunarto (2004 56) finds "[d]isparities in access to schooling, educational attainment, and educational achievement...to be related to social class, gender

and residence (urban-rural, centre-periphery)", with possible links to ethnicity and religion as well. Primary education in Indonesia commences at the age of seven and consists of six years of school attendance (Bedi and Garg, 2000). Secondary education is divided into the junior high school level *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* [SMP] (years 7-9), and the senior high school level *Sekolah Menengah Atas* [SMA] (years 10-12) (Bedi and Garg, 2000; Pradhan, 1998). In 1994, the government raised the age of obligatory school attendance to 15 years (or SMP level), and thus education is state-sponsored up to grade nine (Pradhan, 1998). The school fees introduced at SMA level significantly limit the number of students who move on to senior secondary education⁸⁴. Sometimes, even the indirect costs in primary education make education impossible to afford for parents. For example, in the East-Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, many parents cannot send their children to school because of low household income. Children have to work to contribute to the family's finances or parents simply cannot afford to buy the mandatory school uniform (Therik, 2004). But it is the advanced stages of education in Indonesia where class and wealth directly impact on access to education.

Indeed, the students who attend the high schools in Denpasar that formed part of this study were mainly 'middle-class' kids whose parents work in the public service, tourism, trade and industry, as entrepreneurs or as employees in private business. In the high school SMA3, for example, for the 765 students attending this particular school parents (usually the father only) were registered as presented in Table 3.1:

⁸⁴ "In the mid-1990s, less than 10 per cent of children age 8-12 were not enrolled in school, as was the case for about 25 per cent of 13-14 year-olds and about half of the children age 15-17" (Thomas et al., 2004 62). Bedi and Garg (2000) confirm that only 47 per cent of male students and 43 per cent of female students obtain between seven and 12 years of education in Indonesia.

Table 3.1: The professions of parents recorded by the high school SMA3

Public servants	33 %
Entrepreneurs running a business	23 %
Employees in private business	20 %
Entrepreneurs of another kind (not in business)	18 %
Military personnel	4 %
Tradesmen	3 %
Chauffeurs	3 %
Farmers	2.4 %
Pensioners	1.2 %

*The percentages in this table add up to more than 100 per cent, but are based on the numbers copied from the statistical information board at the high school.

As Denpasar is an urban setting, the percentage of farmers among the parents of SMA3 students is particularly low. An outstanding number of parents are public servants, employees or employees in a business (notably, ‘blue collar jobs’ are here hidden in the term ‘employee’). So, by affecting access to schooling, living conditions and socio-economic standards limit the way in which subjects can be governed according to state education and discourse. Yet, for the vast majority of Indonesians who have access to at least basic education, state rhetoric and institutionalised practices of ‘unity’ – such as collective flag-raising on a Monday morning – form and have formed an intrinsic part of the educational experience. But the subjects of Indonesian independence are not only classless and ‘unified’, but also compliant with political leadership, as I now show.

3.5 The subjects of a ‘floating mass’

Public compliance with political leadership formed one of the pillars of the *New Order* regime. For thirty years Suharto’s GOLKAR party effectively ruled the country without political opponents; its dominance being reconfirmed in ‘democratic’ elections without

political choice (Chalmers, 2006). In order to maintain political status quo, Suharto's government aimed at creating what Southeast Asian studies now commonly refer to as a politically disengaged 'floating mass' of citizens that was ill-informed about political processes and compliant with authority. In the laws, policies and military control that restricted the freedoms of political participation and public expression (Arnez, 2001; Chalmers, 2006; McDonald, 1980; Robinson, 1995), power operated through domination, violence and authority.

I now want to turn to how national education during the New Order effected power as governmentality. The mass education system developed by the Suharto government served as a convenient avenue to spread state discourse and ideology. Ideological jargon and nationalistic symbolism played a crucial role in the political and cultural governance of the New Order, discursively framing codes of conduct for subjects to govern themselves (Anderson, 1990; Putra, 2004 pers. comm.; van Langenberg, 1986). Catchy slogans were strategically planted into the heads of Indonesians through education, the media and public and political discourse. The two-child policy, for example, was advertised down to the village level with the slogan '*dua anak cukup*' (two children are enough). This message was (and in many cases still is) communicated to students from primary school level, and is also carried to the Indonesian population through additional state advertising. '*Dua anak cukup*' could be seen on large advertising screens placed at the entrances to remote Indonesian villages. The authority of political leadership is also transported into schools across Indonesia to this day, with national symbols and pictures of Indonesia's political leadership guarding classroom walls and thus accompanying students through their entire

educational career (Figure 3.1). These pictures seek to strengthen the authority of the government and the acceptance of political leadership as a 'given', rather than as a political choice. These technologies of governing thus combine 'power as authority' with 'power as governmentality', making the authority of the government shape the codes of conduct of its citizens.

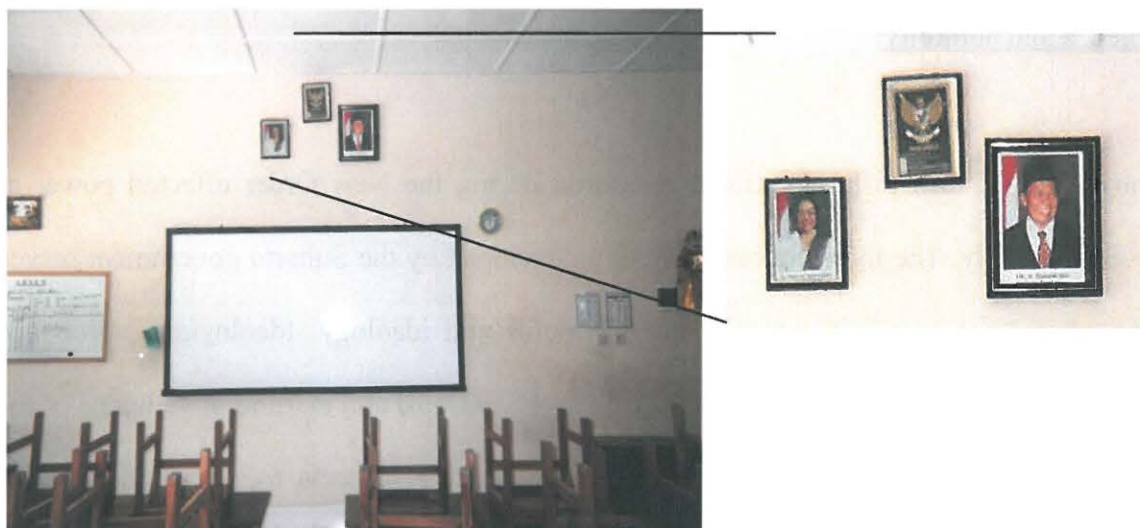


Figure 3.1: A 'typical' classroom in a Balinese secondary school. Above the white board, classrooms feature a picture of the national emblem of the Republic of Indonesia, the mystical bird of Garuda, which also represents the *Pancasila*. To its left is a photo of former president Megawati Sukarnoputri, to its right that of former vice president Hamzah Haz, who governed in 2004.

While political discourse has changed in recent years, as I will show, some of the modes of power and technologies of governmentality developed for the educational sector under previous Indonesian governments survive until today. A centralised curriculum, ideology-laden textbooks and repetitive learning methods aim to shape 'model citizens' and to make students internalise state values of 'good citizenship' (Parker, 2002a). Apart from a nationalised content of lessons, the national spirit of the Indonesian Republic is transported

to students around the archipelago through standardised rules of behaviour and disciplinary practices. Over the past decades, ‘obedience to the rule’ has been instilled in student subjects, through rote learning, authoritarian teaching techniques and a hierarchical organisation of school governance and procedures (Thair and Treagust, 2003). An example for standardised disciplinary practices I witnessed at Balinese schools is the military-style group drills that students performed on different occasions. Students would line up at the start of extracurricular lessons, for example, and respond to ritualised prompts by a teacher or student ‘group leader’ in an automatised manner. A well-known ritual that also falls into this category is that of the Monday morning flag raising ceremony, which includes the singing of the Indonesian national anthem as well as a disciplining speech by the school principal. Figure 3.2 portrays the drill that marked the start of an afternoon extra-curricular activity at a junior high school SMP 8 in Denpasar. Students had exchanged their school uniform for jeans and t-shirts for this activity, but their body posture reflects that discipline and order were still writ large, even on this more ‘relaxed’ occasion.



Figure 3.2: Student line-up for an extra-curricular activity at the junior high school SMP8, Denpasar.

Reflecting the hierarchical organisation of the Indonesian bureaucracy, educational institutions are structured in an authoritative manner with a clear top-down distribution of responsibilities (Thair and Treagust, 2003). In interviews with me, teachers expressed fears of questioning the school management or educational authorities about their decisions. When I asked a biology teacher whether teachers agreed with the implementation of curricular changes, he remarked: “We have an instruction from above, so I guess we just agree. We have to implement it”⁸⁵ (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.). This hierarchy reaches down to the student level. Students respond to older students, student leaders, teachers and the school management with utmost respect, and follow their orders without question or debate. During the lessons I witnessed, teachers were treated with great respect. At the start of lessons, students rose when the teacher entered the class (also when other teachers walked in during the lesson) and replied loudly to the teacher’s Balinese greeting “*Om Swastiyastu!*” Power here operates both as authority and governmentality – hierarchical organisation forges authority and the acceptance thereof, whereas students govern their own behaviour in following the rules set by figures of authority.

Even in their appearance students are disciplined to embody the subject position of national unity. As a sign of respect, students are to maintain a neat physical appearance at school. They purchase several sets of school uniforms upon joining a school, a measure supposed to eliminate an overly overt visibility of differences in family wealth, and another technique of levelling class difference. When visiting schools, I noticed that most students had neatly

⁸⁵ “Ada instruksi dari atas setuju aja. Kita harus melaksanakan” (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

cut hair; most girls had their hair tied up in plaits adorned with ribbons⁸⁶. Clearly structured and hierarchical educational proceedings at Indonesian schools pursued and still pursue many of the elements that were designed to form compliant, de-politicised national subjects of a ‘floating mass’. While in these educational practices, power is mobilised as domination, control and authority, it also takes effect as governmentality, through the ways students govern their behaviour in relation to educational rule.

Where education functions as a *technology of governmentality*, students negotiate the ways in which power can take effect *through* them. Even institutional arrangements that seem as stringently hierarchised as the Indonesian school system should not be misunderstood as techniques of domination only. While the subjects of a ‘floating mass’ are envisaged to oblige, this obedience is far from automatic. Even the rather structural approach of social reproduction theory argues that education reproduces social conditions and class consciousness leaves room for subjects to act and choose. Willis (1977 176) emphasises that “we must not expect particular kinds of reproduction to take place tidily in discrete kinds of institution”. In his case study of a group of English working class boys, Willis (1977) found that it was the *counter-culture* to formal education that students were involved in (and simultaneously reproduced), rather than education’s ‘official line’, which led students to decide on taking up blue collar jobs. As Darier (1999 19) points out, subjects negotiate the limitations created by rule and discourse by making “choices to accept these constraints or to challenge them”. Or, as Allen (2003 66, original emphasis)

⁸⁶ When chatting with an alumni student I learned that teachers very strictly enforce rules of dress and appearance at Balinese high schools. Students are not allowed to dye their hair or have haircuts that are in any way outrageous. This young man recounted that in his high school class there had been a girl with naturally reddish hair, which is unusual for Balinese. As the teacher did not believe that this was indeed her natural colour, the girl was forced to dye her hair black to fit in with the rest of the class.

puts it, “subjects are essentially *free* to regulate their own behaviours though not in all possible ways of choosing”.

In a Balinese context, Parker (2002a) argues that, even during the time of the New Order, the authoritarian, top-down approach to education did not automatically lead to the formation of New Order subjects. Students in Bali act as agents in either accepting, absorbing, or in contesting, filtering or reinventing the information conveyed to them in the school environment. The formation of citizens through school education in Bali remains "open-ended" (Parker, 2002a 3). Pupils internalise teaching materials depending on their subjective experience and interpretation. As Benjamin et al. (2003 548) observed in their case study of educational subjectivation in England:

The year six children in our study were produced, by their schools, as differently able, gendered, classed, racialised and embodied subjects. All the children played an active role...: they could take up, resist and manoeuvre around the subject positions on offer to them.

Students exercise their power to negotiate technologies of governmentality, as subjectivation is never complete or perfect (Gibson-Graham, 2006). They position themselves in relation to the subject positions placed on offer by education.

Foucault (1990; 1991) describes four processes through which subjects negotiate their relation to rule. These steps in forming themselves as ethical subjects are: the *determination of one's ethical substance*, where particular spheres of conduct are determined as areas of ethical concern; the *mode of subjection*, where an individual establishes his or her 'relation to the rule'; the *ascetic practices of the self*, where one's own behaviour is shaped to

comply with a moral code; and *moral teleology*, where the subject becomes committed to other rules that are related to the practiced code of conduct. Thus, ethical conduct is a negotiation that neither depends on the unleashing of a pre-existing inner being nor on outside rule alone (Ferreira, 1999). Leading subjects to govern themselves is constituted by the interplay between internal processes and outside influence. Subjects are *actors* who place themselves in 'relation to the rule', rather than empty containers waiting to be filled with subject positions through subjectivation (McKinnon, 2005).

In the processes of governmentality I observed at schools in Bali, students seemed to constantly determine their relation to the rules of educational conduct. Although discipline is writ large in Balinese classrooms, this does not keep students from having private conversations in class. During lessons I attended, I watched students slouch, chat amongst themselves, read comics, and even openly sleep on their desk, left undisturbed by the teacher. Classrooms generally looked simple but well looked-after, yet they still bore some signs of teenage rebellious vandalism: tables and chairs were graffitied and carved with names and '*I love you's*' and sported dry chewing gums stuck to their undersides. The following field notes I took during a biology lesson at senior high school level shows that students negotiate the limits of obedience, discipline, and also exercise some agency to defend their interests:

There is a constant murmur at the back of the class, while the teacher, a middle aged lady, is reading out aloud from the biology textbook. Explanations the teacher provides really only reach the students seated in the first few rows. This seems to bother neither the teacher nor those absorbed in their own conversations at the back of the class. From time to time, the teacher poses a question in the form of a sentence the students are supposed to finish: "This is caused by...?" "...RAIN!" the pupils shout univocally. The teacher then asks students to read out their answers to a revision questionnaire they have completed at home (these questionnaires are part of most school books I saw in Bali). She reads out

students' names who then shout out the score they have achieved in the test, which the teacher proceeds to write down in her book. The generally high scores of 9.8, 8.9, 8.7, 7.8 (the lowest being 5.8) make me wonder if all students are indeed reading out their correct scores. After the lesson, while I am chatting to the biology teacher, two girls re-enter the class and ask the teacher to correct their score, as allegedly it was added up incorrectly. The teacher checks their results again and the scores turn out to be correct after all. "Complaining! Always complaining!" the teacher shouts and jokingly hits one of the girls on the legs with the rolled-up class book. The girls leave the lab with an embarrassed smile.

Thus, students also challenge authority every day, defend their own interests before figures of authority and misbehave in class.

With increasing age, as I was informed by teachers, senior high school students find more niches for resistance to rule. In the classes I observed, older pupils exercised their power to 'relate to rule' on their personal terms in much more overt ways than students at junior high school level. A physics teacher I interviewed explained that in Bali students around the age of 15-17 years were generally more difficult to teach than younger students. While grade one senior high school students were often still studious and disciplined, their discipline, participation and obedience declined as they moved into second and third year of SMA, the teacher complained:

The development of the students is already different... for example at SMP level, if we ask the students: Do this! They will certainly do it...At SMA, sometimes it's like this: 'Are you coming tomorrow?' 'Yes!' And he doesn't come. 'I went out instead!' It's like that. I often experience this...this has made me angry in the past⁸⁷ (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

⁸⁷ "Itu udah perkembangan anak-anaknya udah beda...misalnya SMP kan kalau kita suruh: buat ini! Dia pasti buat...Kalau SMA itu kadang-kadang, ya, itu: 'Besok datang?' 'Ya!' Ngak datang dia. 'Saya jalan-jalan aja!' Gitu. Ah, ini. Ini sering saya alami...pernah jengkel" (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

It was generally difficult to get this age group to commit to educational tasks, the teacher went on to explain, and fluctuating numbers of attendance were a regular occurrence, particularly in extra-curricular programs. By staying absent from class – be this out of resistance, disinterest or a sliding of education among personal priorities – these more senior students exercise their power to experiment with the margins of rule and thereby establish their relation to the codes of conduct of governmentality.

Students' negotiation of rule also occurs in the ways they govern their bodily appearance. Despite the rules of neat self-presentation, teenagers (especially those between 15 and 17) find ways to spice up their 'boring' school uniforms. Many students use the parts of the school outfits that are less prescribed and universalised to add a personal note to their appearance: they wear 'hip' accessories such as colourful watches, caps, hair bands, backpacks or jewellery. Thereby, they test and stretch the margins of rule. They experiment within those windows of resistance tolerated by teachers negotiating what is deemed as 'proper' physical appearance in class. By modifying the 'classless' uniforms of national education, the teenagers also sabotage the requirements of 'national' unity at a micro scale. Figure 3.3 shows the varieties of uniforms at the Balinese schools I worked with.



Figure 3.3: School uniforms with individual touches. The group of students who participated in my research program at junior high school SMP8 (left); and a picture senior high school students took of themselves at SMA6 (right).

Thus, students are far from passive compliants to rule and do not automatically take on the subject positions of the classless, unified and compliant citizen national education authorities envisage. Instead, they negotiate, manoeuvre around, bend and shape the subject positions in the process of governing their own behaviour in the school context.

While the *Pancasila* ideology of ‘unity in diversity’ remains the backbone of the Indonesian nation state, the country has recently undergone massive political change which toppled the Suharto regime. Many practices of education have remained unchanged since the years of the New Order. Yet, it is particularly the subject positions of education that have transformed over the past decade. Processes of democratisation and decentralisation in Indonesia conjure up new subject positions of Indonesian citizens that influence the technologies of governmentality performed in education.

3.6 Post-Suharto Indonesia: Nurturing democratic subjects

During a keynote address at the Australian National University on 13 May 2005, the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia [MPR], Dr H.M. Hidayat Nur Wahid (2005) emphasised the need for new concepts of Indonesian citizenship. Dr Wahid named the building of a politically engaged civil society as one of the biggest challenges facing Indonesia's democratisation process, along with quality education and the eradication of corruption. He emphasised that education was critical in building an aware and critical public that rejected corruption in its political leaders (Jaskolski, 2005; Wahid, 2005).

Since the resignation of President Suharto and his New Order government in 1998, Indonesia has been on a road towards implementing a democratic political system. Since the year 2000, democratic elections have been taking place, and by late 1998, 80 new political parties had appeared on the political horizon (Jamhari, 1999). Political activism in Indonesia has thrived on newly found freedoms of assembly and speech. Meanwhile, political elites and party politics seek to fill in the spaces of political vacuum created by the loosening of central authority (Sugiarto, 2005). The three elections that have taken place since the fall of the Suharto-regime have been described as relatively successful, and as a significant factor of progress in Indonesia's move towards democracy (McIntyre, 2005). As Indonesians are adjusting to political change, the Indonesian government is searching for new imaginaries of 'state subjects'. In contrast to Suharto's 'floating mass', the citizen subject of democratising Indonesia seems to be one that embraces civic responsibilities such as voting and is educated about political processes, while, of course, subscribing to

Indonesia's state foundations and legitimacy. In his speech at the ANU, Mr Wahid (2005) saw awareness and education as prime characteristics of such politically engaged democratic subjects.

The process of democratisation in Indonesia has already impacted the institutional arrangements of education. For example, under the regional autonomy laws of 1999, regional educational departments were given more authority in the implementation of educational policy to meet the challenges of regional autonomy⁸⁸ (DIKNAS, 2003b). In Bali, the Department of Education at provincial level [DIKNAS Propinsi], based in Denpasar, facilitates the implementation of teaching policies at the *kabupaten* level. There are eight *kabupaten* in Bali, which are all serviced by their own Department of Education (Figure 3.4). One Department is solely responsible for the capital city of Denpasar, which has a population of 560,000 (of a total of around three million on the entire island), 208 primary schools, 88 high schools, and a total of 122,287 students (Tables 3.2 and 3.3) (DIKNAS, 2003a). The provincial DIKNAS provides a common normative framework under which schools in all *kabupaten*, 2,432 primary schools and 559 high schools in total, operate: "In line with the spirit of [regional] autonomy, the regional government has the responsibility to develop the syllabus and the system of assessment based on the national standard"⁸⁹ (DEPDIKNAS, 2004 1). While, obviously, there is still hierarchical structuring

⁸⁸ According to one of my respondents, this arrangement rests on the legislation of UUD Sisidiknas No 20 2003 (DIKNAS, 2003b).

⁸⁹ "Sesuai dengan jiwa otonomi, pemerintah daerah memiliki kewenangan untuk mengembangkan silabus dan sistem penilaiannya berdasar standar nasional". The DIKNAS also provides teacher training and assists schools in the implementation of curriculum changes and government policies (DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm.).

among educational departments in Bali, the decision-making capacity of the central government in Jakarta is sought to be reduced in line with regional autonomy policy.

Table 3.2: Schools in Bali and Denpasar in 2003

	Primary schools	High schools (SMP/SMA)
Bali	2,432	559
<i>Total: 2,971 schools</i>		
Denpasar	208	88 43 SMP (10 public, 33 private) 26 SMA (7 public, 19 private) 19 SMK (vocational schools)
<i>Total: 296 schools</i>		

Source: Pemerintah Propinsi Bali, Dinas Pendidikan (DIKNAS, 2003a).

Table 3.3: Number of students, jurisdiction of Denpasar, 2003

School type	Public	Private	Total
Primary School	53,835	15,413	69,248
Junior High School	10,112	14,909	25,021
Senior High School	7,999	9,259	17,258
SMK	4,600	6,160	10,760
TOTAL	76,546	45,741	122,287

Source: Pemerintah Propinsi Bali, Dinas Pendidikan (DIKNAS, 2003a 5).

See more detailed statistical information in Appendix 1.

PETA ADMINISTRASI KABUPATEN/KOTA

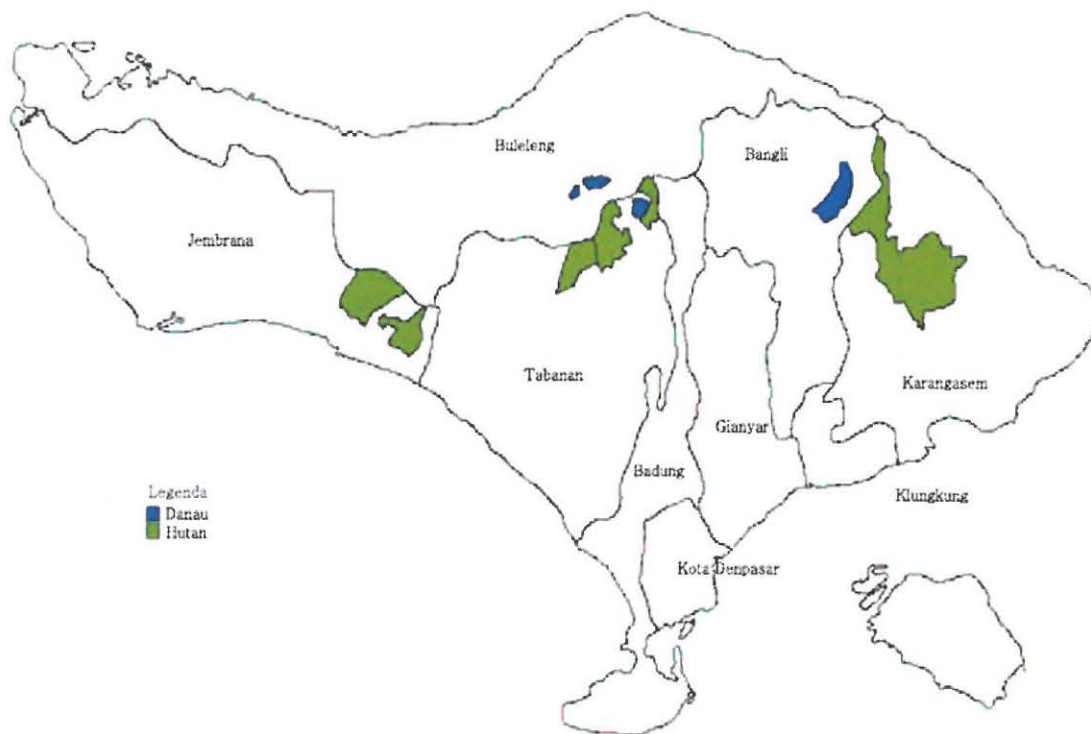


Figure 3.4: The island of Bali, showing the administrative boundaries of its eight kabupaten: Jembrana, Buleleng, Bangli, Tabanan, Badung, Ginayar, Klungkung, Karangasem and the city of Denpasar (Provincial-Government, 2006 electronic source).

Political change in Indonesia also coincided with the development of a new national curriculum that reflects a shift in the imagination of 'state subjects'. Under the 1999-2005 state guiding principals [*Garis Besar Haluan Negara* or GBHN], the National Department of Education ['Depdiknas'] decided to change the 1994 curriculum to the 2004 '*kurikulum berbasis kompetensi*' or KBK ('curriculum based on competence'). This new curriculum

became effective from the school year 2004/2005⁹⁰ (DEPDIKNAS, 2004) and highlights the *competence* of students: “Competence-based education is education that highlights the capacity those graduates of a certain level of education have to have acquired”⁹¹ (DEPDIKNAS, 2004 1). Such competence is based on knowledge, capacity, independence, creativity, health, character, piety and citizenship (DEPDIKNAS, 2004). Education seeks to convey the practical skills, competence and attitudes that students require to successfully cope with the demands of changing life and work circumstances in an increasingly ‘technicised’ and ‘globalised’ Indonesia⁹². Schools “function as a base for the formation of citizens who have character, dignity, faith and discipline for further learning”⁹³ (PPLH, 2004b citing a presenter from the Department of Education, no page numbers).

The new curriculum can be seen as a *technology* of governmentality that engenders the subject position of national education in a democratising Indonesia. It creates the institutional framework under which subjectivation in accordance with this new subject imaginary can take place. In terms of content, the new curriculum does not differ significantly from the previous curriculum released in 1994 (DIKNAS, 2003b). It is through its participatory, practice-based teaching methods and more complex assessment of capacity, which aim to foster the development of ‘competent subjects’, where the KBK

⁹⁰ In 1999, the curriculum was reassessed and compared to curricula operative in other countries. In the year 2000, the Department of Education produced a draft new curriculum, which was then piloted at schools in 2001. In 2002, the KBK was further improved to be finalised in 2003 and came into effect nationally in Indonesia in 2004 (DIKNAS, 2003b).

⁹¹ “Pendidikan berbasis kompetensi adalah pendidikan yang menekankan pada kemampuan yang harus dimiliki oleh lulusan suatu jenjang pendidikan” (DEPDIKNAS, 2004 1).

⁹² A theme that often emerged during interviews I carried out with Balinese teachers and government officials was that in international comparison Indonesia was “lagging behind” and even “going backwards” (DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm.) in regards to its educational standards. It thus had to catch up with international educational standards and work force requirements.

⁹³ “Sekolah Dasar dan Madrasah Ibtidaiyah bermanfaat sebagai dasar pembentukan warga negara yang berkarakter, bermartabat, beriman, dan bertaqwa untuk belajar lebih lanjut” (PPLH, 2004b citing a presenter from the Department of Education, no page numbers).

tests new ground. As one teacher put it: “Before, teaching was about bringing students to acquire knowledge; now it is capacity, attitude/behaviour”⁹⁴ (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.). Under the KBK, students’ performance of ‘state subject positions’ are measured in more complex and encompassing ways than under previous curricula. The KBK is “directed at conveying the capacity to manage life, not only in the area of cognitive skills, but also in the areas of affective and psychomotoric [skills]” (DIKNAS, 2004b pers. comm.)⁹⁵. These three categories – cognitive, affective and psycho-motoric capacity – form the basis for the assessment of students under the new curriculum⁹⁶. In 2004, the implementation of the new curriculum at schools was still tentative and was still not being ubiquitously implemented (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.; DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm., ; 2004b pers. comm.; 2004c pers. comm.; Murah, 2004 pers. comm.). Notably, in its focus on complex student capacities the new curriculum moves away from the semi-dimensional subject position of the citizen of a

⁹⁴ “Kalau dulu itukan mengajarnya itukan hanya menekankan siswa untuk mengetahui pengetahuan saja. Memiliki pengetahuan saja. Kalau sekarang ketrampilannya, sikapnya. Harus bagus juga, gitu” (Artha).

⁹⁵ “Kurikulum 2004 itu yang arah...ketrampilan hidup itu, tidak hanya ranah kognitif yang ditekankan...tapi juga aspek afektif dan psikomotorik” (DIKNAS, 2004b pers. comm.).

⁹⁶ Affective capacity is defined as “capability that is related to feelings, emotions, attitude...acceptance or rejection of an object” (“kemampuan yang berkaitan dengan perasaan, emosi, sikap...penerimaan atau penolakan terhadap suatu objek”). Cognitive capacity, in turn, consists of “the capability to think, acquire knowledge, understanding, conceptualisation, decision and consideration” (“kemampuan berpikir...memperoleh pengetahuan, kemampuan...pengenalan, pemahaman, konseptualisasi, penentuan, dan penalaran”). Lastly, psycho-motoric capacity is described as “capability to carry out work that integrates parts of the body; capability that relates to physical movement” (“kemampuan melakukan pekerjaan dengan melibatkan anggota badan; kemampuan yang berkaitan dengan gerak fisik”) (DEPDKNAS, 2004 29). A geography teacher gave the following example: “Cognitive [skills] are about knowledge. For example I teach about rivers, so how far have the students understood and acquired this knowledge?...For example the processes that take place within the river?...What are the types of rivers?... This is the knowledge. In terms of psycho-motoric, this would be the capacity to gather data in the field. Affective means attitude/behaviour. How is the student’s attitude towards/behaviour in regards to the river? Does the student respect the river in his daily behaviour? Does he/she throw garbage into the river just like that?”⁹⁶ (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.) (“Kognitif tentang pengetahuannya. Misalnya mempelajari tentang sungai, kemudian tentang sungai itu, pengetahuan tentang sungai itu sejauh mana mereka mampu? ...Misalnya apa yang terjadi di sungai itu?...Bagaimana jenis2 sungai itu?...Nah, itu pengetahuannya. Tentang kalau ke psikomotornya, jadi ketrampilannya itu mencari data di lapangan itu. Yang ketiga, afektif, sikapnya itu. Sikapnya tentang sungai itu gimana? Apakah dalam sehari-harinya dia menghormati sungai itu? Apa dia membuang sampah begitu saja di sungai?”).

‘floating mass’. While the subject of the KBK is a participating and competent one, it is not necessarily a critical or politically engaged one. Still, the KBK represents at least a step towards visions of the engaged, democratically active citizens of Indonesian democracy and creates a shift in the imaginary of the national subject. Decentralisation, regional autonomy and an increased political focus on regional (rather than national) culture are other recent political tendencies that effect the imaginary of governable subjects. Regionalism moves away from the notion of a ‘national subject’ and opens up new spaces for subject positions of ‘regional citizens’.

3.7 Regional subjects – Challenging education as a national project

The regional autonomy laws of 1999 have created a resurgence of regionalism in Indonesia. In Bali, this even led to debates around the possibility of independence from the Indonesian nation state (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.; Wisnu, 2005 pers. comm.). The focus on ‘the Balinese way’ that comes through in the discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK reflects this increased level of confidence Balinese are acquiring in voicing visions for more regional identities. This regional autonomy enables new technologies of educational governmentality.

The ‘Balinese subjects’ imagined in regional discourse are deeply anchored in Balinese religion and cosmology. They play a part in, and are themselves representations of, an intricate cosmic whole:

Man is a tiny part of the overall Hindu-Balinese universe, but he contains its structure in microcosm. Man’s body has three parts – head, body, and feet – just as the universe, macrocosm, has three parts: the upper world of God and

heaven, the middle world of man, and the underworld. Man is a kind of scale model of the universe, with exactly the same structure – as the island of Bali, and each village, temple, house compound, building, and occupant on it (Eiseman, 1989 5).

Cosmic order and harmony are linked to Balinese sustainability in the discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK. Subjects' awareness of their Balinese roots, and their daily efforts to strive for cosmic harmony, form a part of strengthening regional identity. Local discourses plead for a reorientation of subject positions on the strengths of Bali's cosmological and spiritual power. "Ajeg Bali is meant as the capability of Balinese to have cultural confidence", so its proponents argue, while acting as a Balinese subject requires to "bring this doctrine down to earth and apply it in one's organisation of life, outlook on life and way of life to one's everyday reality"⁹⁷ (Naradha, 2004a 30 and 46).

The technologies of governmentality employed to forge 'Balinese subjects' at schools operate alongside those that aim to create national subjects. For example, Balinese schools only partly comply with the regulation on the exclusive use of Indonesian language in school proceedings. At the schools I visited, students and even teachers spoke a mix of Indonesian and Balinese language. When I asked an English teacher what language he used in the classroom, he laughed and replied: "English, Indonesian and sometimes Balinese!" (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.). In lessons I witnessed, teachers occasionally switched to Balinese for further clarification of tasks and to explain complex material, and used colloquial Balinese when joking or chatting with students. The preservation of Balinese has become an issue of regional identity, as well as sustainability. My respondents often

⁹⁷ "Ajeg Bali dimaknai sebagai kemampuan manusia Bali untuk memiliki Kepercayaan Diri Kultural (Cultural Confidence)...Membumikan ajaran tersebut dalam tata hidup, sikap hidup dan cara hidup pada kenyataannya sehari-hari" (Naradha, 2004a 30 and 46).

expressed concern that Balinese language may die out as a result of the uniformity of national education. Due to the time-intensive responsibilities students have at school, Balinese teenagers spend increasing periods of their time conversing in Indonesian rather than Balinese language, and even lose fluency in their mother tongue⁹⁸. This creates concern among regional leaders, as expressed for example in the discourse of *Ajeng Bali*, which highlights the preservation of Balinese language as an important and intrinsic component of Balinese culture. Educational decision makers and schools explicitly foster Balinese through compulsory extra-curricular Balinese language courses and by tolerating its use in other school contexts. The schools thereby only selectively comply with the unifying policy of the Indonesian government. Retaining and fostering Balinese language in the otherwise so ‘nationalised’ space of education represents a form of regional resistance to national technologies of governmentality – through the appliance of technologies of *regional* governmentality.

Another sign of distinctly Balinese identity in Denpasar school environments is the Balinese architectural design of most school buildings (Figure 3.5). Balinese architecture forms an important part of geospatial arrangements of cosmic harmony and functions as an indirect process of regional subjectivation. Architecture in Bali is organised along the axis *kaja* and *kelod* (mountainward and seaward) (Eiseman, 1989; James, 1973). Similar to human bodies, houses are seen as microcosms of the larger Balinese cosmos – the

⁹⁸ This trend creates an interesting generational divide, as especially older people in Bali are not very familiar with Indonesian language, while the younger generation seems to be losing their fluency in Balinese. Two of my students, in fact, complained that, when they visited their relatives in a rural Balinese village, their parents had to translate the conversations with their own grandparents, who could and would only speak Balinese. Conversely, many of the other students in the class stated that they still spoke Balinese on a daily basis, at home and with their friends.

organisation of their interiors has to ensure cosmic balance that “permit[s] gods to enter and evils spirits to be expelled” (Bellows, 2003, 11). Thus, there are clear rules for the location of certain rooms in Balinese houses, with the more ‘sacred’ rooms facing the sacred direction of the holy mountain *Gunung Agung*, and less ‘sacred’ rooms such as kitchens or bathrooms facing seaward⁹⁹ (BAPEDALDA, 2004c pers. comm.). Schools strive to follow this code where possible, although this intention is sometimes compromised by the spatial possibilities of the urban environment (BAPEDALDA, 2004c pers. comm.). Also, most schools showcase a statue of *Dewi Saraswati*, the Balinese goddess of wisdom, knowledge and the arts (Darling and Blair, 1980), often near the main entrance to the building. All schools I visited had school temples and shrines, where students could pray whenever they wanted¹⁰⁰. Classrooms also exhibit signs of Balinese religion and identity alongside the icons of Indonesia nationalism that remind students of their citizenship on a daily basis. As Figure 3.5 shows, these include classroom shrines, pictures of Hindu religious figures and Hindu prayers.

These spatial and discursive setups, which include regionalised practices (such as Hindu religious prayer) form part of what Gordon (1997) describes as the ‘hidden curriculum’. It involves “learning outcomes that are either unintended by the teacher (or the school in general) or are intended, but not openly acknowledged to the learners” (Gordon, 1997 484). The ‘hidden curriculum’ includes what one would describe as ‘school life’, the physical and social setting of teaching and learning, the “nature of the school as an impersonal

⁹⁹ Similarly, the bedrooms in Balinese houses facilitate that in their sleep, inhabitants’ heads face the mountain, if possible – thereby recreating cosmic balances along the axes of Gods-mountain-head and cosmos-house-body.

¹⁰⁰ At days of religious festivals and at the monthly event a full moon (*purnama*), collective praying events took place at these temples.

institution, as embodied in its structural properties and institutional arrangements” (Gordon, 1997: 484)¹⁰¹. Or, as Vallance (1983: 12) puts it;

those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level of the public rationales for education.

By creating ‘Balinese’ spaces for teaching and learning, schools implement a regionalised ‘hidden curriculum’.

¹⁰¹ Gordon’s formulation is indebted to Dreeben (1968).



Figure 3.5: School architecture. ‘Western’ doors give access to a Balinese gate at a senior high school in Denpasar (top left); Dewi Saraswati guards the school building (and students’ motorbikes) (centre), as well as the school interior (top right). Classrooms typically feature a Hindu shrine (bottom left), while pictures of Dewi Saraswati and the Balinese chant ‘*om santih, santih, santih om*’ (which concludes Hindu Balinese prayers, but is also used as a concluding remark in public speeches) greet students as they leave their classroom at junior high school SMP8.

Thus, in the age of political decentralisation, educational spaces and processes in Bali employ technologies of both *national* and *regional* governmentality. Students negotiate between subjectivations that promote national citizen subjects and those that foster Bali’s regional identity.

3.8 Conclusion

Education and the school environment constitute important discursive spaces and processes of subjectivation in the life of Balinese students. As I have shown, education effects governmentality. It engages discourse and subjectivation to engage power as governmentality. As this thesis is concerned with the ways in which sustainability is and can be engaged in education, it is important to be aware of these processes as one attempts to integrate sustainability and education. Sustainability operates as a form of governmentality itself, based as it is on an intricate set of discourses, subject positions and institutional arrangements through which power takes effect. Visions of what it means to be a 'sustainable subject' vary with different discourses of sustainability. The fusion of sustainability and education, thus, operates on the fault lines of multiple governmentalities.

Subjectivations of both sustainability and education engage different *technologies* of governmentality, such as political instruments, the market or the media. Education is only *one* technology of sustainability-as-governmentality (or 'sustainability'). Sustainability, in turn, is only *one* technology of governmentality employed by education. The subject position of the 'sustainable subject' is only one among many subject positions education seeks to 'install' in students.

Understanding the dynamics of subjectivation and governmentality is important, as they form a context in which 'sustainability as governmentality' can be performed. Education is a 'state project' and employs power modes that range from domination and authority to governmentality. The social reproduction of class and caste through colonial education, for

example, or through the authoritarian structure of educational institutions and disciplinary practices of schooling established during the New Order in Indonesia, engage modalities of power as domination and authority. But education is also employed as a technology of governmentality to create and promote discourse, to perform processes of subjectivation, and to educate students to govern their behaviour according to those subject positions envisioned in educational systems. These subject positions are multiple and shift over time. In the context of Indonesia, I have shown how education as an institution and a process has been used to promote the subject positions of the governable, colonial subject, the devoted subject of Balinese kingdoms, the classless- and caste-less subject of Indonesian unity, the obedient and politically disengaged subject of the New Order or the politically engaged subject of Indonesian democratisation. These subject positions, of course, are simplifications, and subjectivation through educational processes pursues more than one subject position at a time. In the context of education in Bali, the subjectivation of national student citizens operates alongside the creation of regional subjects of political decentralisation.

An important point I want to stress here is that education is an institution and a political process that already engages multiple processes of governmentality and subjectivation. The educational system as it stands in Bali today is a result of the ways in which power was engaged in education by a succession of political regimes in Indonesia. Integrating sustainability and education means fusing two processes which already engage discourse, power and the subject in complex ways. It means combining two governmentalities that produce different subject positions and processes of subjectivation. 'Sustainability

education' operates among a mix of global, national, regional and local subject positions of *both* education and sustainability. In Chapter 4 I explore more closely how sustainability and education are fused in secondary education in Bali, and how processes of subjectivation interact as these two governmentalities are integrated.

Chapter 4

Engaging sustainability in education: The case of Balinese high schools

4.1 Sustainability and education – A contested union

As people we seek positive change for ourselves, our children and grandchildren; we must do it in ways that respect the right of all to do so... This requires us to reorient education systems, policies and practices in order to empower everyone, young and old, to make decisions and act in culturally appropriate and locally relevant ways to redress the problems that threaten our common future. In this way, people of all ages can become empowered to develop and evaluate alternative visions of a sustainable future and to fulfil these visions through working creatively with others (UNESCO, 2006 electronic resource).

On their Internet site, UNESCO makes a case for the importance of the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. The above quote contains certain key words that describe an educational system that also fosters sustainability: the right to evoke change, the empowerment of young people to participate in decision-making, the development of future visions, and the framing of sustainability in culturally appropriate and locally relevant ways. Although UNESCO provides general goals and objectives for this decade, it is the two last points that are particularly challenging. How to make sustainability culturally appropriate and locally relevant? As I have shown, discourses of sustainability are diverse, and local discourses often do not follow the premises of 'global' sustainable development. Furthermore, sustainable development teaching needs to be integrated into the educational sector, which is already shaped by its own discourses and technologies of governmentality.

Just how sustainability and education can be integrated has been the subject of recent academic discussion. Debates of sustainability education have concentrated on two main issues: First, the concepts and knowledges of sustainability taught in education; and second, the organisation and technical delivery of sustainability teaching. The knowledges of sustainability taught in education necessarily engage certain discourses of sustainability. These discourses are then institutionalised as a technology of governmentality in education. Just *how* discourses of sustainability can be done depends on the institutional arrangements of the respective educational system as well as on the knowledges and values conveyed through teaching and the 'hidden curriculum'. For example, schools may implement recycling facilities and practices as part of a 'school agenda 21' or school environmental management plan to assist the reduction of global resource use (NOWaste, 2004). I now discuss issues of knowledge-formation in sustainability education, and then turn to the more organisational aspects of marrying education and sustainability.

One approach to shaping sustainability knowledge for education is to produce a *global* knowledge system that reflects the global dimension of sustainability itself. In line with sustainability story number one (outlined in Chapter 2) which promotes a 'global partnership' for sustainable development, Yencken (2002 23) emphasises that sustainability needs "the emergence of a global ideology of nature that transcends individual cultures". Only by agreeing on common values could there be the possibility to find a global common ground for sustainability. While acknowledging that "environmental knowledge, attitudes and behaviour" are "locally and culturally grounded", Yencken (2000 4 and 22) sees a

basis of shared discourses, knowledges and values that need to be globally mobilised, for “[if] we do not act globally, we will never solve the big issues of the global commons”.

International sustainability agreements such as Agenda 21 contain an agreed political consensus on goals and guidelines of global sustainable development. Problematically, reaching such a global consensus on sustainability knowledge may mean sieving out the very ‘local particularities’ that UNESCO refers to in regards to sustainability education. Basing an international education campaign on a ‘global knowledge system’ seems both reductionist and universalising. This is especially the case as forging *local relevance* may lie in those very locally specific discourses that may or may not comply with global knowledge systems. Sustainability discourses in Bali, for example, reflect local concerns much more than universal ones and thus matter in ‘local’ rather than ‘global’ ways. Making sustainability ‘locally relevant’ cannot entail shoving a global framework over local practices by simply translating a set of global parameters into national or local school curricula.

In addition, it is not only local sustainability contexts that need to be respected, but also culturally and locally varying concepts of education. The above statement by UNESCO imagines educational practices that foster student participation and critical engagement. The subject position imagined here is that of an informed and engaged young person, actively involved in the creation of sustainability. Political rhetoric for increased participation of young people is not limited to the educational sector, but has also been endorsed in governance. Fostering more engaged citizenship, in fact, is one hallmark of

sustainability (Mueller-Christ, 1998b; UNCED, 1992; Wyness, 2003). However, the notion of critical, engaged participation in the educational context is to a great extent based on Western democratic thought and Western images of education. The idea that subjects of sustainability education are ‘critical’ and ‘engaged’ may not be transportable into localities around the globe – one only has to think of the politically disengaged subjects of a ‘floating mass’ discussed in Chapter 3.

Interestingly, in fact, Balinese government discourse, outside the context of education, forges an explicit link between participatory governance, civic capacity, regional autonomy, and the capacity of subjects to act *sustainably*. The Department of the Environment at the provincial level in Bali [BAPEDALDA] describes one of the goals of the Development Program for Bali 2001-2005 as follows:

To enforce the ability of the regional government to manage the environment in sustainable ways, as an aspect of regional autonomy [and] to increase the capacity of the population to manage the resources in their area through a system and regulation that sides with the local population¹⁰² (BAPEDALDA, 2003 10).

The advancement of sustainability is here projected as a joint effort between a democratic and capable government, and capable citizen subjects who take their responsibility in implementing sustainable behaviour and policy seriously. It seems that the educational system in Indonesia could potentially contribute to advancing *both* the development of engaged subjects of democratisation and capable, participating subjects of sustainability. In

¹⁰² “Memperdayakan kemampuan pemerintah daerah dalam mengelola sumberdaya alam yang berkelanjutan, sebagai wujud dari otonomi daerah...Meningkatkan kemampuan masyarakat dalam pengelolaan sumberdaya alam yang ada di wilayahnya melalui system dan peraturan yang berpihak kepada masyarakat lokal” (BAPEDALDA, 2003 10).

Bali, participatory educational ideals do not sit so awkwardly within the rhetoric of political democratisation. In spite of this, the discourses and practices of Indonesian education – even within the framework of the new curriculum KBK – still engage disciplinary and automated practices in authoritarian ways that may still be a long way away from promoting the *critical* capacity democratic political rhetoric refers to.

The point here is that, when engaged in education, sustainability discourses may come up against the discourses and institutional arrangements that prevail in the domain of education. Gruenewald (2004), for example, argues that general education, at least in the USA, explicitly aims to make students competitive to participate in the global economy, which is based on economic growth and expansion (see also: Reuters, 2006). Integrated into such an educational environment in which dominant discourses may oppose some of the goals of sustainability, ‘environmental education’ risks losing its socially and educationally transformative potential:

[E]fforts to integrate environmental education activities into schools, though noble and not insignificant, are dwarfed by the power of the dominant educational discourse, which serves different, arguably anti-environmental, ends. This troubling paradox remains largely unexamined (Gruenewald, 2004 74).

Perhaps then, sustainability potentially clashes with the prevailing goals of education in particular settings. The subject positions envisaged in an educational system may not harmonise with those that sustainability discourses aim to foster. It thus matters what knowledges and discourses of sustainability meet which discourses and practices of education. Any program that aims to foster sustainability globally, yet with local relevance,

should therefore be aware of the local educational conditions that may work either for or against the goals of sustainability.

Several authors have looked more closely at the organisational aspects of implementing sustainability in education. Summers et al. (2003), for example, argue that existing environmental education could simply be extended to integrate the social and cultural issues inherent in sustainability. Thus, sustainability education could be slotted into existing educational organisation with no major institutional changes required. Conversely, the concept of 'education *for* sustainability' suggests that due to its integrated character, which includes economic, environmental, social and spiritual aspects, sustainability education should not simply be 'tacked onto' the 'traditional' subject areas that would convey environmental knowledge, such as the sciences or environmental studies. Instead, sustainability should become a central part of *all* subjects, indeed of *all* education (Summers et al., 2003; UNESCO, 2006). This argument rests on the idea that limiting sustainability teaching to certain educational subjects would restrict the possibility of forging links between different aspects of sustainability that may span across the teaching content of various subjects¹⁰³.

The British Council for Environmental Education argues that education for sustainable development is education that:

enables people to develop the knowledge, values and skills to participate in decisions about the way we do things individually and collectively...that will

¹⁰³ Similar to policy-making for sustainability that is solely located in the environmental department of a government (Coenen, 1998; Hams, 1998; Littlewood and While, 1997).

improve the quality of life now and without damaging the planet for the future (Summers et al., 2003 329).

‘The way we do things’ arguably includes more than the protection of natural environments. This kind of sustainability education highlights the *interconnections* between spheres of life now and in the future, as well as claims for political participation, social, intercultural, and intergenerational equity that several commentators on sustainability have highlighted (Davidson, 2000; Jacobs, 1999; Mueller-Christ, 1998b; Selman and Parker, 1997). Integrating sustainability into all subjects of education and all school practices in a ‘whole of school approach’ would mean considerable internal transformations in organisation for many schools. Therefore, Rauch (2002 49) sees ‘education for sustainability’ as a potential trigger for far-reaching reforms in schools, a “starting point for innovation” and a “breeding ground for promoting innovations in education which meet and cope with the current social challenges in an active and constructive manner”.

Devoting *all* teaching in a school environment to sustainability also evokes concern. And it is here where the normative and more procedural arguments around integrating sustainability and education meet. Foster (2001), for example, regards the process of pressing education into the mould of sustainability as problematic. He argues that sustainability cannot be seen “as an aspiration which higher education *suberves*” or as “a goal towards which it can be purposefully directed” (Foster, 2001 156, original emphasis). Jickling (1992) points out that sustainable development is a highly contested and possibly deeply flawed concept to begin with. In his article ‘Why I don’t want my children to be educated for sustainable development’ he contends that environment and sustainability are

misunderstood to be concrete entities that can be taught to students and that there can be one 'correct' way of learning about and implementing sustainability. If sustainability is a contested, normative concept, how, then, can education as a whole be shoved under its umbrella? How can the outlines and practical delivery of all subjects be organised to respond to a concept that there may never be institutional 'agreement' on? As this debate shows, integrating sustainability and education is not a straightforward task.

To avoid the conceptual dilemmas associated with attempts to either 'install sustainability in education' or else to 'align education with sustainability', Foster (2001) suggests an approach he calls 'education *as* sustainability': Rather than imposing sustainability on education, education is here envisaged as a process through which students not only learn about, but also *shape* and *construct* sustainability¹⁰⁴. This suggestion resonates with Jickling's (1992) argument that rather than installing one particular definition of sustainability as a framework that suddenly guides all of education, students should be encouraged and given the tools to think for themselves and *evaluate* the very debates that surround and underpin sustainable development. In concrete terms, one could imagine such education as a workshop in which students participate to shape knowledges and discourses of sustainability rather than learning pre-established definitions and concepts. The point here is that sustainability is not a fixed entity but a fluid idea, and that education takes part in the very process of developing it. Arguably, a certain base knowledge of scientific, social, economic and spiritual concepts is necessary to have an informed discussion about what sustainability means. Therefore, 'education as sustainability' should not necessarily

¹⁰⁴ Foster's argument also has a tendency towards Western anthropocentrism and technocentrism, assigning a crucial role to "advanced technological society like those which still hold the fate of the Earth in their hands to make sustainability a central and permanent feature of its culture and institutions" (Foster, 2001 164).

be taken to mean that students do not receive education about the ‘scientific facts’ and debates that surround sustainability. But, importantly, sustainability would still be grasped as a *process* of debate, a debate that takes place *within* education. The subject position imagined here is that of students involved in the very process of sustainability as creators and ‘critical debaters’ (Lijmbach et al., 2002).

I now want to turn to the way in which education and sustainability are integrated in the Indonesian context. Indonesia is in a state of governmental, educational and curricular reform. I have shown how democratisation and regionalisation impact on the subject positions imagined in education as a state project. According to political rhetoric in Indonesia, it seems education could theoretically be an avenue through which the capacity for both democratic and ‘sustainable’ behaviour might be fostered in young people. Schools are spaces where, in theory, students could develop subject positions that respond to both challenges of democratisation *and* sustainability, both informed ‘sustainable subjects’ *and* ‘new citizens’ who actively take part in the evolving Indonesian democracy. I now explore what discourses and subject positions secondary education in Bali responds to and engages when approaching sustainability education. Do the subjects of ‘global’ sustainability and national democratisation play a role in sustainability education in Bali? How are imagined subject positions translated into processes of subjectivation? I start approaching these questions by looking at the curricula and teaching materials, before moving on to the ways in which sustainability is taught in practice – both in ‘formal’ education and in informal education projects undertaken by NGOs.

4.2 Integrating sustainability and formal education

To find out more about how sustainability is taught at Balinese schools, I viewed different curricula at the Department of Education, studied teaching syllabi for different subjects (these were provided by teachers), and scanned teaching materials and books both at schools and in bookshops. I also conducted interviews with teachers, school principals, alumni students, government officials, NGO personnel and had informal conversations with high school students (see list of interviews in Appendix 7). I observed both formal and informal lessons and visited the schools that participated in my research as often as possible, in order to get a feel for ‘school life’ in Bali. I start my evaluation of sustainability education in Bali by introducing the relevant curricula.

Sustainability in the national and Balinese school curricula

There are significant differences in the approaches to environmental and sustainability-related education in the Indonesian and Balinese curricula. In the new national curriculum (KBK), ‘environmental education’ does not feature as a specific subject¹⁰⁵. The KBK is rather broad; it formulates merely the teaching goals of ‘standard competence’ and main teaching areas for each subject. Environmental or sustainability teaching content and modules are then slipped into the teaching syllabi for different subjects by the *Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran* (MGMP, or Council of Teachers for the Development of Teaching Content)¹⁰⁶. According to my respondents, aspects of environmental or sustainability

¹⁰⁵ Government plans to include environmental education in the curriculum as a separate subject were abandoned because of the large number of existing subject matters.

¹⁰⁶ Teachers from different schools are called together by the Department of Education to develop the teaching syllabus for each subject, based on the KBK (which contains syllabi examples). Each school in Denpasar sends one teacher per subject to MGMP gatherings. This teacher council decides how the national

education are distributed over a range of subjects mainly ‘scientific’ subjects, such as biology, physics and geography, but also religion and ethics.

The ‘environmental’ content conveyed in scientific subjects resembles what is taught in ‘Western’ countries. The model syllabus for the subject of geography, for example, contains teaching units on the topics of environment, ecosystem and development¹⁰⁷. As an indicator of standard competence in geography, this syllabus mentions students’ ability to “describe the quality of environment and development”¹⁰⁸ (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63). The definition of ‘quality of environment’ is kept rather broad here and includes “biophysical”, “socio-economic” and “cultural” criteria¹⁰⁹ (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63). Under the same geography teaching theme, students are expected to “analyse the limits of ecology in development”¹¹⁰ and “provide an example for interactive networks of environmental elements (socio-bio-physical)”¹¹¹. Under the umbrella of natural resource use, students are expected to learn about the concept of “eco-efficiency” and to “evaluate the ways of using natural resources according to environmental aspects and in a sustainable way”¹¹² (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63).

curriculum matches school requirements and can be translated into the teaching syllabus for a subject. The MGMP further develops teaching tools through which this agreed content should be taught in class. Within the MGMP, teachers also exchange ideas for teaching practices and teaching materials (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹⁰⁷ These units touch on basic geographical topics such as climate, volcanoes, vegetation, the spatial distribution of settlements, demography, soil processes and erosion, geomorphology and the use of natural resources. The biology syllabi, in turn, contain units on evolution, cell structure, but also ecosystems, botany and zoology (DEPDIKNAS, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ “Mendeskripsikan kualitas lingkungan hidup dan pembangunan” (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63).

¹⁰⁹ “Kualitas lingkungan hidup berdasarkan criteria tertentu (biofisik, sosial-ekonomi, budaya) (DEPDIKNAS, 2003).

¹¹⁰ “Menganalisis keterbatasan ekologis dalam pembangunan” (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63).

¹¹¹ “Memberi contoh jaringan interaksi unsur-unsur lingkungan (sosiobiofisikal)” (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 63).

¹¹² “Mengevaluasi cara pengelolaan sumber daya alam berdasarkan prinsip berwawasan lingkungan dan berkelanjutan” (DEPDIKNAS, 2003 70).

The concepts of ‘sustainability’ or ‘sustainable development’ in the Indonesian translations of *pembangunan berkelanjutan* or *pelestarian lingkungan* do not feature prominently in the national model curricula or syllabi (developed by the MGMP). While the word ‘sustainable’ emerges on single occasions in different contexts (for example ‘resource use’), in none of the syllabi could I find a teaching module that discussed ‘sustainability’ as a concept or global debate. The same is true for most textbooks teachers showed me. Only a single geography schoolbook I scanned in a bookshop featured a page explaining the concept of sustainable development as it is defined in ‘global sustainability discourses’. All in all, the ‘global partnership’ of sustainability remains largely untheorised in the national curriculum. One might expect the influence of ‘sustainability’ on recently published Indonesian teaching frameworks and materials to be stronger, especially as sustainability has been integrated into the language of Indonesian policy (BAPEDALDA, 2003; 2004; BAPEDALDA/PSLUW, 2004).

As opposed to the KBK, the local Balinese curriculum called *Kurikulum Muatan Lokal* [KML] features environmental education as a *separate* elective subject (DIKNAS, 2004d). The KML is developed by the Department of Education in Denpasar, not the national Department of Education in Jakarta. The KML includes teaching subjects that are relevant to regional culture, such as Balinese language or Balinese arts¹¹³. This curriculum, which is similarly broad-scaled as the national one, is divided into obligatory subjects and electives

¹¹³ This is not the case for Hindu religion. Because Hinduism forms one of Indonesia’s state religions, the curriculum for Hindu religious education is developed in Jakarta. According to a biology teacher I interviewed, the content of the KLM has not changed with the introduction of the KBK. Despite the national move towards political democratisation, neither the switch to the KBK nor the implementation of regional autonomy laws meant that the students were learning *more area-based* content (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

that can be selected as extracurricular subjects (DIKNAS, 2004d)¹¹⁴. One of the elective subjects offered as an extracurricular program is that of environmental education, often carried out in the form of a ‘nature lovers’ program (also called *Siswa Pencinta Alam* or SISPALA¹¹⁵). The group of SISPALA at the high school SMA6, for example, participated in the action research component of this study, which will be presented in more detail in Chapters 5 to 8.

Thus, in their approach to the institutional organisation of environment and sustainability organisation, Balinese educational politics combines both methods debated in academic discourses – that of integrating sustainability content into various subjects (yet, without the transformative effect of a whole-school-approach), and that of institutionalising it as a separate subject (It must be noted, however, that this separate subject is only taken as an elective by a small number of students at each school). During my fieldwork, I did not come across any clear commitment to the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in either the national or local curriculum, although the national curriculum makes some references to ‘sustainable development’.

Interestingly, the subject outline for ‘environmental education’ in the KML is explicitly based on the concept of THK. Its ‘standard competence’ statement describes environmental education as a “program for school development in the domain of environment by applying

¹¹⁴ The two mandatory KLM-based subjects taught at all high schools in Bali are Ethics (*Budi Pekerti*) and Balinese language. Schools can then pick from a range of optional subjects offered as extra-curricular programs, in accordance with the educational focus of the respective school.

¹¹⁵ ‘*Siswa*’ is the Indonesian word for ‘student’ or ‘students’, ‘*pencinta*’ translates to ‘lover’ and ‘*alam*’ to ‘nature’.

the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*”¹¹⁶ (DIKNAS, 2004d no page numbers, emphasis added). The ‘basic competence’ sub-components for this elective, which form the main teaching framework, are erected on the three pillars of THK, the relationship between humans and God; amongst humans; and between humans and the environment (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2) (DIKNAS, 2004d). It is also noteworthy, that, by grounding environmental education in the concept the THK, religion and spirituality are included in the concept of ‘environment’. While in ‘Western’ educational contexts educators are experimenting with the switch from environmental education to teaching more encompassing models of sustainability, which integrate environmental, social and economic aspects (Rauch, 2002), this broad and inclusive view is already given in the framework of THK.

Apart from the teaching units contained in the subject of ‘environmental education’, sustainability-related content in the Balinese curriculum is scarce. Of course the teaching of Balinese language, dancing, music, singing and reciting Hindu texts can be seen as related to cultural sustainability in Bali. These subjects are taken very seriously at Balinese schools and are popular among students. The tendency of schools to frame local environmental education in terms of THK and to emphasise Balinese cultural school subjects links in with the concerns of local sustainability discourses such as *Ajeng Bali*. So, in the Balinese case, the regional teaching approach to environmental education is closely tied to local discourses of sustainability, while references to ‘sustainable development’ are conspicuously absent. It is reflective of the spirit of regional autonomy that the only links to

¹¹⁶ “Program Pengembangan Sekolah Berwawasan Lingkungan dengan Filosofi Tri Hita Karana” (DIKNAS, 2004 no page numbers).

‘global’ sustainability debates are found in the national curriculum, while the local curriculum focuses explicitly on concepts of regional importance.

Table 4.1: The subject outline for the extra-curricular subject of environmental education in the *Kurikulum Muatan Lokal*, based on the three spheres of THK

Humans and their environment:

- maintaining the sanctity of holy places on the school ground and its surroundings
- performing greening activities at and around the school, participation of students in conserving the environment (for example by participating in activities organised by other institutions)
- playing an active role in managing waste water at school and the production of natural pesticides

Humans and God

- praying at the beginning and end of lessons, performing Hindu Balinese prayer at the beginning and end of each lesson
- paying a visit to the temple each day
- following religious ceremonies and performing social duties at the temple or shrine at school and in the neighbourhood of residence

Harmonious relationship among humans

- harmonising the relationships between social classes, harmonising the relationship between students and the school community as well as between the school community with the surrounding village
- strengthening communication with students from other schools (school link) at city, district, provincial, national and international levels, and fostering communication between students and the business and industry sector

Table 4.2: Other standard competencies for the subject of environmental education include:

- understand the management and use of solid waste, wastewater and gas at school,
- learn the differences between types of garbage (such as organic and non-organic, leaves, paper, plastic and metal – one of the indicators placed under this section includes students carrying out a garbage observation in the field to identify different types of garbage in an outdoor setting)
- learning about recycling and composting
- knowledge of toilet systems based on Balinese architectural techniques
- biodiversity conservation (through planting different kinds of plants, fungi or breeding worms and fish)
- learning about energy efficiency and alternative energy (wind, bio gas, solar) through simple

Source: DIKNAS (2004d no page numbers).

The Balinese curriculum projects the subject imaginary of the ‘Balinese sustainable subject’ who practices the concept of THK, a pious Hindu Balinese subject who regards the

environment as part of the Hindu cosmos, as a contributor to the *creation* of dharma, or cosmic order and harmony. The competencies outlined in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 include an awareness of and responsibility for religious duties, Balinese traditional law, active participation in village community and neighbourhood temple activities, respect for Hindu religious shrines and spaces and a familiarity with Balinese architecture.

So, in their everyday teaching, Balinese teachers follow two curricula, the national and the local one, and therefore simultaneously communicate the subject positions of national and regional sustainabilities. Thus, through the formation of local educational policy frameworks, now enhanced and legitimised through regional autonomy, the Balinese government connects national teaching content with locally relevant discourses, concepts and imaginaries of the 'Balinese sustainable subject'. Thus, even within sustainability education in one locality only, the connections between the normative and organisational aspects of implementing sustainability education happen at various levels, and in complex rather than straightforward ways. I now turn to how teaching content envisaged in the national and local curricula is actually translated into classroom teaching. I consider how education is performed as governmentality and how processes of subjectivation reflect the subject positions envisaged in national and regional educational politics.

Sustainability in the classroom: formal teaching at Balinese high schools

The teachers I interviewed argued that in the context of Balinese environmental and sustainability education, THK as a concept was closer to the students' everyday life experience than global concepts of sustainability. Thus, most teachers thought that *local*

cosmological concepts should form the overarching framework for sustainability education in Bali. As a biology teacher claimed, THK was the “frame of Bali” a “frame that is *ajeg*”¹¹⁷. It built on students’ religious education, knowledge and practices, and was thus more successful in evoking responses from students than ‘global’ sustainability issues, one teacher contended (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.). In fact, teachers often immediately referred to THK in interviews as soon as I mentioned my interest in sustainability issues (I usually used the term ‘*pelestarian lingkungan*’, sometimes also ‘*pembangunan berkelanjutan*’, the second translating more directly to ‘sustainable development’). They saw THK as a Balinese basis for sustainable living and cosmic harmony, and thus as a part of all teaching, and most teachers stated that they organised their teaching around the concept of THK (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.; Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). One teacher remarked that regarding the goal of conveying environmental education to students, teachers were now “all aiming in the same direction”, even if “teaching techniques differ” (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.)¹¹⁸. In practical teaching, then, THK now forms a normative framework for many subjects, not just for that of environmental education.

Despite the verbal commitment of teachers, in practice the delivery of environmental or sustainability content in teaching is often tied to the personal enthusiasm of a particular teacher who is interested in environmental issues. When I visited schools and explained my research topic, I was always pointed to one teacher who represented ‘environmental activity’ at that particular school. These teachers were often biology or physics teachers, and in the case of the schools I visited, all were male. In addition to their formal teaching

¹¹⁷ “THK yaitu frame Bali...harus ada suatu frame yang *ajeg!*” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹¹⁸ “Pelajaran lingkungan hidup, kita semua sasarannya ke sana, cuman teknik pengampaiannya beda, materinya beda, tapi menyal pada tujuan yang sama” (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

obligations, these teachers had often taken on additional ‘environmental responsibilities’, such as organising waste management or looking after medical and endemic plants in the school garden¹¹⁹. In practice, one teacher complained, environmental teaching in Bali is currently being advanced more by personal enthusiasm than by institutional support.

In order to experience sustainability teaching first hand in a Balinese classroom environment, I enquired at several schools whether I could attend lessons related to environmental teaching. Witnessing such formal school lessons proved a difficult task. Teachers seemed embarrassed to have me in class, probably due to a fear of being assessed by a ‘Western academic’. My visits were repeatedly postponed¹²⁰, until three teachers finally agreed for me to attend one of their lessons. The teachers appeared rather uncomfortable with my presence, and even on the way to the classrooms some teachers apologised for the low quality teaching I was about to see¹²¹. Apart from a general reluctance on the part of teachers to have a guest researcher in class, it was also difficult to find a lesson that related to environment and sustainability. This is partly a reflection of the

¹¹⁹ Some of these environmentally interested teachers formed a group called ‘teachers who care about the environment’ (*Kelompok Guru Peduli Lingkungan*). This group was initiated by the NGO PPLH and used to involve teachers from at least ten schools, but has now become largely inactive. Problematically, participant numbers in this forum had “never reached the maximum level” (“tidak pernah maksimal” (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.)) and it had been generally difficult to gather all teachers, I was informed.

¹²⁰ The reasons I got for this rescheduling was that the content for the lesson in question would not be interesting for me, or that the students had been called to participate in other school-related activities. Some teachers openly refused to let me attend their lessons, not in an unfriendly, but rather embarrassed way, saying they were much less experienced than I was or that they were tired and would not be giving a very good lesson that day. Sometimes teachers referred me to one of their colleagues, often without giving me an explanation for such a swap.

¹²¹ This is behaviour very typical of Indonesian culture. For example, when welcoming guests at one’s house in Indonesia it is typical to apologise for the small size, ugliness and dirty state of the place, even if the house is a mansion and sparkling-clean. One physics teacher who accompanied me to his class apologised that the lesson I was about to see was not going to be very practical, as the practical part had already been carried out in the lab during the previous lesson. Another time I was taken to the biology lab by the school principal, who felt he had to warn me that education in Indonesia could not be compared to education in Australia or Europe and was still very ‘teacher focused’. The principal seemed very anxious I see a ‘quality lesson’ reflecting both the good reputation of the school and up-to-date teaching standards.

narrow scope of formal environmental education in school lessons in general, partly an issue of timing. For many subjects, the curriculum did not include any specifically environment or sustainability-related teaching modules during the time of my research. I finally attended two biology classes and two physics classes at three different schools, which addressed environmental issues only in the widest sense (such as leaves, cell structures and molecules). My observations on environmental and sustainability teaching *practices* in formal lessons are thus limited, but I used the observations of lessons to get a better feel for the interaction between teachers and students in formal education. Otherwise, I had to resort to interviews with teachers, *alumni* students and public servants to find out more about sustainability teaching in the classroom.

The lessons I witnessed were especially interesting as teachers were experimenting with the more participatory teaching requirements of the KBK. The new curriculum has not been completely implemented at all Indonesian schools yet and especially in regards to classroom teaching, many teachers are still confused about what is demanded of them under the new teaching regulations. According to the old curriculum (1994), teachers dominated the lessons, whereas under the new curriculum students are required to be more active:

In the [teaching] activities [according to the KBK] there is not much theory. It focuses more on what the students can do...Before, teaching activities were centred on the teacher...now they are centred on the student¹²² (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹²² "...[D]alam kegiatan ini kan teorinya tidak banyak. Lebih banyak apa yang bisa dilakukan oleh anak...Dulu kegiatan berpusat pada guru...sekarang berpusat pada siswa" (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

To illustrate the changed role of teachers in teaching delivery, one teacher gave the example of the time allocation within lessons under the KBK. In a class of 80 minutes the teacher would now ideally only spend about 15 minutes explaining concepts and backgrounds; then, preferably, the students would engage in discussion or practical activity: “Before, it was all about us talking, now they [the students] have to be able to put this into practice as well”¹²³ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.). This opens many possibilities for sustainability education based on participation – students could critically debate sustainability issues and the meaning of the concept more generally. Several teachers I interviewed expressed ideas for future participatory teaching practice. These included building school nurseries and animal enclosures, practical outdoor lessons on measuring wind speed, and carrying out simple surveys in Balinese neighbourhoods. Problematically, such projects have not yet come to life due to a lack of funding or school initiative (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.; Venni, 2004 pers. comm.).

In practice, many teachers still teach according to the old curriculum and feel largely left alone with adapting their teaching techniques to the new standards (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.; Venni, 2004 pers. comm.)¹²⁴. While all teachers I interviewed were familiar with the objectives and assessment criteria of the KBK, changing their teaching habits to become “facilitators” or “motivators” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.) is a big step for many, thus some teachers are exhibiting what one of my respondents described as an “allergy towards change” (DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm.). This is especially the case with more

¹²³ “Dulu hanya kita mengatakan, sekarang dia harus bisa melakukan” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹²⁴ The Department of Education at provincial level does provide courses to “socialise” (DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm.) teachers in KBK requirements and assist them with the curriculum’s practical application, although such courses are not available for all teachers (DIKNAS, 2004a pers. comm.).

senior teachers who have experienced numerous curriculum changes throughout their career. As one teacher jokingly commented, “as the minister changes, so does the curriculum” (“Ganti menteri, ganti kurikulum”) (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

The teaching subjects where the KBK seems to be most readily applicable are science subjects that require lab practice. In a biology lesson I witnessed students were asked to independently carry out a laboratory experiment involving the mixing of liquids in glass jars and lighting a long wick inside a bright purple liquid. Groups of students quickly set up microscopes and started to work independently. The students seemed used to the practical activity and took the initiative to complete the task in groups. After having completed the experiment, the class was asked to produce lab reports and independently think through and summarise the outcomes of their own experiment. But even in science lessons, teachers will still resort to teacher-focused rote learning. For example, one of the physics lessons I witnessed at a junior high school focused on summarising the main attributes of atoms and molecules, which students had examined in lab experiments the previous week. My field notes of this lesson read as follows:

Is anything still unclear? Did someone get this answer wrong?” the teacher asks. No reaction on the part of the students. The middle-aged physics teacher decides to go over the material again, addressing the whole class: What is needed is an “A..?” “TOOOM” a choir of students replies; what we need here is “Su?” “GAAAAR”, “So the taste is sw?” “EEET!”. This game of finishing sentences is so addictive that from time to time I find myself tempted to join in with the students. Sometimes the teacher also gives the students a choice, such as: “An atom or a molecule?” This evokes a loud univocal answer of either “ATOOOM” or “MOLECUUUULE”. Rare questions that require a longer, more complex answer wreak havoc: students answer simultaneously, but not univocally, which creates a confused murmur of which not a single word is audible. The teacher still decides the students have answered correctly and comments on the murmur with “yes, right” (Field notes, October 2004).

Notably, this lesson was a theoretical exercise to revise the foregoing laboratory practice, which I had missed. But rather than giving students room to reflect on their lab experience in critical ways and to engage with their own findings, the teacher summarised the findings for the students, who were merely required to finish words and sentences.

School lessons I witnessed in Bali reminded me very much of my own school days. Teaching was delivered mostly in a frontal way. The interaction between teacher and students was largely initiated by the teacher, who tried to involve the pupils by asking questions. The answers to these questions were immediately prompted by teachers, and the teenagers were expected to repeat knowledge that was structured and pre-formulated. In the lessons I attended, students were rarely asked to express their opinion or to frame their answers in ways more complex than finishing the sentence or choosing between one of two simple options¹²⁵. In this format of teaching delivery, students seemed used to answering ‘with the flow’ rather than thinking up an individual response. Even I, who was not familiar with the Indonesian terminology of much of the teaching content and also felt rather removed from my own high school chemistry knowledge, was able to reply after the teacher had prompted the answer. In fact, the students were so used to shouting out the prompted answer that they sometimes did not even listen to the question. During an informal lesson delivered by an NGO I witnessed at a primary school, the NGO staff asked: “Are there any questions?” “YES!!!” the students shouted, “or not?” “NOOOOO!”.

¹²⁵ When carrying out workshops at Balinese schools myself, I learned very quickly how students reacted to certain ways of asking questions. To avoid responses in choir fashion, I resorted to directly asking individual students to comment, or used playful ways of creating order in a discussion, for example by having students throw a small ball to another student, who would then have to comment.

As Milner and Quilty (1996) point out, teaching in some Asian countries may be based on rote learning and the memorisation of content, rather than critical thinking and creative expression – which is a practice rooted deeply in cultural context and thus makes sense in this context. Students in Indonesia learn to repeat knowledges that are constructed as undebatable ‘truths’, rather than developing and discussing knowledge. This type of learning has been exploited for political purposes in Indonesia to install state propaganda and discourse in students, as discussed in Chapter 3. For example, students learn to *memorise* the state doctrine of *Pancasila* by heart, a practice that is equated with ‘coming to know’ the foundations of the Indonesian nation state:

Although a student achieves mastery through repetition and memorisation, one cannot assume that this repetition is mindless...In Indonesia to know the Pancasila is to recite it ‘by heart’. This reflects the attitude...that the received written word encapsulates the truth. Learning the precise form of the words of the Pancasila is synonymous with understanding their content (Milner and Quilty, 1996 36).

Thus, a culturally-grounded understanding of ‘truth’ and ‘wisdom’ shapes the ways in which young people are expected to learn. The participatory requirements of the KBK have to overcome the wall of institutionalised rote learning, which is partly anchored in cultural tradition, partly in authoritarian governance.

Lessons I witnessed reduced the requirement of student initiative to the minimum. Students asking questions or admitting that they had not understood the subject matter was a rare event, even when the teacher specifically encouraged students to ask. *Alumni* students I interviewed explained that on the one hand students felt embarrassed to admit that they had not understood the subject matter, as their classmates might regard them as stupid; on the

other hand questions are seen as unnecessarily elongating the lesson, and are therefore unpopular among students (GUS, 2004 pers. comm.). In the lessons I attended, the teachers did not attempt to initiate discussions or group work to break up the lesson. Students, however, are expected to give occasional presentations. The teaching style I saw made it easy for students to 'hide' among the class and avoid any necessity to step out and express their own opinion. Some teachers argued that school infrastructure and equipment as well as the physical teaching conditions did not foster participatory teaching and learning. With 48 students in a class it was difficult to facilitate discussion, or to even re-arrange tables in the classroom, as there was "no space to move" (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.), an English teacher complained.

The implementation of participatory sustainability teaching in Bali would require changes on many levels: organisational, cultural, teacher training as well as on the level of harmonising conflicting imaginaries of subject positions. My observations of formal teaching at Balinese high schools include a mixture of 'old' techniques of rote learning and experimentation around the participatory requirements of the KBK. It will take some time until the KBK will become fully functional (if at all). Notably, engagement in environmental education at Balinese schools often happens outside the formalised classroom teaching at schools, for example through behavioural practices and the 'hidden curriculum'

‘Sweep again kids’!: Cleanliness as disciplinary exercise

School principals and teachers often equated creating a ‘sustainable school’ with providing and maintaining a healthy, green school environment in which wastewater and garbage are managed properly, and gardens and buildings are maintained in a state that is as presentable as possible¹²⁶. Students are expected to contribute to such a ‘sustainable’ school environment by participating in school cleaning activities on a regular basis. Every class has a cleaning schedule (*piket*) under which two or three students are responsible for tidying up the classroom, sweeping the floors and cleaning the black board (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.; SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.). As one teacher explained:

The students sweep. They sweep every day...a minimum of five people clean the class...And every Monday the school principal gives the students the task to keep looking after the cleanliness, not to throw garbage around¹²⁷ (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.).

For example, environmental behaviour is integrated into the Monday morning flag raising speech that advocates ‘good citizen behaviour’ in a national education context. Although most schools have cleaning personnel that maintain the school yard and gardens, from time to time students are asked to also clean the wider school premises in joint efforts that are

¹²⁶ If the spatial capacity of the school grounds allows for it, schools have neatly arranged gardens, often featuring endemic plants or medial plants labelled with both their Balinese and botanical names. Having a neat and clean garden is seen as essential for creating a healthy learning environment and is also one aspect of complying with spatial requirements of the concept of THK. Some schools also provide separate garbage bins for organic and non-organic waste, the management of which is often abandoned due to a lack of school leadership support for the maintenance of compost facilities.

¹²⁷ “Anak-anak menyapu. Menyapu, setiap hari itu... Minimal ada lima orang yang membersihkan kelasnya... Ya, harus nyapu. Dan setiap Senin itu kepala sekolah itu memang memberikan terus jaga kebersihan terus, jangan membuang sampah.” (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.).

stringently scheduled and carried out hierarchically under the supervision of teachers and other students (Figure 4.1)¹²⁸.



Figure 4.1: Boys and girls in a primary school in Ubud, jointly sweeping the school yard.

Principals, teachers as well as students are involved in enforcing the rules that effect governmentality and practical routine in the school environment. Through the discipline of cleaning, students are governed and learn to govern themselves. All teachers are instructed by the school management to control and monitor the socialisation of students in conducting environmentally sound behaviour. One geography teacher recounted his experiences with daily cleaning regimes at his school:

“We are trying to lead them...For example if it is still dirty here: ‘Sweep again kids’! [W]e are controlling this; sometimes we conduct a raid. Who put all this garbage here? You will be persecuted [laughs]!”¹²⁹ (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹²⁸ Such a cleaning effort was carried out at one of the schools participating in my research before the school represented the city of Denpasar in a Bali-wide cleanliness competition; another school sent its students for a beach cleanup as part of the school’s birthday celebrations. At other schools students told me that such whole-school cleaning routines took place on a regular basis, usually once a week.

¹²⁹ “Kita arah. Kalau misalnya kotor disini, nyapu lagi anak2. Gitu. Tapi toh ada juga anak2 yang masih seperti itu, gitu. Tetap kita kontrol itu, kadang2 kita razia. Kalau saya masuk kelas, razia. Siapa yang sampahnya disini banyak? Dihukum (laughs)” (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.).

Senior students also play an important role in the socialisation of environmental behaviour at school, informing new students about behavioural rules, and contributing to the enforcement of rules at school. One school organisation that has the role of informing and socialising students is OSIS, an elected student body, which contains representatives from each class¹³⁰ (Nyoman, 2004 pers. comm.). One teacher also pointed out the important role of *alumni* students in socialising younger students. In the extra-curricular group of ‘nature lovers’ at SMA6, for example, *alumni* students still occasionally take part in activities and assist with leadership and supervision of the group (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). This involved making sure new members “really have a good mind and secondly have a sense of awareness in regards to the environment”¹³¹ (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

Thus, the imaginary of a ‘sustainable student subject’ here is merged with that of a student who is obedient to rule and embraces duties, behaving in line with school objectives. Power here takes effect as domination, authority, as well as governmentality, as environment, THK and sustainability are combined with everyday school practices and disciplinary regimes.

Competitions

School competitions are an institution of Balinese school life that is also used to integrate and promote the formation of ‘sustainable subjects’ through education. In the Indonesian

¹³⁰ OSIS members were usually selected independently from other position holders in the class (head of class, secretary or treasurer) by the class teacher.

¹³¹ “[A]lumni dari SISPALA...ikut pembina...Itu anak SISPALA baru, supaya betul-betul punya mental yang bagus, kedua mempunyai rasa kesadaran terhadap lingkungan. Itu diberikan oleh mantau-manatu SISPALA” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

education system, competitions are carried out at school, local, provincial, national and international levels in subject areas as disparate as mathematics or physics, arts, Balinese singing or poetry, and school cleanliness. In these competitions, either an entire school takes part, or individual students represent their respective schools. During my fieldwork I witnessed several school competitions, such as the *Lomba UKS* ('health at schools competition', see Figure 4.2), the international 'Science Olympiad' provincial level round, a poster competition, and a love poetry competition in which students presented self-written love poetry in front of the whole school. Participation in competitions means prestige for schools, especially if they win the initial round of a competition and are chosen to represent the city of Denpasar or even the province of Bali in subsequent rounds. Balinese schools boast a large number of trophies collected from participation in competitions, displayed prominently in overflowing cabinets in and around the principal's office¹³².

¹³² Here a list of the places the school has achieved in such competitions over the past years is also put on view. Students who manage to win a prize in a competition for their school are highly regarded; the prize money is usually divided between the student and the school management.



Figure 4.2: Preparing for the contest. The teacher who helped organise my workshop program, two of the participating students and myself posing in front of the sign announcing SMP8's representation of the city of Denpasar in the state-wide 'healthy school contest' (*lomba usaha kesehatan sekolah*, or short, *UKS*).

'Competition' is a theme I encountered again and again in the context of education in Bali, not only in the context of organised competitions, but also as a teaching concept more generally. It seems to be the general opinion of teachers and educational bureaucrats that without competition, students in Bali do not rise to their full potential. According to one of my respondents from the Department of Education, the aim of competition is to enhance the students' interest and capacity and enable students to rank their own skills: "people think they alone are the cleverest, if there is a spirit of competition they see that there are some that are cleverer and others that are below them" (DIKNAS, 2004b pers. comm.)¹³³. Recently, environmental and sustainability performance have been integrated in the list of competencies in which students can compete against each other.

¹³³ "Orang merasa paling pintar sendiri, kalau ada semangat bersaing dia lihat ada yang lebih pintar, ada yang di bawah saya" (DIKNAS, 2004b pers. comm.).

Competitions are carried out at national and regional level, and are thus based on ‘national’ and ‘regional’ imaginaries of ‘sustainable subjects’. The national competition of school cleanliness, UKS, for example, focuses on health and cleanliness facilities on the school grounds and raising both infrastructure and student behaviour to national standards. The entire school competes in this contest, and students are expected to enhance the school’s performance through disciplined behaviour and cleaning regimes. Some regional competitions are based on Balinese sustainability discourses and subject imaginaries. To promote local futures discourses such as *Ajeg Bali* to young people, Balinese academics, in partnership with the media and government institutions, now make use of the competition model that is so popular at schools. In November 2004, the government staged an *Ajeg Bali* competition at one of the high schools that participated in my research. Here students from all over Bali competed in traditional dancing, singing and painting (Figure 4.3)¹³⁴.



Figure 4.3: The *Ajeg Bali* Competition. A girl and boy performing in the Balinese traditional singing category at the *Ajeg Bali* competition at SMA6 (left), and my SMA6 students proudly presenting their traditional Balinese outfits at the same event (right).

¹³⁴ Other examples of ‘environmental’ competitions are Wiyata Mandala, Kerindangan, Lajakan (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

In the near future, Schools may also participate in *Tri Hita Karana* school awards staged by *Bali Travel News* in parallel to the yearly THK awards carried out in the tourism sector¹³⁵. The performance measures here range from Balinese architecture, religious practices, the availability and quality of green spaces and indigenous plants to the degree of harmony in the relationship between students and teachers (Pujaastawa, 2003; 2004). While the evaluation instrument and questionnaires had already been developed and printed in the form of a brochure published by BAPEDALDA, the concept had not been put into practice yet due to the slow government response (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

Thus, competition is another instrument that contributes to the formation of students as subjects who comply with existing educational structures. Students comply with and compete according to the performance indicators set up by the Department of Education. Effectively, competition measures their level of performance in the student subject positions of sustainability envisaged by national and regional authorities. Formal sustainability teaching in Denpasar operates within the institutional set-ups of both national and regional education and combines national and regional discourses of sustainability. I now take a look at *informal* education programs conducted at schools by Balinese non-governmental organisations.

¹³⁵ The assessment model for THK school awards has already been developed by the THK tourism awards team and published by the Balinese government. According to one of my respondents from Udayana University who is participating in the THK Tourism Awards process as part of the THK team, there have been plans to carry out similar award processes to those currently involving hotels at schools and government offices in Bali (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

4.3 Composting and environmental romance: Informal teaching at high schools

While many NGOs in Bali are engaged in environmental education in one way or another, two NGOs focus specifically on environmental education at schools. These are PPLH Bali (*'Pusat Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup'*, or 'Environmental Education Centre'), the NGO I worked in partnership with for this research project, and GUS (*'Gelombang Udara Segar'*, or 'A Wave of Fresh Air').

PPLH runs two separate projects involving high school students. The first one, the 'Green Team' program, consists of students representing different high schools. The team explores environmental issues in workshop sessions at the NGO's education centre and is involved in sporadic environmental events, such as participating in beach cleanups or mangrove planting. As funding for this program ran out in 2004, I partnered with PPLH in establishing a second Green Team 'edition' to conduct my action research program, which I talk about in more detail in Chapters 5 to 9. The second program is the 'Urban Green School' program. This program focuses on delivering basic skills in environmental knowledge and behaviour and is delivered at primary schools on a weekly basis (Figure 4.4). The students learn how to compost, make recycled paper, cultivate plants or measure water quality (PPLH, 2003b; 2004a; 2004d). In 2004, one of the Urban Green School programs was delivered at primary school level on the island of Serangan, off the Southeast coast of Bali. I attended one of the sessions in November 2004. In this workshop, the students produced a notebook from used office paper – an activity they seemed to thoroughly enjoy. The 'homework' they received was to visit a village vending booth with a friend and to compile a list of five items that were sold there, while particularly noting the

type of packaging these items were sold in. This list would form a basis to discuss Bali's problems with plastic waste in the following session, the NGO staff informed me. At a later stage in the program, the NGO staff was planning to build a terrarium the pupils could design and then look after in their classroom (PPLH, 2003b pers. comm.).



Figure 4.4: Students participating in various activities of the PPLH Urban Green School Program (PPLH, 2004c).

As PPLH's staff informed me, the program aims to teach students basic environmental practices in participatory ways. It is hoped they will connect fond memories with these practices, and that the experience of the program would at least have raised their level of environmental awareness, even if it is not possible to regularly perform some of the activities (PPLH, 2004a pers. comm.; 2004c pers. comm.). Indeed, the feedback I received

from two alumni students who had participated in the Green School program several years earlier was very positive. These students recalled composting, paper recycling and mangrove-planting activities, and remembered going to the beach to study sea plants and organisms. They explained that a positive aspect of the program was that students were not forced to participate, which created a spirit of volunteerism (SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.). Teachers at different schools also commented on PPLH's educational efforts at their schools in favourable ways. They felt that the NGO was picking up the slack in regards to environmental education that teachers were unable to deliver because of time limits in formal education. It was just a shame that not all students could take part in the NGO's program, one teacher stated (Artha, 2004; PPLH, 2004a pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comms.).

The approach taken by the NGO GUS, which is sponsored by the surfing industry in Kuta, is a fundamentally different one. This NGO is currently touring Balinese schools with a self-produced short film. The NGO staff integrate the film presentation into a 1.5-hour teaching module on waste management that was delivered to over 10,000 students around Bali over between 2002 and late 2004¹³⁶. This program does not involve long-term socialisation, but is designed as a one-off event, which aims to encourage students to think about environmental problems and waste management. The NGO staff also provides basic, practical examples for everyday 'sustainable' practices. The program is carried out by two young Balinese male presenters who have no formal background in environmental education, but were selected because of their "relaxed appearance", which the former

¹³⁶ GUS has also developed a waste management comic book that is now distributed to schools and the NGO is currently in the process of developing an informal environmental curriculum for schools.

Australian NGO director¹³⁷ hoped would appeal to teenagers (GUS, 2003 pers. comm.). The two presenters are touring Balinese schools in an old truck and try to contact and visit as many Balinese schools as possible, in order to reach as many students as they can at least once.

The 20-minute film shown at high schools¹³⁸ was shot at different locations all over Bali by the presenters themselves, and was produced and edited by the NGO. It opens with pictures of clean water taken straight from a spring in the central Balinese highlands. This picturesque scenario is quickly disturbed by sequences of shots of urban environments destroyed by pollution: rivers covered in garbage, dead animals floating on rivers next to people washing their dishes, and birds trying to free themselves from plastic bags; all accompanied by the drumming beat of heavy metal music. The film is edited with extremely fast cuts, like a music video clip. The main storyline involves two young couples (the males are actually played by the two surfers the NGO employs as school presenters), driving around in a trendy convertible, trying to locate a quiet spot for what Indonesians refer to as *pacaran* (dating). Each time the couples are starting to get cosy, they are distracted by some environmental disaster (a man throwing rubbish down the cliffs onto their heads, the excruciating stench of a nearby rubbish tip, etc.). Finally, after having fled the third location in horror, the girls accept an offer to hop into the car of two new wooers. The surfer guys are left behind woman-less and conclude that a destroyed environment does not help with finding a girlfriend. The film closes with Indonesian celebrities, such as

¹³⁷ The NGO is now managed by a new Australian director.

¹³⁸ At primary schools the presenters show a different film that targets the younger audience. This second film contains a catchy tune sung by the two presenters and other NGO staff to which these younger students can sing along.

MTV presenters, singers and actors, as well as surfers from several countries (interviewed at Kuta beach), asking the viewer to 'keep Bali clean'. The slogan 'keep Bali clean' is repeated again and again and obviously represents the message students are expected to take away from the video screening (Field notes, November 2004).

When first shown to me at the NGO office, the film left quite an impression as it seems so 'out to shock', trying to make environmentalism seem 'cool' and trendy to kids¹³⁹. In October and November 2004, the GUS team took me along to several of their presentations at one primary school, one junior and one senior high school in the Denpasar area. This was an opportunity for me to witness at first hand how students react to the film¹⁴⁰. The presenters start the education program by assembling several classes (sometimes the entire school) in front of a TV set. Equipped with microphones, they introduce themselves in a very relaxed, fun way and start asking the students simple questions in order to create a response: "What is garbage? Do any of you know what garbage is?" "What different types of garbage are there?" "Can you name any examples?"¹⁴¹ "What are we not supposed to do with garbage?" The students seemed surprised with the fresh and relaxed way the presenters approached them and were happy to contribute. Single students received 'freebies' for answering questions, such as surfing stickers, bags and surfing shirts, all

¹³⁹ Personally, I immensely enjoyed the fun side of the film, but wondered how Balinese students, especially in rural areas, would react to its presentation. There are vast regional disparities in wealth in Bali, and remote mountain areas, who have not benefited from tourism income, often struggle in the provision of basic communal services. The East Bali Poverty Project (EBPP, 2007) is an NGO that seeks to improve basic services in these areas, including education. I doubted whether students living in the Eastern Balinese mountains would identify with the surfing and consumerist culture of South Bali that this film taps into.

¹⁴⁰ The senior high school happened to be one of those participating in my research project. It was thus particularly interesting for me to see how some of the students I knew personally through my own workshop facilitation would react to the screening.

¹⁴¹ At all schools, even at primary school level, students were aware of the concept of organic and non-organic waste and were able to name examples for these categories.

provided by the NGO's surfing industry sponsors. The freebies, of course, provided an extra incentive for students to participate (see Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5: The GUS presentation. Senior high school students watch the GUS film (top left), the two presenters (top right), and a group of primary school students competing to win a surfer prize for their correct answer, holding the GUS handouts (bottom).

The central message that the presenters draw from this first part of the program is three rules for what “we should not do” with waste: “Don’t burn it!”, “Don’t throw it “a-” “ROUND!”, “Don’t bury it!”. The rule of not burying garbage evoked questions or protest from the kids at all schools, as it contradicts a government advertisement screened on TV. Here, the Indonesian Government explicitly asks citizens to bury their waste. The presenters responded that this was a very short-sighted way of handling garbage and that

especially non-organic waste should not be buried. They firmly but ‘democratically’ contradicted the line of the Indonesian government on this topic, while students, in questioning the teaching content, showed a kind of critical thinking initiative I had never witnessed in formal education.

The presenters partly base their lesson on ‘scientific’ evidence. To impress the students they use examples of the time different types of waste require to break down in the environment. “200-300 years!” “WHEEEY!” some kids shouted. “Will we still be alive then?” “NOOO!” Another argument the presenters use is health concerns. They explain that burning garbage causes dioxins in the air, which are poisonous and cause cancer. “Does anyone have a little brother or sister?” “YES!” Little children breathe six times as fast as adults and thus dioxins are much worse for them, the presenters explained. “The poor kids. Do you want to have a dumb brother or sister?”, one of the surfer guys asked his audience. Garbage that was left lying around was also a breeding ground for mosquitoes that breed in still water, the presenters warned¹⁴². After this introductory part the presenters start screening the film.

As soon as the loud heavy metal music kicked in, most students looked up in surprise, laughed, screamed and pointed to the screen. The screams got even louder when the students realised the presenters themselves feature in the film. The overall reactions of students to the film, however, varied quite significantly among schools, even among different groups at the same school. Some groups seemed to be taking the pictures of

¹⁴² This particular NGO runs an ecological pest control program. At one school the expert from this pest control team gave a short presentation on the importance of managing garbage properly in order to control mosquito-borne diseases.

destroyed environments very seriously and there were only rare laughs; other groups shouted and laughed incessantly and focused more on the music and fun aspect of the film. The dating story always caused laughter and screams, especially as the two presenters themselves star as 'lovers'. At some schools, the fun nature of the film broke the last barriers between presenters and participants. "Where did you shoot the film?" "Are those girls actually your girlfriends?", the participants excitedly shouted out as the GUS staff pressed the pause button.

After the dating sequence, the presenters stop the film and ask students about the concept of the "3 R's" – "reduce, reuse, recycle" (this is about to be explained in the second part of the film). Students are then given a comic-style handout on waste management and individual students are asked to read passages, to answer questions and participate in a quiz (again with the chance of winning surfer prizes). Before moving on to screening the second part of the film, the presenters encourage the pupils to come up with some practical examples for "3 R's" that they would be able to "start practicing tomorrow". The appearance of the MTV presenters and actors always caused a lot of excitement on the part of the kids, although it did not seem to me as if all the kids were always familiar with these personalities.

Although some groups were less attentive or willing to participate than others, I experienced the students' response to this program as generally very positive. Students told me they thought it was good and they had enjoyed it. The teacher who participated in my program¹⁴³ commented: "They [the students] liked it. Because they were allowed to watch

¹⁴³ This particular teacher had also helped organise and facilitate the screenings at that school. In fact, this cooperation with GUS was initiated through my project, as I had invited one of the GUS presenters to one of

a film, this is out of the ordinary. Let alone not having to study!”¹⁴⁴. When returning to their class, the students questioned the teacher about the film and had commented: “What has been shown there is really what things look like in the environment...it is really bad [if the environment is] like that. If it like this, it is better”¹⁴⁵ (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). The teacher appreciated that after watching the film students “will have a sense of evaluation”¹⁴⁶ of the state of the environment. He added that the less formal teaching approach used by the GUS facilitators can lead the students to “think more critically, ask, give answers”¹⁴⁷ (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). According to my observations, in this more informal teaching environment, the students seemed more at ease to participate and ask questions than in the formal lessons I witnessed. Even at primary school level, students independently asked the GUS staff what ‘recycling’ meant, whether it was bad to burn organic waste and why small children breathed six times as fast as adults. This reaction was quite different to the student behaviour I had witnessed in ‘formal’ education sessions.

Informal environmental education in Bali is crucial in that it fills some of the educational gaps left by the formal curriculum. In their educational practice, the programs go further than formal school education in implementing the participatory teaching that is also promoted in the KBK. The two programs I introduced differ a lot in their approaches: one operates as a long-term practical course for a limited number of students, the other as a one-off event designed to reach as many students as possible without follow-up. In both the

my own workshop sessions, where he made contact with this teacher, who immediately agreed to help organise the screenings.

¹⁴⁴ “Senang. Asal dia kasih nonton, itu luar biasa. Paling ngak belajar!” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹⁴⁵ “Bapak, apa yang diputar itu, ya memang begitu kenyataannya di lapangan...kalau begitu, kan jelek. Kalau ini, bagus” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹⁴⁶ “Nanti dia akan punya penilaian” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹⁴⁷ “Itu kan bisa piker lebih kritis, bertanya, memberikan satu jawaban” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

PPLH and GUS programs students are given tools to engage in environmentally sound practices. In the case of the Green School program, students learn environmental practices in weekly lessons carried out over at least 12 weeks. The GUS event confronts students with problems in an *ad-hoc* way. Participants are encouraged to spontaneously work out practical solutions and ideas for behaviour.

The type of 'sustainable subjects' these programs seem to envisage rest partly on 'Western' ideas of environmental behaviour. The Urban Green School program encourages subjects who care for the environment, recycle waste and paper and have some practical experience with composting, minding a worm farm or terrarium. The GUS film promotes subjects who are aware of waste issues and adjust their own behaviour accordingly, by not throwing garbage around or burning it, or by refusing plastic bags in the supermarket (an example provided in the film). These practices tap into the 'scientific' knowledge that Luke (1995) identifies as the discursive basis that helps institutionalise sustainability as a technology of governmentality. NGO staff teach students environmentally sound behaviours based on 'Western' models of recycling or composting for which they use teaching models from Europe, Australia or the USA as an inspiration (GUS, 2004; PPLH, 2003b pers. comms.).

In neither of the programs, however, are students encouraged to think *critically* about the concepts taught and debated, or to question their background and underlying connections. While the GUS program goes further than the Green Team Program in forging critical engagement, the 1.5 hour program is not quite long enough to delve deeper into sustainability issues. In both programs, practical reasons behind environmental and

'sustainable behaviour' are outlined, while the wider social, economic and political background to environmental problems and practices is largely left undiscussed. Thus, despite promoting environmental practices that are advocated by 'Western' countries (such as recycling), these programs do not go quite as far as embracing the subject position of the 'critical sustainable subject' UNESCO describes in its definition of sustainability education.

While Balinese NGOs are experimenting with novel, more practical, participatory ways of teaching, employing different types of media, for example, both the Green School and GUS programs also tap into 'traditional' teaching techniques used in formal teaching. The GUS staff, for example, use the method of starting sentences for students to finish, which I also encountered repeatedly in formal lessons. The discourses used and produced in the two programs are a mix of 'Western scientific facts' with discourses of national and local citizenship. Scientific facts are used to back up the NGOs arguments: the temperature at which organic matter will break down, the number of years certain types of garbage require to decompose, or the danger of dioxins in the air. The health concerns and behaviours brought up in the GUS program reflect Indonesian government discourses and educational campaigns, where certain types of health-related behaviour, for example managing water properly to combat mosquitoes, is portrayed as a step towards becoming a citizen subject of a 'developed' country. At the same time, GUS also rejects some parts of the government discourse, for example the government advice to bury waste. The connection between environmentally sound behaviour and the health and intelligence of younger siblings in the dioxin context, again, taps into very deeply rooted cultural and social behavioural patterns

in Indonesia, where children from a very early age are required to look after their younger siblings. Thus, informal educational programs combine imagined subject positions of ‘sustainable subjects’ who engage in environmentally sound behaviour based on Western models, and subject positions as they are envisaged in state discourses and local cultural practice. They do not aim at fostering ‘critically engaged subjects’ who participate in sustainability as a debate or go as far as implementing ‘education *as* sustainability’ – teaching sustainability as an open-ended process that students critically shape.

4.4 Conclusion

‘Sustainability education’ is envisaged in different ways: some see sustainability as being easily integrated into existing educational arrangements, others as an umbrella that overarches all teaching and learning and requires institutional change, others again argue for education as a process that forms and *becomes* sustainability. These debates to some extent acknowledge frictions of power and discourse that happen as sustainability and education ‘meet’, and a possibility that educational and sustainability goals may not easily align. In fact, the integration of education and sustainability in Bali is a complicated process that operates in a multitude of crossroads between discourse, policy and institutional arrangements. These include changes in national educational policy and the new national curriculum KBK, a Balinese curriculum that follows a different imaginary of subject positions, efforts to bring teaching and assessment practice in line with the participatory requirements of the KBK, differences in the framing of ‘sustainability’ at national and regional levels of education, and some aspects of ‘hidden curriculum’ – the ‘sustainable’ set-up and operational organisation of schools.

Sustainability education in Bali engages many subject positions of sustainability that are entwined in complex ways with those of Indonesian subjects, global subjects and regional subjects. They range from engaged, critical subjects of global sustainability to local Hindu Balinese subjects who adhere to the ‘traditions’ promoted as *Ajeg Bali* and THK. Education, in turn, encompasses a range of subjectivations that embrace subject positions of the national Indonesian, the democratising subject, the participatory subject of the KBK and the local subject of regional autonomy. Balinese secondary education does not link the critical and engaged citizenship required under democracy with a critical participation of subjects in sustainability yet. Instead, sustainability education in Bali uses discourses of citizenship that aim to form participating but non-critical subjects.

The ways in which sustainability is integrated into formal education takes place largely through the ‘hidden curriculum’ performed at schools: ‘sustainable behaviour’ is regarded and taught as equivalent to ‘cleaning the environment’ – through disciplinary practices such as sweeping, separating garbage, through competitions and keeping the school environments clean and green. While sustainability and educational scholars may imagine a ‘sustainable school’ as a school that integrates sustainability in all teaching and learning and seeks to develop more sustainable solutions for school practices and management, Balinese school principals equated a ‘sustainable school’ with providing a clean and green environment with good facilities. To pursue this vision, Balinese school management integrate the subject positions and practices of the obedient citizen that national education fosters through its ritualised disciplinary practices with the requirements of Balinese

spiritual integrity and cosmic harmony. In 'sustainability-as-cleaning practice', local futures discourses become more relevant and prominent than the scattered references to global sustainable development that are found in the national curriculum.

Thus, making sustainability 'locally relevant' depends heavily on the ways in which local discourses frame sustainability and envisage sustainable subjects and practices, and on how these intersect with discourses, subjectivation, institutions and practices of both sustainability and education at national and international levels. In this chapter I did not intend to evaluate existing sustainability education at Balinese high schools as 'good' or 'bad', but rather to place discourses and practices in their discursive and institutional environment. If sustainability is conceived as a process of critical evaluation, then sweeping the school grounds does not seem like an activity that fosters sustainability. In the context of Indonesian history and citizenship, and the subject positions of obedient national citizens, however, disciplining students to separate garbage and clean the school grounds seems to make sense. From the point of view of Balinese sustainability, encouraging students to behave in line with THK and value the geospatial arrangements at a school may be a crucial aspect of educating for sustainability.

In both formal and informal education, students remain on the receiving end of knowledge transfer and do not actively participate in the formation of discourses, in a process of sustainability *as* education. I conducted an action research project of sustainability education with Balinese students that differs from both the PPLH and GUS approaches. The aim was to create a three-month workshop environment in which students would be

given the chance to shape their very own versions of sustainability – along the lines of an ‘education *as* sustainability’ approach. The remainder of this thesis will focus on the set-up, process and outcomes of this educational experiment.

Chapter 5

Using participatory action - oriented research to implement ‘education *as sustainability*’: A methodological overview

This second part of my thesis is concerned with the action research component of my fieldwork. My research in Bali experimented with interactive ways of engaging students in sustainability education. The project used participatory action research methods. This chapter will engage with the epistemological underpinnings that informed this methodology. Having an action-oriented workshop component in this research made sense for two reasons:

- First, the workshop program was a research tool to access the ways in which students negotiate discourses, knowledges, powers and practices of sustainability in an interactive educational setting. Given that student opinions are rather eclipsed in formal teaching in Bali, working closely with students in a workshop environment over a prolonged period of time gave me an insight into what knowledges and discourses of sustainability are meaningful to students in Bali. The interest behind the workshop idea was to understand how students engage with discourses of sustainability. This includes global and local discourses, as well as discourses as they are constructed, presented and made meaningful at Balinese schools. To find

out how students negotiate the overlapping processes of sustainability and educational subjectivation was another aim of this methodological approach.

- Second, the workshops functioned as an experiment of how sustainability education can be operated in a local setting. In the first part of this thesis I have argued for a poststructural understanding of sustainability that acknowledges the constructedness and power manifestations within sustainability discourses. I have shown that in order to be locally relevant, sustainability needs to embrace a diversity of knowledges. If sustainability education is to consciously avoid starting from a universalist discursive position that assumes ‘global awareness’ or the subject position of a ‘globally aware rational being’, then educational methods need to be developed that enable the formation of alternative subject positions.

I suggest that the current debate about fostering international approaches to sustainability education fails to problematise the power processes hidden behind and pre-assumed in discourses and educational practices of both sustainability and education. This shortcoming has institutional and pedagogical consequences. If students, for example, are to participate in the formation of sustainability knowledge and develop student-focused sustainability initiatives, then they need interactive spaces to contemplate their own relation to sustainability topics and to cultivate their own discourses and practices of sustainability. Developing methods that enable a diversity of subject positions of sustainability, and that provide students with the space to develop their *own* discourses should be included in the sustainability education debate. The story of this research experience makes a contribution

to exploring what educational practices may place students in the position of creating their own discourses of sustainability.

This chapter provides a brief epistemological and methodological introduction to the action research component of this research, and to the actors who shaped this research project. It will ‘set the scene’ for the discussion of the dynamics and outcomes of the workshop program, which will form the focus of the coming four chapters.

5.1 Some epistemological considerations

This research operates in the poststructural vein. It acknowledges that sustainability is constructed through a multitude of discourses and that there is more than one knowledge of sustainability or one ‘objective’ guideline as to what types of development can be classified as ‘sustainable’. Epistemologically, then, this research project takes a *constructivist* approach to knowledge-formation. Constructivist approaches move away from the presumption that an ‘objective’ form of scientific knowledge can exist (Knorr Cetina, 1993). Conversely, knowledge is viewed as *socially constructed* in place (Johnston et al., 2000). Knowledge-construction is a crucial part of discourse-formation (Foucault, 1976; 1990; 1991). My observations of sustainability education in Bali show that particular types of knowledge are constructed to create subject positions for students. Students are encouraged to engage these subject positions to behave and govern themselves in line with particular discourses. Knowledge about sustainability as it is constructed in the field of education thus needs to be researched in the terms of the discourses, powers and process of subjectivation it mobilises.

If knowledge is socially constructed in its geographical and discursive environment, then arguably, it is also constructed through the process of research itself. Through their interaction in the research process researchers and ‘research subjects’ construct discourse and knowledge. Research that is based on a constructivist epistemology thus demands a methodological approach that grants access to the processes of knowledge construction and the roles of researcher and research subjects in constructing them. It also requires a methodology that does not see the researcher as an external ‘objective’ observer, but that acknowledges the involvement of the researcher in the knowledge-formation that takes place through research. Participatory and action-based research methods support and enable a constructivist approach to knowledge-formation. These methodological approaches have evolved in opposition to positivist research that assumes knowledge is an objective and extractable ‘given’. Conversely, they grasp knowledge as something that is generated *collaboratively* and exchanged in the research process (Johnston et al., 2000).

Participatory action research methodologies in academia have developed parallel to research tools and practices in development work (Pain and Francis, 2003), which, over the past decades, have increasingly emphasised the need for ‘participation’. As Schaap and Nandi (2005) remark, rural development approaches have moved from working *for* to working *with* ‘the poor’. Recent studies on participatory models in natural resource, environmental and water management continue to follow the ‘participatory turn’ in development work (Boelee and Laamrani, 2004; Castelletti and Soncini-Sessa, 2006; Pahl-Wostl and Hare, 2004; Sandoval, 2004). The switch from the classic ‘transfer of

knowledge' from donors to target communities to collaborative learning and exchanging knowledge in a reciprocal process remains a focus of recent development literature. Looking at sustainable natural resource management specifically, Keen and Mahanty (2006), for instance, acknowledge the need for a learning approach that generates and engages *different* types of knowledge in *inclusive* ways. Pahl-Wostl and Hare (2004 194), in turn, see knowledge-generation in research and development as a project of collaboration and reflexive social learning, an

ongoing learning and negotiation process where a high priority is given to questions of communication, perspective sharing and development of adaptive group strategies for problem-solving.

Research subjects, thus, do not 'provide' or 'acquire' knowledge, they *participate* in generating it.

Participation and participatory development are also keywords within sustainability and sustainable development rhetoric. In international political agreements, such as Agenda 21, participation is highlighted as crucial to the implementation of sustainability programs on the ground (Keen and Mahanty, 2006; UNCED, 1992). For example, by implementing 'Local Agenda 21', the localised version of Agenda 21, local governments around the globe have embarked on participatory and community-decision making processes based on participatory models of local governance and decision-making (Bond et al., 1998; Bullard, 1998; Carter, 1996; Freeman et al., 1996; Haeusler et al., 1998; Jaskolski, 2001; Stratford et al., 2003). As I have shown, this rhetoric has also made it into the rhetoric of global sustainability education, as advocated by UNESCO.

In conducting participatory action focused research, academia employs several developmental research tools that started to emerge as early as the 1980s experiment with the possibilities of an exchange of knowledge between researcher and research subjects, and a creation of knowledge *through* the research itself:

- Participatory Rural Appraisal [PRA], for example, a research tool that emerged in the 1980s, “reject[s]... linear, positivistic, ‘technology transfer’ models, viewing reality as complex, continually changing, and open to different interpretations” (Schaap and Nandi, 2005 643). PRA emerged out of frustration with models of development that suggested a ‘transfer’ of scientific knowledge and technological expertise for scientists from ‘more’ to ‘less developed’ countries. It highlights the participation of research subjects in the construction of knowledge, identification of local issues and in the implementation of development programs.
- Participatory Appraisal [PA] and Rapid Rural Appraisal [RRA] are development tools that highlight the participation of research subjects in the definition of development problems and in tackling their solution (Johnston et al., 2000; Pain and Francis, 2003).
- Participatory Action Research [PAR] developed out of the three foregoing approaches and places special emphasis on the research outcomes (Pain and Francis, 2003). PAR aims “not just to describe social reality but to *change* it” (Johnston et al., 2000 574, emphasis added).

Within the discipline of geography, tools of participatory research operate on the borderlines between research and ‘development work’. Moving away from the ‘objectivity’

claim of positivist research, they involve a conscious ‘interference’ with a community, or group of research participants and engage a language of ‘change’ and empowerment that is reminiscent of that employed in ‘development work’ (Pain and Francis, 2003). Scholars have described PAR as a “democratising social inquiry” (Krimerman, 2000 60) that involves an “emancipatory potential of providing research space for excluded groups to highlight and act on their own concerns” (Pain, 2003 653). “[A]ctively engaging the subject in the design and conduct of research” as well as in the institutional decision-making through PAR is seen as potentially benefiting the excluded, marginalised and impoverished (Krimerman, 2000 63). In its focus on change and empowerment, participatory-oriented research in geography reacts to methodological and theoretical critique from within the discipline. As Pain (2003 650) remarks, critical and radical geographies have been criticised for “fail[ing] to go beyond the production of empirical evidence and the development of theory”. Participatory methodologies in geography also respond to increasing pressure to make research relevant to its ‘users’ by involving communities and agencies as stakeholders in research processes (Pain, 2003).

At first glance, the objectives of ‘change’ and stakeholder involvement that drive participatory research approaches seem strangely add odds with those of poststructural research. PAR has been aligned with modernist political agendas of liberating ‘oppressed’ communities. Poststructural research, in turn, is frequently criticised for being apolitical and removed from ‘real-life’ problems (Cameron and Gibson, 2005). However, as Cameron and Gibson (2005) argue, there are no necessary *contradictions* between poststructural research and PAR: PAR highlights the importance of local knowledge and acknowledges

the political nature of expert knowledge; poststructuralism, in turn, argues for the multiplicity of knowledges and contends that *all* knowledge-making is political. Both, to some extent, start from a premise of a social ‘constructedness’ of knowledge. As research by Gibson-Graham (1994; 1996; 2002) and Cameron and Gibson (2005) shows, poststructural thinking can in fact engage participatory methods to provoke change in a poststructural sense: for example by creating new discourses and subject positions that encourage new practices.

My research follows the “participatory research in a poststructural vein” that Cameron and Gibson (2005) propose. It aims to combine a poststructural epistemology with a participatory-oriented research methodology. I argue that a poststructural, participatory approach to research on sustainability education can benefit the experimentation with its implementation on the ground, as it helps tackle the following issues: first, involving students in research processes as participants might shed light on how students would indeed *like* to be engaged in sustainability processes and sustainability education. International discourses of sustainability tend to pre-assume that young people are rational and knowledgeable beings interested in participating in issues of ‘global relevance’. International organisations such as the UN acknowledge that teenagers are among the most disenfranchised from decision-making and that it is crucial that “interests of children are taken fully into account in the participatory process for sustainable development and environmental improvement” (UNCED, 1992 25.13(b)). Yet, in debates around the policies on international sustainability and the UN decade of education for sustainable development, there does not seem to be much of a focus on enfranchising young people to *create*

knowledge and discourses of sustainability (UNESCO, 2006). Second, poststructural, participatory research not only acknowledges the discursive nature of sustainability and the diversity of its discourses, but may also encourage the formation of new discourses, knowledges and practices of sustainability that are more youth-focused and youth-based.

Although my research in Bali bears many similarities with PAR, it can only be seen as ‘participatory’ to a limited extent. My program was participatory in the sense that it did not assume a pre-existing body of sustainability knowledge, but sought to involve students in the formation of knowledge about sustainability. The interactive workshop program was designed to grant students enough room to develop their own interpretations of sustainability in self-reflexive ways. It also sought to create opportunities to share knowledges and opinions among the participants and to form youth-based discourses of sustainability. All participants contributed to the project direction and outcomes. On the other hand, if PAR requires that “participants are involved at the stage of problem definition and research design” (Pain and Francis, 2003 53), then my research program was not strictly PAR. The workshop program was primarily informed and driven by my personal research questions, rather than being developed ‘by demand’ of the research subjects. The overall theme had not been commissioned by the local community or local authorities, and the research did not first and foremost address a locally identified problem. I thus refer to the program as ‘action research’ rather than PAR. Action research engages similar research techniques on the ground as PAR, and follows a similar epistemological approach to knowledge-formation, but places less emphasis on claims of participation and institutional change.

Within the discipline of education, the term ‘action research’ has slightly different connotations to the one used in geography or development contexts. In education, action research is equated with teacher-based enquiry through direct interaction with students in classroom teaching. Here, models of participatory and ‘radical’ education go as far back as to the works of John Dewey, who experimented with democratic models of teaching and learning in the late 1800s and early 1900s and highlighted the importance of social participation and social experimentation instead of rote learning. Bednarz (2002) traces the history of action research in education back as far as nineteenth-century group dynamics approaches to education and the science-in-education movement. She claims that the term ‘action research’ was coined by the social psychologist Kurt Lewin, who first used it in the 1940s. The method then experienced revivals in the 1950s and 1970s in the UK to improve the curriculum and classroom practices, and the 1980s and 1990s in the US to replace positivist research methodologies in education (Bednarz, 2002). Based on a book by Corey (1953), Bednarz (2002 103) defines action research as “a process through which teachers study their own practice to solve problems they experience in the classroom”. The aim here is to increase pedagogical knowledge and expertise through research and professional development as carried out directly by the teacher in a classroom¹⁴⁸.

Action research in education, at least to some extent, shares the motivation to evoke ‘improvement’ within the process of educating. As typical methods for this educational

¹⁴⁸ In a diagram of the educational action research, she describes the process as problem identification by the teacher (or an outside institution, such as the government), followed by the development of a research plan, the action research itself, and an analysis of the results, which leads to new action, sometimes conducted by the teacher on the spot (Bednarz, 2002).

approach to action research, Bednarz (2002) names observation, the collection of narratives, surveys, interviews, self-report techniques, discourse analysis, problem solving methods and evaluation by both teachers and students, many of which I used in my research. While my workshops with Balinese students did not first and foremost aim to assess educational methods, the findings of this educational experiment might serve the development of sustainability educational approaches that are not based on uni-dimensional understandings of sustainability. Thus, besides combining a poststructural epistemology with participation- and action-oriented methodologies, my research also operates on the borderline between methods of action research in geography and educational studies.

5.2 Education *as* sustainability

Applying a post-structural approach to sustainability and an action-oriented methodology in the context of education demands that education itself is understood in poststructural, participatory terms. This means conceiving education as supporting an understanding of sustainability as a multiplicity of discourses, and of the powers mobilised through these discourses. This includes an awareness of the limits of universalist approaches to sustainability and the possibilities of using sustainability discourses to mobilise political interest. At the same time, if it is to support the spirit of participatory and action-oriented research, such education must grant students the space to participate, both in shaping the educational process itself, as well developing discourses of sustainability. These requirements of non-structural, participatory education touch on two crucial issues: first, how the *normative* understanding of sustainability impacts sustainability teaching at

schools; second, how *institutional* and *pedagogical* arrangements shape the implementation of sustainability in a school environment. I would like to make a few points on both.

In a normative sense, educating about sustainability is not a straightforward issue, as there are multiple sustainability discourses and multiple ways of approaching sustainability conceptually. The concept of 'Education *as* sustainability' (Foster, 2001) creates an opening. It enables a form of sustainability education that can move away from a universalist, objectified perspective on sustainability knowledge and aims towards a diversity of sustainability knowledges created in the educational process. Rather than trying to encourage a certain discourse or subject position of sustainability through education, sustainability education could function as a way of encouraging young people to participate in the process of developing an ethics of how to live now and in the future. In education, students could create their own concepts and definitions of sustainability, and, ideally, shape their own actions, discourses and subject positions that respond to their personal and collective ethical stance. Foster (2001) does not specify how a process of 'education *as* sustainability' could look in practice. Therefore, one aim of this project is to test *how* 'education *as* sustainability' can be implemented in a school environment, and to build experience on how sustainability education can move towards enabling knowledges of sustainability that are diverse and locally relevant.

Grasping 'education *as* sustainability' thus assumes at least some degree of 'participation' in the education process. The approach implies that all humans participating in the research process, for example teachers and students, work on shaping the sustainability process

through discussion, debate or action. From a pedagogical point of view, then, student participation in sustainability conceived of as a debate demands methods of teaching which encourage and enable critical engagement. Using participatory techniques in teaching is not a new idea. 'Cooperative learning', for example, is a teaching methodology that was discussed in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Johnson and Johnson, 1989; Johnson et al., 1993; Qin et al., 1995; Slavin, 1996). This pedagogical approach encourages collaborative group work in which students strive towards shared goals, rather than competing against each other (CLC, 2006). Slavin (1996) argues that cooperative learning does not conflict with measurements of educational achievement and fosters collective involvement and mutual care:

When positive interdependence or cooperation among group members exists, students work together to learn. When students actively collaborate, they are motivated to help one another and themselves to achieve...cooperative learning enhances achievement through the use of teambuilding and group self-evaluation, which create a positive climate so that students care about one another and want each other to succeed (Abrami and Chambers, 1996 70 and 71).

Generally, over the past decades, education in Western countries has experienced a trend towards developing more critical, participatory and competence-based approaches to pedagogy (Auerbach, 1992; Castling, 1996; Glasser, 2000) – also within environmental and sustainability teaching (Palmer, 1998). Lijmbach et al. (2002), for example, experiment with using a deliberative approach to education. In their article 'your view of nature is not mine!' the authors argue for the creation of diverse knowledges of environment through debate in education. As knowledges of nature are socially constructed, they contend, students should discover diverging views on environmental matters through debating

environmental topics, acknowledging the diversity of knowledge and coming to a consensus (Lijmbach et al., 2002). Such participatory, collaborative approaches to pedagogy resonate with the conceptual idea of education *as* sustainability in that they might create an environment where student knowledges, ideas and discourses are given a space to emerge and exist. In an educational environment where the teacher does not dominate or teach ‘objective’ knowledge only, students may engage in framing and possibly re-framing sustainability discourses.

In its workshop design, my research integrates ideas from participatory development, participatory research and participatory educational methods to attempt an ‘education *as* sustainability’ experiment. The methodology was led by the question of how students can participate in shaping sustainability processes through educational techniques that foster creative thinking but avoid universalist models of sustainability. Rather than entering the classroom with preconceived definitions of sustainability, I attempted to keep the workshop activities as open as possible. At no point did I provide students with a ‘definition’ of sustainability. Instead, I conducted activities that touched on topics widely connected with youth, future, culture and environment, and built on the students’ comments and definitions in further activities. In this way, I attempted to build ‘student knowledge’ together with the students through the workshop activities. Such an approach to knowledge construction fits poststructural research, participatory research and development as well as ‘cooperative learning’ principles.

The workshop outline I developed prior to commencing my fieldwork contained a ‘tool kit’ of multiple educational, development and research tools that were all based on participatory methods used in education, development and research. The loose schedule for workshop activities I took to Bali included discussion, role play, drama, photo-voice activities, film making, student-led research, map- and poster-making. These were then adjusted on a week-to-week basis as the program evolved, depending on students’ participation and input. Role play and interactive discussion techniques have become an integral part of both participatory development models, for example in the context of participatory community governance (Innes and Boher, 1999). Photo voice, in turn, has become a method of participatory anthropological research that enables research subjects to tell their stories from their own point of view (Harrison, 2002; Hubbard, 1991; 1994; McIntyre, 2003; Side, 2005). The method of photography fits the idea of participatory research as it does not require literacy and thus transcends borders of educational status and age, which may otherwise exclude illiterate, older subjects or children from participating in research. Participatory film making or participatory video (Lunch and Lunch, 2006), in turn, has evolved as an additional participatory research exercise which may “create spaces for transformation by providing a practice of looking ‘alongside’ rather than ‘at’ research subjects” (Kindon, 2002 142). In combining these different participatory methods I aimed to involve students through different means of creative expression.

Before moving on to introducing my workshop program in more detail, I want to touch on an item of critical feedback I received when presenting my research design to fellow academics. First, the approach of ‘education *as* sustainability’ assumes that ‘debate’ and

students' creative involvement in sustainability processes are generally desirable. This notion, to some extent, rests on a Western assumption of a rational individual being that creates his, or her, own informed knowledge through 'critical' engagement with a topic. In an Asian context, 'knowledge' is seen as less of an individualised, negotiable category that individual subjects critically assess. Rather it is often seen as a powerful, ancient, inherited wisdom that deserves respect and is not to be doubted or questioned (Milner and Quilty, 1996; Parker, 2002b). In this situation the methods I employed might appear culturally inappropriate. This is all the more the case as students in Indonesia are less used to participating critically in education as students in Australia might be. Fellow academics thus pointed out that through conducting participatory educational research I might be pushing my Western values of democratic and critical development of knowledge onto another culture. During my pre-fieldwork trip in 2003, I found that, at least rhetorically, critical thinking and participation are seen as important aspects of 'progress' in the context of Indonesian '*reformasi*'. All of my respondents reacted positively to the idea that students should participate creatively in education, and not once did I face the view that participatory education was 'out of place' in Bali.

Before moving on to how this experiment of 'education *as* sustainability' took shape, I introduce the main actors of this research, the students.

5.3 The 'actors'

I conducted workshops with three different groups of Balinese students. These groups will be referred to as the 'English students', the 'Nature Lovers' and the 'Green Team'. The

‘English students’ and ‘Nature Lovers’ participated in a workshop program I conducted at the junior high school SMP8 and senior high school SMA6. The workshops took place as extra-curricular activities in weekly two-hour sessions over a period of three months¹⁴⁹. The ‘Green Team’, in turn, involved a group of 20 students drawn from ten high schools in Denpasar and Kuta. The Green Team program was conducted in a more intensive fashion in partnership with the NGO PPLH. The program was held mainly at the venue of PPLH’s Environmental Education Centre in Sanur and involved two larger projects that were delivered in an intensive fashion over the same period of four months: a film-making project and a research project. The Green Team students met at least twice a week, towards the end of the program even several times a week to finish their respective projects in the given time frame¹⁵⁰.

Admittedly, the schools I worked with in Denpasar are among the best public schools in Bali and are attended by distinctly middle and upper middle class students. Access to these high schools, as teachers explained to me, is regulated through the results students acquire in their final exams at primary school. Schools with a particularly good reputation, such as SMA 3, 4 and 5 in Denpasar, set their own standards for student admission particularly high in order to keep up the quality standards of the education they offer. As one Australian

¹⁴⁹ The workshop program at the two high schools SMP8 and SMA6 was originally envisaged to be conducted as part of PPLH’s Urban Green School program I introduced in Chapter 3. Between 2003 and the commencement of my fieldwork in July 2004, the NGO had unexpectedly switched the focus of their Urban Green School program to primary rather than high school education. Thus, at the start of my fieldwork period we agreed that our partnership would involve collaboration on the Green Team program only. I carried out the workshops independently at the schools, after the NGO had helped me establish initial contact.

¹⁵⁰ Although the workshop program at schools meant an intrusion into the everyday procedures of formal education, the two participating schools were extremely supportive of my research. SMP8 and SMA6 allowed me to carry out workshops with their students, and SMA1-7 participated by sending members for the Green Team and allowing me to interview their staff members.

academic respondent told me, access to schools with a good reputation is sometimes also reached through bribes paid by parents – a practice that of course was mentioned by neither school principles nor teachers I spoke to in Bali. However, the attendance of high schools with a good reputation is by no means open to students from a rich socio-economic background only. One daughter from the extended family I stayed with during the time of my fieldwork in Bali attended SMA 5, a school with a very good reputation and extensive gardens and educational facilities. The family runs a shoe and souvenir shop as well as a small ‘homestay’ guesthouse on the main tourist strip in Sanur beach. Although the family home is equipped with modern equipment such as a refrigerator, a television, a washing machine, and owns two motor bikes, compared to other families in Denpasar, the family was by no means particularly wealthy.

Given the comparative exclusiveness of some of the schools I worked with, it is debatable how far the results of this study can be called representative. I do not claim by any means that my PhD research is representative for all high schools in either Denpasar or Bali. This study is an urban micro-geography that generated intensive, small-scale projects and case studies rather than extensive or all-encompassing research. When compared to the situation of rural schools in Bali, the schools that feature in this thesis can definitely be called ‘the cream of the cream’ – in terms of their teaching facilities, educational standards and the financial means of the attending students.

The fact that most of the students I worked with could be called ‘middle class’ most probably impacted on the research results. The values and ideas these students brought into

the program probably differ significantly from the values and interests students in lower class or rural areas of Bali may exhibit. I deliberately chose the urban and tourist areas of Southern Bali as a location for my research, since it is here where many of the clashes between Balinese culture, environment and lifestyle culminate. This study of high schools is a micro-geography that looks at the students who call this particular area their home. The students' urban middle class values reflect a particular segment of Balinese society that has a large and increasing influence on politics, academia and the media – for example by orchestrating discourses such as *Ajeg Bali* and THK. Studying how the children of this urban middle class respond to and develop their own, youth-based discourses of sustainability is a concern of this thesis.

The 'English students'



Figure 5.1: Last day of the workshop program with the 'English students'. At the far back is the physics teacher who collaborated with PPLH in the Urban Green School program, in front of him is the English teacher who assisted with this program.

The students who volunteered for the workshop program at the junior high school SMP8 in Denpasar were mostly from the English teacher's second and third year English classes (Figure 5.1). These students were volunteers, invited to take part in this extracurricular program by one of the school's English teachers. Most participants were 14 years of age (some 13, very few 12 or 15). The program started on September 19 and was run each Sunday for eight weeks. The initial time of 9-11am was changed to 11am-1pm to avoid the disturbance by other noisy extracurricular activities (such as drumming and the gamelan orchestra), which had turned the first workshop session into an acoustic disaster. The numbers of participating students went down from 22 at the first workshop to around 12 from week two (partly due to the change in time); nine girls and three to four boys. For my research, I collected all materials from the workshop activities – activity sheets, posters, drawings, commentary, role plays, as well as recording all sessions on tape¹⁵¹. The program was carried out in English language following the wish of the school principal, who suggested that students could improve their English communication skills while participating in the program. The 'English students' who volunteered¹⁵² were more interested in English language than in 'the environment', but were excited to improve their

¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, the quality of the recordings turned out less well than expected due to the high noise levels inside and outside the classroom at the time of the workshops.

¹⁵² I had explained to the teacher and emphasised that participation in the program would have to be voluntary and non-assessed. All students received an information sheet from me at the start of the program which outlined the topic of my research, the program's objectives and goals, and stated clearly that students could opt to leave the program at any time, not participate in any activities they were not comfortable with, would not be assessed and were welcome to express ideas for changes in the program. This or a similar information sheet was given out to all students participating in programs related to my research, also at SMA6 and to all students participating in the Green Team program.

language skills through the lens of ‘environmental’ topics¹⁵³. This group was extremely committed, disciplined and willing to approach the workshop tasks in serious ways – which was not always the case with the second group, that of the ‘nature lovers’.

The ‘nature lovers’

My field notes of the first workshop with the ‘nature lovers’ read as follows:

When we entered SMA6’s schoolyard to facilitate the first workshop, some students were ‘hanging out’ on and beside their motorbikes in front of a wooden barrack the ‘nature lovers’ had set up for storing their outdoor equipment. There was loud rock music emanating from a radio in front of the barrack. The students wore comfortable weekend outfits, some spiced up with unusual accessories that were obviously chosen to ‘make a statement’ (one boy for example was wearing a baseball cap, a heavy metal shirt, a purple scarf and matching purple socks). It quickly became clear that we were dealing with a group of teenagers with ‘attitude’.

Aged between 15 and 17, the students at the senior high school SMA6 exhibited distinctly more ‘teenaged’ behaviour than the younger ‘English students’. At the time of my research, the extracurricular group of ‘nature lovers’ or *Pencinta Alam* consisted of group of 15 students from years one, two and three of the senior high school SMA6¹⁵⁴. The group of nine boys and six girls is supervised and facilitated by one of the school’s physics teachers (Figure 5.2)¹⁵⁵. In many ways, the program facilitation with the ‘nature lovers’ was more challenging than with the younger students at SMP8. Throughout the program, there was

¹⁵³ At the initial sessions some first year English students and some environmentally interested students who had taken part in PPLH’s Green School program the previous year also took part, but quickly dropped out of the program.

¹⁵⁴ The intake of students into this extracurricular program varies each year. The group has usually around 50 members, the facilitator explained, but numbers often drop throughout the semester to 15-20 (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

¹⁵⁵ The extracurricular program of nature lovers at SMA6 has been in place since 1989 and has been headed by this particular teacher since 2002 (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.; SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.) The physics teacher has also been involved in several of PPLH’s education programs and operated as the contact teacher for PPLH’s Green School program. According to the students, this teacher is the only ‘environmentally active’ teacher at this particular school.

significantly more tension between the sexes, more joking and giggling, and students were less ready to approach the program activities in serious ways.



Figure 5.2: The ‘nature lover’ program. The students line up for the start of the workshop session, while their elected group leaders take note of attendance (left). Zahnur, my research assistant, facilitates an icebreaker quiz game in which the students have to decide whether a type of garbage is organic or non-organic (by racing to the chair that says ‘organic’ or the one that says ‘non-organic’). Meanwhile, the teacher looks on (right).

The ‘nature lovers’ motivation to take part in the workshop program was very different from that of the ‘English students’. Students join the group of ‘nature lovers’ mainly out of an excitement for outdoor activities – ‘nature lovers’ at Indonesian schools traditionally acquire basic skills of navigation, rock climbing¹⁵⁶, camping, and walking in the mountains (Tsing, 2005). As one student put it: “We just like playing; we like to get around, go to the mountains, climb mountains”¹⁵⁷. The school principal allocated the group of ‘nature lovers’ to me as research participants as he saw this as the best fit for my research topic. Both the school principal and the ‘nature lovers’ facilitator affirmed that students enrol in the program out of an interest for ‘the environment’. Indeed, the facilitator recounted, ‘nature

¹⁵⁶ The group owns a climbing rope the students can use to practice.

¹⁵⁷ “Suka aja, suka main, suka keliling, main ke gunung..naik gunung”. As two students informed me, the group often organises camping and rock climbing trips independently from ‘official’ SISPALA activities. Sometimes these trips are organised with the help of alumni students who use the skills they have acquired as SISPALA members to lead new group members on these trips. In fact, the group of SISPALA students participating in my program organised an independent camping trip to one of the volcanic lakes in the mountainous centre of Bali during their *Galungan* holidays.

lovers' receive an introduction to environmental matters and theory, pertinent to the kinds of environments such as rivers, cliffs and forest where many of the group's field trips take place (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). My workshops were thus scheduled to take up eight weeks of the regular SISPALA program¹⁵⁸, which is held every Sunday afternoon for their regular extracurricular lesson. The 'nature lovers' did not have much of a choice but to take part. So, because of the discrepancy between the students' motivation and the interests the school management assumed 'nature lovers' to have, I did not find myself facing a crowd of interested volunteers, but a pre-established group that came into the program with the expectation of conducting 'traditional' outdoor-focused nature lover activities.

The workshops with the 'nature lovers' took part every Sunday afternoon between 4 and 6 pm very broadly speaking 'outdoors', either on an asphalt parking lot behind the school buildings or on a strip of lawn in the schoolyard. Because the program was carried out in Indonesian language, I employed an assistant to help me conduct the workshops. Zahnur worked as an English language teacher at a private language school in Denpasar and was very experienced with participatory and informal teaching. With her positive attitude and quirky personality, she assisted in dealing with this 'teeny' group of students that was not always easy to approach¹⁵⁹. The 'nature lovers' facilitator was always present at the

¹⁵⁸ Both the teacher and I made it clear to the students that my program was independent from the usual extracurricular activity, and that they were free to leave at any time should they not enjoy the workshop activities. Despite this, the fact that the teacher was present at almost all sessions must have caused some pressure to attend. The weeks where only small numbers of students attended were usually followed by weeks where the full group was present. This was an indicator for me that the teacher (who seemed distinctly embarrassed when few students attended) had encouraged the students to take part again.

¹⁵⁹ I met with Zahnur several times before the start of the program to discuss both its schedule and content. During the workshops, Zahnur helped me establish a connection with the students and to create an informal environment by joking in Indonesian youth language and re-explaining activities that students had not quite understood. After each workshop, we carried out a short evaluation and often met during the week to organise the subsequent session.

workshops. I was initially worried that his presence might create a formal atmosphere, but his enthusiastic participation turned out to add to a positive atmosphere at the workshop sessions¹⁶⁰.

At the start of the workshop program I had a reasonably fluent command of Indonesian language – after having lived in Indonesia as a teenager and having studied Indonesian for several years at university level. My language skills improved significantly during the course of the program, and I became increasingly involved in the workshop facilitation. I did not speak any Balinese, but as the language of instruction at Balinese high schools is officially Bahasa Indonesia, it was not unusual that the program was carried out solely in Indonesian language. Zahnur, my research assistant and fellow facilitator also spoke only limited Balinese, however, as an English teacher of Balinese youth and adults she understood most of the participants' youth language, which was a mix of Bahasa Indonesia and Balinese. I understood most of what was being said, unless students were using exclusively slang and youth language. In cases of miscommunications or language ambiguity, I went over the workshop proceedings with Zahnur after a session had ended to compare our understandings of what had been said. As the workshops were quite informal, the students used more slang language than in the formal lessons I witnessed. Particularly when students worked in small groups, they used youth and slang language to

¹⁶⁰ The teacher's first reaction to my introduction of the workshop program had been: "my students do not know anything about sustainable development! I will have to provide an introductory teaching session before the start of the program!" After I had explained that the idea of this particular program was that students developed their own knowledge of sustainability, he refrained from this plan. I feared the teacher's perceived authority might smother the participants' freedom to critically contribute to discussions and to create an atmosphere of 'formal teaching'. As it turned out, my worries were unfounded: the teacher's involvement in the program was extraordinarily supportive and encouraging. He participated in many activities, such as the mental mapping, always encouraged the students to take part in discussion in a constructive and positive way, and often contributed funny comments or stories to discussions.

communicate. I recorded most discussions and group exercises by microphone. Unfortunately, the bad sound quality of the recordings and the difficult acoustic situation at Balinese high schools made a verbatim transcription of this data impossible. Nevertheless, I revisited crucial sections of workshop discussions, and when in doubt about phrases or expressions, consulted the PPLH staff or my research assistant.

The fact that I hired a Javanese research assistant of Muslim faith to help me facilitate workshops with almost exclusively Hindu Balinese students as participants may seem a peculiar decision. It might be expected that the difference in ethnic background and faith would impact on the research data and on outcomes of discussions, especially when the workshops contained debates about religion. Zahnur wore a headscarf and thus definitely stuck out as visibly different among the workshop participants. Despite this, at no point during the workshop programs was there any moment that brought out the religious differences between the facilitator and the participants. Zahnur was a qualified teacher who was very professional at handling discussions and at encouraging students' participation while holding back her own views and beliefs. The students very quickly accepted, liked and respected Zahnur's open-minded and fun personality. In fact, the teenagers I worked with in Bali generally showed a high degree of acceptance of religious difference in their interaction with others. For example, when during the holy month of Ramadan four of the workshop students were fasting and had to miss several workshop and filming sessions, the Hindu students showed their support by taking over the Muslim students' filming and editing tasks. Thus, according to my judgment as researcher, the fact that the workshops were partly facilitated by a second 'stranger' – a Javanese Muslim – did not impact the

research data or results. It might be that a Hindu Balinese facilitator could have approached and facilitated the religious discussions and debates around ‘being Balinese’ from a more involved and self-reflective perspective than a Javanese Muslim. On the other hand, Zahnur’s distance from the ‘Balineseness’ of the students enabled her to ask the teenagers about their opinions and about Balinese culture from the point of view of an interested outsider, rather than as an involved ‘insider’ – which in hindsight may have been an advantage rather than a disadvantage to the workshop program.

The ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ workshop programs

The workshop content of the program with the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ was based on the same outline of activities. Before my fieldwork departure I had sketched out a draft workshop program with ideas for activities. These were drawn from my own experience with teaching students at high school and undergraduate levels in Germany and Australia; with facilitating sustainability workshops at the Eco-Innovate youth conference in Sydney in 2004; from my research experience with participatory governance and sustainability; and from conversations with Australian scholars and NGO staff in Bali. The workshop outline aimed to enable students to contribute creatively through activities that require different ‘types of expression’, such as film, drama, art, discussion and role plays (see Table 5.1), and to cater for differing student interests and personalities. To test how students would react to such activities, which are not usually standard activities of formal education in Bali, was one objective of the program. How and whether the workshops created avenues for students to engage with sustainability and engender teenage debates around it will be discussed in the following chapters. Table 5.1 contains an overview of the

workshop program I conducted with the ‘English students’ and the ‘nature lovers’. The timing and outline was adjusted throughout the course of the program to tailor the sessions more to the interests of the two different groups. At both SMP8 and SMA6, I collected all workshop outcomes and audio-taped the entire workshop proceedings. At SMA6, I also videotaped the students’ drama performances.

Table 5.1: Summary of workshop activities for the weekly two-hour sessions at SMP8 and SMA6

Workshop content
<p>1) Photo Choice activity – students choosing photos I had previously taken of different Denpasar scenes and explain why they chose them</p> <p>2) Defining environment: ‘Woolly web exercise’ – finding interconnections between different environmental, social and economic processes (see Appendix 3)</p> <p>4) Explaining photo voice exercise and handing out cameras</p>
<p>1) In pairs: Write a list of daily activities</p> <p>2) Making mental map</p> <p>Drawing map of one’s own environment, the places students often see, spend time in, or value. I emphasised to also draw places or areas that are holy or sacred</p>
<p>1) Photo voice evaluation</p> <p>Discussion of photos students took. Students explained where and why they had taken their photos</p> <p>2) Making posters</p> <p>Students used their photos, newspaper clippings, drawing writing etc. to make a poster of their environment. I asked students to use the poster-making to comment on their photo voice pictures and to put them into context</p>
<p>1) Review Game: ‘Hot seat’ – explaining key terms of last sessions to person seated in the ‘hot seat’ without using the actual word</p> <p>2) Finishing posters and presenting/discussing results</p> <p>3) Discussing material from Australia: posters on environment and a booklet of Australian and Indonesian animals in Indonesian¹⁶¹</p>
<p>Drama</p> <p>2 groups writing a role play on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘The role of young people in Balinese society’ ▪ ‘Conflict among young people and between young people and the older generation in Bali’ <p>Performance of role play and discussion on the role of young people in Balinese society and in shaping future in Bali</p>
<p>1) Game: ‘Snakes and Ladders’</p> <p>Game with questions on the students’ thoughts and opinions, future plans, hobbies etc.</p> <p>2) Comics – Modernity and tradition in Bali</p> <p>3 groups discussing comics from Bog Bog, a Balinese comic magazine that portrays conflict between tradition and modernity in Bali in a satirical way. Students writing letters to Bog Bog in pairs/drawing comics</p> <p>Discussion on environment, development, modernity and tradition in Bali</p>

¹⁶¹ The program also contained an exchange of posters and materials with Belconnen High school in Canberra. Students of a junior high school level Indonesian language class at this school produced posters on similar topics as the Balinese students. The aim here was to foster a cross-cultural dialogue on youth-based topics and understandings of sustainability. I also instigated a letter exchange between the Australian and the Indonesian students, in which students could introduce themselves and also discuss environmental problems. Due to organisational and logistical problems this aspect of the program did not move beyond its initial stage. I did, however, send a selection of the Balinese students’ creative outputs to Canberra, and in return we received a packet with posters and letters from Canberra, which I discussed with the English students only.

<p>1) Song: <i>'The Last Unicorn'</i> Discussion of environmental message in the song</p> <p>2) Visioning exercise: Students' vision of Bali in the year 2020</p> <p>3) Action planning: How to plan concrete projects or activities to work towards these visions</p>
<p>How to become active?</p> <p>1) Game: Race for correct chair - Organic or non-organic waste?</p> <p>2) Evaluation questionnaire</p> <p>3) Discussion – how to become active and do something for environment and future in Bali?</p>

See Appendix 2 for a more detailed summary of the school workshop programs.

To create an atmosphere of relaxed collaboration, I started most sessions with environment-related icebreaker games. With creative or group exercises I then tried to pave a way for discussion, giving students a chance to verbally explain and discuss their creative achievements. Thus, for example, a session would start with a game, proceed with an activity in small groups, and then continue with a presentation and discussion of the results with the entire group. The program started off with broader topics of environment, future, youth and Bali and their interconnectedness, before moving on to more specific issues, such as the interaction of generations, future visions, and action planning activities. I deliberately left my ideas for workshop activities open and did not finalise lesson plans until a week before each workshop took place, to give students room to express their interests and to make the program flexible to adjust with student responses and participation. How the 'English students' and 'nature lovers' shaped their respective programs and how participation, discourse and subjectivation interacted in the sessions will be discussed in Chapters 6-8.

The Green Team

The Green Team project was conducted in partnership with the NGO Pusat Pendidikan Lingkungan Hidup (PPLH), the Environmental Education Centre, based in Sanur. The Green Team consisted of 20 students drawn from ten Denpasar and Kuta high schools. This team was divided into two groups: one film group, and one research group. The film group produced a short film on a topic of their choice – broadly based on issues of youth, future, environment and sustainability. The students carried out every step of the production themselves, from script-writing, to filming to editing. The research team, in turn, were to develop a small research project on a topic of their choice from the same range of issues. The students decided on a questionnaire-based survey with high school students to investigate youth involvement in garbage management and additional interviews at high schools and in public spaces. The Green Team participants were responsible for the formulation of research questions, the questionnaire design, as well as conducting and analysing both survey and interviews.

The recruitment process of the Green Team differed significantly from the ways in which the groups of the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ were formed. Although PPLH shared my vision of an experiment based on the philosophy of ‘education *as* sustainability’, in its set-up phase the ‘Green Team’ program was much less of a participatory, collaborative exercise than I had imagined it to be. Instead, the ‘Green Team’ was put together in a competitive manner that reflected the ‘competition rationale’ of Indonesian education. PPLH’s staff suggested that 20 students out of 40 applicants should be picked in

a selection process conducted at the NGO centre (Figure 5.3)¹⁶². I raised my concerns about the possible effects of such a competitive procedure on the ‘team spirit’ of a youth sustainability team. The potentially stressful nature of the process and the danger of jealousies arising from such direct competition seemed to me to be running against a spirit of ‘collective action’ for sustainability. The NGO staff assured me that in the competition-based educational culture in Indonesia teenagers were used to this kind of selection. Rather than being jealous of fellow students, the applicants would sense pride that one of their school mates would represent the school, the staff confirmed. As this was the way “things like that are done” in Bali, as one staff member put it, I decided to play along with local custom and make the ‘Green Team’ selection process part of my research experience. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the selection process, which contained personal interviews, group discussions and student presentations, generated intriguing interplays of power as the program unfolded.

¹⁶² This was the procedure the NGP followed when recruiting the first Green Team, which was formed in 2002.



Figure 5.3: The selection workshop. Individual interviews at the selection process (top left), followed by group discussions (monitored by a member of the first Green Team) (bottom), and the subsequent presentation of the group results (right).

Despite its ‘counter-collaborative’ aftertaste, the competition that determined access to the Green Team selection also gave the project the air of being a ‘desirable’ activity. To some degree, the students’ motivation to undergo this process was the good reputation the first Green Team had acquired at high schools around Denpasar. One participant phrased his interest in the Green Team:

According to the Green Team alumni [at my school] the Green Team activities are great. Apart from that I also want to participate in environmental action, meet new friends, and increase my insight and knowledge!¹⁶³.

¹⁶³ “Karena menurut cerita pengalaman senior-senior yg lalu kegiatan Green Team asyik. Selain itu saya juga ingin berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan lingkungan, menambah teman, wawasan, dan pengetahuan”.

Another student explained: “I want to know [about the environment] and become a nature lover!”¹⁶⁴. Being accepted onto the Green Team generated considerable pride among those students who had made it through the selection process (Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4: The Green Team. Members of the Green Team film group pose at PPLH’s offices (top left) and celebrate on the beach after the conclusion of the program (top right). Zahnur and PPLH’s education officer Gede frame Ardi and Meril from the research team (bottom).

The Green Team operated largely within its subgroups of the film team and the research team. Only the first, introductory workshop was conducted for all Green Team members. This first workshop aimed to evoke some thoughts within the teenagers around the themes of environment, future, culture, nature and activities through several of the activities that had also formed part of the workshop program at SMP8 and SMA6 (e.g. the woolly web

¹⁶⁴ “Karena saya ingin tahu dan ingin menjadi pencinta lingkungan”.

activity, photo choice, group discussions and drama¹⁶⁵). After this initial workshop, the film team and research groups met independently to work on their respective projects¹⁶⁶. These projects will be discussed individually in chapters 7 and 8. Table 5.2 contains a rough outline of the Green Team programs.

¹⁶⁵ This workshop contained an introduction by myself and the NGO staff, introductory activities and games; a photo choice game, in which students were asked to comment on photos of Balinese natural, cultural and city environments I had previously taken; a woolly web activity, in which students had to find the linkages between different processes; a small group drama activity on the topic of 'future challenges' in Bali and a discussion and organisational structuring of 'tasks ahead'.

¹⁶⁶ Gede, one of PPLH's educational officers, and I supervised the research group, while Jenny, the other educational officer and Wayan, the NGO's technical officer facilitated the film team. I attended many of the film sessions as well, but could not assist the entire supervision as some of the workshops conflicted with my 'nature lovers' workshop program on Sunday afternoons (it was very hard to find time slots that all students from these different schools could attend, and weekends were often the only option for meetings). Zahnur, who assisted with the facilitation of the 'nature lovers' workshops, also attended many of the Green Team sessions out of personal interest.

Table 5.2: Outline of the Green Team Program, 2004

24 Sept	01 Oct 2004		7-8 Oct / 14 Oct	late Oct	early Nov	Late Nov	04 Dec	12 Dec
Green Team selection process	Green Team introductory workshop General introduction Photo choice and games around the connection of environment, nature, culture and future	<i>Film Team</i>	2-day workshop introduction and cinematography, facilitated by a Balinese film director	Development of film theme and script Workshops on filming and screenwriting	First visits to the field site, interview with mayor, shooting in the field	Editing of film material, narration, choice of music, additional shooting	Internal presentation and discussion of program output Discussion of program Film night	Final exhibition with teachers, school principals, friends
		<i>Research Team</i>	Introductory workshop Research, methods and questionnaire design	Development of research theme, research methodology and questionnaire	Survey at 10 high schools, interviews in the field	Analysis of survey and interview data; production of output – garbage bin, posters		

5.4 Conclusion

This workshop program with Balinese high school students marks an attempt to marry sustainability education with participatory research and educational tools. At the start of the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, it is crucial to attempt to develop educational tools that acknowledge the dynamics of power inherent in sustainability discourses, and that involve students in the formation of student-focused discourses and practices. This program experiments with combining poststructural and participatory research with development and educational methodologies to move towards interactive practices of education *as* sustainability.

Just as sustainability discourses are always shaped by dynamics of power, so is participatory research. The multiple actors and stakeholders involved in participatory research bring into the program a vast array of knowledges and opinions, interests and motivations. The different student groups that took part in this research brought into the program different motivations and expectations that are partly linked to the way that these students were recruited into the program. The coming chapter takes a closer look at the power dynamics that were mobilised within the workshop program among program participants. I examine the connection between participation and power, in particular how power affected student possibilities for participation. Where spaces of participation worked to increase or reduce power, and which forms of power prevailed in which workshop situations is the focus of Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Education *as* sustainability and the powers of participation

6.1 Participation and empowerment

Understanding participation involves understanding power...Many organisations are unwilling to allow people to participate because they fear loss of control: they believe there is only so much power to go around, and giving some to others means losing their own...However, there are many situations when working together allows everyone to achieve more than they could on their own. These represent the benefits of participation. [There is a]...difference between Power to...and Power over...People are empowered when they have the power to achieve what they want (Joseph-Rowntree-Foundation, 1994 electronic source)¹⁶⁷.

Participation is often presented as generating an ‘increase’ in power. Participatory-oriented research and development aim to ‘empower’ research subjects by ‘giving them the power’ to make decisions, generate knowledge, and be involved in the design and conduct of both research and development programs (Waring, 2004). In technology and knowledge-transfer based approaches to development research, research participants are at the receiving end of knowledge, learning from ‘experts’. In positivist approaches to research, research participants provide knowledge for researchers to ‘extract’. Moving away from both approaches, participatory development research turns research subjects into owners of development or ‘sharers’ of knowledge (Winklerprins, 1999). Community members are

¹⁶⁷ The quote is taken from a 1994 study on housing conducted by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, a research and development charity based in the UK.

‘empowered’ to take more of an active stance in shaping their own future and to contribute to policy decision-making and development agendas (Burkey, 1993; Waring, 2004). As Burkey (1993 59) highlights:

We are left in no doubt that meaningful participation is concerned with achieving power: that is the power to influence the decisions that affect one’s livelihood...[T]he practice of empowering challenges established interests and seeks to confront those forces which oppose the rural poor’s access to the means of development.

This research project to some extent taps into the ‘empowerment’ language of participatory research and development as it engages a participatory-oriented methodology to involve students in shaping sustainability knowledges and practices. Simultaneously, I base my analysis on Allen’s diverse typology of power to simultaneously unsettle some of the premises of participation and empowerment.

The rhetoric of ‘empowerment through participation’ seems to suggest an increase in ‘power’ with enhanced participation. Such a linear approach is somewhat reminiscent of Arnstein’s (1969) ‘ladder of participation’, which famously ranges from non-participation, through manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership and delegated power to full citizen control. Wilcox (1994) revises this ladder in the context of community participation and proposes five types of participation: information provision, consultation, decisions in partnership, collective action and independent community initiatives. Both ladders contain progressive steps in participation and engage a language that suggests a movement from ‘less’ to ‘more’ power. In Arnstein’s case, ‘full citizen control’ arguably induces images of ‘more’ power exercised on the part of citizens than ‘manipulation’ or ‘consultation’. The ‘independent community initiatives’ mentioned by

Wilcox allude to ‘more power’ exercised by community members in shaping their own future than ‘information provision’ by authorities. In this regard, the two approaches blend in with the rhetoric of ‘empowerment’ in development language.

Linear conceptions of power have been criticised as problematic, for example by John Allen (2003). To reiterate, Allen proposes that power is neither one-dimensional, nor a transferable quantity or zero-sum-game in which one person ‘loses’ and another one gains. Power is not a thing or entity that people can ‘hold’ or ‘possess’. ‘Empowerment’ in the language of participatory community development might be interpreted as research subjects or local communities exerting ‘power to’ engage in development decision-making in order to change their own lives. This is the ‘associational power’ that Arendt (1958 quoted in Allen, 2003 53) refers to, a “*mutual action... that holds people together in the pursuit of their common, agreed ends*”. If more intensive participation increases the mobilisation of power through ‘empowerment’, then, by consequence, non-participation in a participatory project would mean ‘less’ generation of power. This would also mean we are back to a zero-sum-game. How empowerment assumptions sit with Allen’s (2003) ‘multiple powers’ is one focus of the discussion to follow.

This chapter provides a micro-geography of power in participatory and action-oriented research. Based on experiences from the workshop program, I analyse whether and how students were ‘empowered’ to participate in shaping sustainability discourses and practices. I further discuss the dynamics of power that operated among participants including the power that was generated *within* the program through program activities, and the notions of

power that were '*carried into*' the program by its participants. While Allen compiles convincing theoretical examples that support a diverse notion of power, he remains (perhaps consciously) less clear about the *ways* in which these various types of power operate in daily life. Merriman (2005a; 2005b) suggests that there are not enough geographical studies that shed light on micro-geographies of governmentality. In my view there is a need for more detailed studies on the geographies of multiple types of power. I use the case of this sustainability education experiment in Bali to explore *how* power and participation intersect in the micro-processes of a participatory-oriented educational research project.

The following chapters place a deliberate focus on the research *process*, as well as its outcomes. At times my description of the research activities may seem 'messy' because indeed they were (Pain and Francis, 2003). In conducting this action research, the local bureaucracy, institutional arrangements, partnership agreements between the research partners, the interaction of research participants, as well as local culture, customs, or logistical challenges would prevent things from running 'smoothly'. Unexpected events such as a breakdown of the only photocopier in the neighbourhood or a power failure at a school can sabotage the best thought-through lesson plan. But as I show, it was often in the unforeseen events, the ruptures or problematic situations where intriguing constructions and interplays of power emerged.

6.2 'Bule masuk sekolah' ('A foreigner enters school')

For me as a researcher, reflections on 'power' started from the minute I entered the first Balinese school. I became quickly aware that my persona as a 'Western' researcher mobilised imaginaries of power that would impact on the ways that I could participate in this participatory-oriented program. The following anecdote illustrates how students met my 'arrival' within their educational space:

It began in a high school classroom in Denpasar, where a 'Green Team' student and I were handing out questionnaires for a waste management survey. One student at the back of the class shouted something that escaped my ears, which resulted in wild gestures by the teacher and an order for the student to come to the front of the class. The rest of the class was in hysterics. The boy was told to shake my hand to apologise – I accepted with a confused smile, totally unaware of what had happened. A similar incident occurred only a few days later, when at the next school I visited several students yelled very clearly upon my arrival: "BULE MASUK KAMPUNG!" (A foreigner is entering the neighbourhood!). From now on I was greeted at every school with screams of "bule masuk kampung!", sometimes thoughtfully altered to "bule masuk sekolah!" (A foreigner is entering the school!).

Bule is a Javanese term, literally meaning 'white'. To my knowledge, the word does not necessarily carry a negative connotation. But it definitely is a term that alludes to the 'strangeness' of foreigners. While I had expected to stick out as 'different' as a foreign researcher in a Balinese school setting, such blunt commentary on my arrival surprised me.

When I was surrounded by a “*bule masuk kampung!*”- screaming crowd again (this time at a primary school), I ventured to ask one of the students what it was about me that was drawing such attention. He explained that there was a series on TV, a soap opera, called ‘Bule Masuk Kampung’. This series showed a young man, who had one Indonesian and one American parent, had grown up in the USA and had recently returned to Indonesia, now struggling to adjust to life in a remote hamlet. In this rural village, the boy filled me in, the *bule* was “doing things Indonesians are not used to seeing *bules* do, for example sweeping the floor”. For Indonesians, this was really funny to see, he added. A few days later I was told that there was another *bule*-based show on TV called ‘Bule Gila’ (crazy foreigner). Here, a foreigner was trying out different ‘Indonesian’ professions for a day, such as driving a *becak* (bike riksha) or selling *sate* (Indonesian kebabs), much to the amusement of his Indonesian audience. Apparently, my arrival at Denpasar schools was seen as a similarly irregular event, given the initial amusement and bewilderment with which students welcomed me. After all, it does not happen every day that a *bule* tries to encourage you to participate in an action-focused research program. My arrival thus animated students to draw a spontaneous parallel between me and *bules* on TV. Throughout the course of my research “*bule masuk sekolah!*” became a running gag among the students, the NGO staff and me.

The *bule* experience at Balinese schools led me to contemplate my positionality in this research project as both researcher and program participant. It further encouraged me to think through the notions of ‘power’ that were discursively ‘attached’ to the position I took

up. The *bule* analogy triggered my contemplation on three aspects of participatory research that shape power dynamics:

- First, although becoming a participant and stakeholder, the researcher is also the ‘facilitator’ of a research program. This position has attached to it discursive assumptions on the researcher ‘having the power’ to oversee the activities (a power which is partly associated with academic knowledge), ideas of what a researcher can and cannot do, and in the *bule* case of what a foreigner in Bali can, should, can not or should not do. The researcher thus, at least initially, engages an outsider position among the participants.
- Second, although participatory research has a bottom-up intention, researchers enter a community with at least a rough research agenda, and with a set of research questions in mind. Integrating the interests of researchers and research subjects to the extent that all participants can collaborate effectively rests on the existence of shared research interests.
- Third, the constructions of ‘power’ that are discursively attached to all research participants rest partly on processes of discourse and subjectivation *outside* the research project. In the case of the *bule* anecdote, the students spontaneously linked my position and appearance to a discourse of foreignness created by the Indonesian media. When ‘entering’ the program environment of participatory and action-oriented research, the researcher brings into the program his or her subjectivity, and so do all other participants.

The *bule* experience illustrates that the constructions of personas and their perceived ‘power’ impact the interaction between participants in action research. How existing discourses and processes of subjectivation shaped the power dynamics among research participants is the question I now turn to.

6.3 The power of the researcher: Designing a participatory-oriented, action research project

The ways for power to be generated in the workshop program were paved long before the start of my research in Bali, namely when I was designing my fieldwork methodology in my office in Canberra. I sought to create workshop activities that would be as ‘open’ as possible, touching on issues as diverse as possible and from fields that may widely be associated with environment, the future and sustainability in Bali. Yet, despite my efforts to create spaces and openings for debate and creative expression, my own ideas for the workshop content and outline influenced the ways in which power could take effect in the workshops.

Throughout the program, I sought to create ‘even’ positions of power among all research participants. I consciously failed to act as an expert and avoided the use of the term ‘sustainability’ (or its Indonesian translations of ‘*pembangunan berkelanjutan*’ or ‘*pelestarian lingkungan*’), unless students directly asked or referred to it. I also sought to avert situations in which I would be ‘explaining facts’. In discussions, I tried to give students the feeling that they, in fact, were the ‘experts’ on local issues. I assumed that this would create more ‘even’ terms of cooperation and participation and reduce the impact of

my own knowledge on the data and workshop output. Despite this, my own subject position as a sustainability researcher and my experience with sustainability and teaching theory and practice impacted the choice of topics and activities for the programs. In designing the project, I inadvertently reflected on what I myself had learned about 'sustainability'. Some of the workshop activities, such as an exercise that aimed at 'creating links' between different social, environmental and economic processes activity, mirrored definitions of sustainability as an integrated approach to development advertised in international sustainability discourses (see Appendix 3)¹⁶⁸. Thus, in shaping the research design and knowing more about the academic and conceptual background than the research participants did put me in a position of perceived 'authority'. Although this is not always necessarily negative. Gibson-Graham (2006) note that, rather than disempowering research participants, the 'hidden' knowledge of the research facilitators can also have an 'enticing' and 'mysterious' effect on research subjects and thus stimulate their interest.

But it was not only my own subject position as a sustainability researcher, but also the subject positions of the NGO staff I cooperated with that impacted the program design and the power dynamics within the workshops. PPLH's management and educational staff had shown immediate interest during my pre-fieldwork trip to Bali in November and December 2003. With a focus on participatory teaching in their other programs, the NGO staff saw my research in Bali as fitting in well with their own interests and approach. My plan to work with a youth team also presented an opportunity for PPLH to create a second 'edition'

¹⁶⁸ A famous visual description of sustainability is the 'three-legged-stool', which portrays development as resting on economic as well as social and environmental factors. Another well-known emblem is that of three overlapping circles that shows sustainability as 'happening' where environment, economy and society intersect. More 'radical' models of sustainability place economy within society, and society within the environment (Hart, 1999).

of the Green Team, an AusAid-funded youth program the NGO had been operating for several months (PPLH, 2003c pers. comm.). As outlined in Chapter 4, the rationale for the creation of this first Green Team had been to foster youth participation in environmental activities, such as mangrove planting, clean-ups and recycling. In forming the second Green Team, the staff were interested in applying the more interactive ways of education *as* sustainability that I proposed. As one of PPLH's education officers stated in an interview with me (PPLH, 2004a pers. comm.), the NGO had been "thinking about having a second Green Team" for a while. They had just "not developed/received ideas for activities yet...activities that would be suitable for creating another Green Team"¹⁶⁹ (PPLH, 2004a pers. comm.). PPLH's interests resonated particularly strongly with my idea of using film as one medium through which students could discover their own notions of sustainability. In fact, the NGO staff had been thinking about producing a film for a considerable amount of time. We agreed that our collaboration would be organised around the following 'contract': the NGO would provide their expertise, labour power and facilities, while I would contribute the funding necessary to run the Green Team program. Although our partnership was grounded in mutual interest and close personal collaboration, PPLH naturally sought to integrate the outline for the Green Team 2 into their own structures, goals and funding profile. The institutional and operational context of the NGO environment, the discourses and practices the NGO usually engages (including the first Green Team¹⁷⁰), the office space, and the structures of previous youth programs all

¹⁶⁹ "Kemarin yang Tim Hijau dua ini sebetulnya sebelum ada kegiatan dengan Tina kami sudah berfikir untuk akan ada Tim Hijau dua. Hanya kita belum mendapatkan kegiatan... kegiatan yang pas untuk membentuk Tim Hijau lagi" (PPLH, 2004a pers. comm.).

¹⁷⁰ To reiterate, the first Green Team program contained 30 students who received theoretical information on environmental practices, such as composting, traditional Balinese medical plants or air pollution, and then gather on a voluntary basis for field activities such as beach cleanups or tree planting. The program was less

influenced the way in which the Green Team program took shape, and in which participation and power intersected. Before I return to this issue by using examples from the student workshops, I take a closer look at participation and empowerment in the context of environmental education.

6.4 Education and the powers of participation

Various studies suggest that young people with higher levels of civic knowledge are more confident of participating effectively in politics as adults, more likely to undertake voluntary action, and more willing to vote. These effects are enhanced in learning environments that exhibit democratic practices themselves, by promoting an open climate for discussing issues and encouraging students to take part in shaping school life (Andrews et al., 2006 5).

Forging the ‘empowerment’ of citizens and enhancing participation in decision-making by involving them in participatory structures is a debate that has entered the discourse of educational policy. In recent years, the quality of education systems has been evaluated to some extent in terms of the degree of student participation. More participatory ways of educating are often linked to enhanced ways of critical thinking, independent decision-making and opinion-development among students, which in many Western nations are seen as benchmarks of engaged citizenship (Joseph-Rowntree-Foundation, 1994; Siegel, 2006). Education *as* sustainability for example, assumes that students critically question, debate and frame sustainability as a concept in education. Educational quality seems to be measured in terms of a rationale of progression – similar to Arnstein’s (1969) and Wilcox’s

focussed on engaging students in expressing opinions and starting from the students’ point of view (PPLH, 2003c pers. comm.).

(1994) ladders – of ‘the more participation, the more empowerment’ and ‘the more empowerment, the better’.

The notion that increased participation in education might lead to a development of critical thinking and an empowerment of students as citizens and individuals rests on a Western notion of democracy. In Western democracies, informed participation in decision-making is a precondition for the successful operation of democratic structures. Indeed, creating increased opportunities for citizen participation in political decision-making and collective action have increasingly found their way into political rhetoric over the past decade (Healey, 1996; McGuirk, 2001). The sustainability debate is only one context which highlights participation and critical engagement at all levels of political decision making (Arias-Maldonado, 2000; Carter, 1996; Dahle, 1998; Freeman et al., 1996; Haeusler et al., 1998; Stratford and Jaskolski, 2004). Making decisions in informed and deliberative ways has also been the focus of concepts like ‘deliberative democracy’ and ‘communicative action’ (Habermas, 1984). These visions of more participatory democracy rest on the idea of creating a perfect speech situation, in which aware and critical individuals can debate and come to a consensus (Dryzek, 2000; Habermas, 1984).

But increased opportunities for participation in governance and decision-making are also linked with requirements for civic capacity and willingness to engage in these structures.

According to a report commissioned by the UK government,

[e]ffective governance requires an informed, engaged citizenry which vote in elections, participates in decision making, and works with service providers in designing, delivering and monitoring services (Andrews et al., 2006 1).

Education is seen as an institution in which students can acquire the tools to engage in political issues and critical debate (Siegel, 2006). In the UK, for example, introducing civic education in the school curriculum has recently been discussed as a means to enhance levels of participation in governance and ‘active citizenship’, which is “the idea that citizens should be directly involved in different aspects of politics and society” (Andrews et al., 2006: 9). According to the UK government report, such involvement requires educational structures which enhance students’ capacity to take responsibility for their own learning, to discuss difficult topics and views that are contrary to their own, and to participate in school decision-making processes (Andrews et al., 2006). As Siegel (2006: 201) notes:

One of the most important responsibilities educators have is to improve students’ abilities to make decisions about challenging issues. Making complex decisions involves many aspects of critical thinking – for example, coordinating hypotheses and evidence, evaluating the relevance and reliability of evidence, and weighing multiple alternatives.

In the context of Western democratic thought the vision of ‘empowering’ students through creating educational structures that further critical engagement and participation seems plausible.

In an Asian context, there is much less of a focus on participatory democracy and political involvement of ‘informed individuals’. In Asian societies, the sense of self is much less distinguishable from family, kinship and community and thus the idea that ‘the individual’ is the smallest unit of democratic processes seems somewhat out of place. In Indonesia, the process of ‘*reformasi*’ and the beginning of regular democratic elections has only very

recently fostered a public and political rhetoric of ‘informed citizenship’. A critical attitude towards ‘undemocratic’ practices of corruption, collusion and nepotism, famously portrayed as the ‘evils’ of the Suharto era, is seen as an integral part of this new ‘democratic’ citizenship (Wahid, 2005). Yet, in the Indonesian and Balinese educational context, as I have shown, student participation is still mostly reduced to repetition, rote learning, discipline and obedience. Even within the politics of Indonesian educational reform, ‘empowering’ students through participation follows ideas of ‘power’ that see education as making students fit into the nation state, rather than developing critical citizens who may question the nation state. Therefore, an educational structure that fosters participatory methods and critical thinking seems a concept that still operates somewhat against the processes of educational subjectivation in Indonesia.

Our workshop program experimented with participatory educational structures in a Balinese context and thus ‘mixed’ ideas of ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ education, citizenship and participation. I have previously argued that, at least rhetorically, these do not necessarily contradict each other. Also, against all initial worries, all my respondents, including government officials in the educational sector, reacted positively to such an experiment. Nevertheless, the processes of subjectivation that Balinese students experience in education had an impact upon the types of participatory engagement this program was able to create. The absence of a language of ‘empowerment through participation’ in the Balinese high school context threw students into unfamiliar territory at times. As a consequence, the spaces that different activities were able to open for students to engage and participate in were sometimes hindered by the languages and imaginaries of power

produced by other discourses students were exposed to. How ‘power’ would be mobilised in this participatory experiment of education *as* sustainability, and how Balinese students would engage with the spaces for participation, were questions that motivated my research.

The idea of ‘education *as* sustainability’ conforms to Allen’s (2003) and Arendt’s (1958) visions of power *to*. Most of the research activities PPLH and I designed for the workshops aimed to encourage students to exercise power *to* shape discourses, knowledges and practices of sustainability. But the power we as organisers exercised *to* shape most workshop activities also marked a degree of power *over*: we were the facilitators who, especially in the initial stages, were seen as ‘holding the power’ to shape the program. At the beginning the students were mostly unfamiliar with both my research objectives and the debate around sustainable development. Thus, as facilitators who had some vision of where the program might be heading, we were in a better position to exercise power *over* the content and course of workshop activities. As the project went along, students would increasingly engage power *to* shape the workshop programs.

The programs left students with different spaces and degrees of possibility for participating. Somewhat against the rationale of participatory research, students only had limited possibilities to participate in the outlining of the program activities. In the case of the programs with the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ in particular, I had to provide schools with a rough program schedule. I arrived at each workshop session with a prepared lesson plan and set of planned activities, although these could not always be carried out. Although I repeatedly encouraged the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ to contribute

ideas for program activities this was not such a straightforward request. To keep the program fluid, I did not provide students with a full outline of program activities, which also meant that students only had a limited overview of the program and therefore could not make concrete suggestions for sessions down the track. Formally, the workshop program gave the Green Team students the most space to participate in the program design. During its initial stage, the Green Team program was much less developed than the school workshops, and its delivery in the NGO centre required less of a rigid outline. The students developed their film and research projects ‘from scratch’ and had the opportunity to shape the course of their program virtually throughout the entire eleven weeks. The film group, for example, had the freedom to decide on such things as the film topic, the type of film, the script, the set, the filming, editing, music and narration. The research team decided on the research topic, the methodology, the questionnaire and interview questions, the analysis and the presentation of findings. Due to the intensive nature of the Green Team program, the students developed more of a sense of operating as a ‘team’ and developed more ownership of ‘their’ programs than the students in the school workshops. The ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ met less often and worked on different activities each week, rather than completing one major program. This may have limited the two school programs, both in terms of coherence and student spaces for participating in their development.

6.5 A micro-geography of powers

This section contains three stories of workshop experiences: one about the ‘English students’, one about the ‘nature lovers’ and one about the Green Team. In providing an

example from each student program, this section discusses *how* students negotiated possibilities for participation and how student participation in the programs can be linked to concepts and measurements of ‘power’.

Glitter, glue and love letters to the environment

During the first weeks of the workshop program the ‘English students’ at SMP8 were made proud owners of a set of disposable cameras. In a ‘photo voice’ activity they were asked to capture those places, spaces, beings, environments or situations that were meaningful to them – for example those they saw as relevant for the environment, sustainability and the future in Bali. ‘Photo voice’ is a method of narrative inquiry that allows research subjects a ‘visual voice’ with which to express their opinions, views, feelings and document their practices and activity spaces (Harrison, 2002). It is a “tool to investigate people’s lives” (McIntyre, 2003 47), a tool that respects *their* angle of view¹⁷¹. It is particularly suited to the work with young people as it is a method of creative expression which does not necessary involve speech or writing (Hubbard, 1991; 1994). I saw the photo voice activity as a good introduction to discussing personal views of environment and activity spaces, and as a playful basis from which to expand into personalised discussions of environment and sustainability. The photo voice was followed by a poster-making activity, in which the teenagers could document their ‘photo voice’ and place their photos into context using explanations, drawings, newspaper clippings or poetry.

¹⁷¹ Photo voice as a research method evolved in the context of critical consciousness and feminist theory and has been engaged in action research to help generate change (Side, 2005). An example of a using photo voice for youth to document their own lives is Hubbard’s (1991; 1994) work with Native American youth and homeless children. In the context of a PAR with working-class women in Ireland, employing photo voice techniques, a photo-text exhibition, according to McIntyre (2003 47) generated knowledge about “the ways in which women engage in the formulation and reformulation of place and identity within contexts of everyday lives”.

Initially, all ‘English students’ appeared enthusiastic about occupying the participatory space of ‘photo voicing’. The teenagers were extremely excited about receiving their ‘own’ disposable camera. Working with a technical tool that most students in Bali are not used to handling on a day-to-day basis gave the activity an air of ‘importance’ that was ‘out-of-the-ordinary’. The young photographers were thrilled to view the developed results of their field activity and excitedly exchanged stories of photo-taking and reasons for their choice of motives amongst each other. The subsequent documentation of their ‘photo voice’ in poster form evoked a much more mixed response.

The ‘English students’ response to the poster-making exhibited a clear gender gap. The girls were immediately captured by the activity. From the first minute, they were fully immersed in the production of their posters and hardly spoke, as, cooperating in small groups, they were outdoing each other in beautification and creativity. To the second poster-making session, some girls even brought glittery decorations and an assortment of pictures, ribbons, plastic animals and glitter pens to complement the equipment I had provided¹⁷². The students took a lot of pride in their posters and some girls would refuse to roll them up to take home out of fear they could get damaged. One group even stayed at school after hours having sought special permission from their teacher to finish their poster (Figure 6.1).

¹⁷² I had brought large cardboard sheets in white, pink, yellow and blue for the students to choose, various types of pens and colours – marker pens, highlighter pens, pencils, colour pens, oil colours, coloured paper, magazines and newspapers to cut out, scissors and glue. Most participants chose to make the posters in pairs; some gathered in groups of three.



Figure 6.1: Girls at SMP8 absorbed by the production of their posters.

The girls' 'photo voice' of their environments reflected love and care. They creatively arranged their photos, added explanations and comments, drawings, magazine clippings¹⁷³, decorations and graphic art features. They decorated their posters with flowers, hearts and photos of animals and landscapes that represented the environment in mostly 'romantic' terms. To create a context for their photos on the posters, the students wrote about clean, green environments, plants and animals, fresh and healthy air. Two girls even created a piece of English language poetry at home to add to their poster, which they presented to me proudly and nervously at the start of the second session. "They look like love letters!" was the comment of one of my neighbours who saw the posters. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 display two of the girls' posters.

¹⁷³ From the newspapers and magazines I had brought (one animal magazine, two youth magazines and some daily newspapers), the students chose to cut out pictures of domestic animals and colourful plants.



Figures 6.2 and 6.3: Posters created by two groups of girls from among the English students.

The boys, on the other hand, reacted with much less interest to the activity of poster making. In week one of the activity, the boys started their poster outlines much less enthusiastically than the girls. In week two, all boys decided to stay away from the poster making workshop. Although the boys were in the clear minority in this group this sudden gender-imbalance was interesting. While exploring the neighbourhood with a disposable camera had seemed 'cool', poster-making now seemed to be judged as much more of a 'girly' activity. The boys also seemed unnerved by the continuous requirement of 'drawing', after having mapped their neighbourhood two weeks previously. While the girls jumped to the participatory spaces the poster activity created, the boys did not see the exercise as engaging, and thus refused their participation. Nevertheless, two of the boys finished their poster at home and surprisingly brought it to one of the following sessions.

Despite the difference in response from boys and girls, both genders arguably exercised power *to*. The girls discovered their power *to* express their feelings for the environment and create a view of sustainability that reflected their personal interest. The boys, in turn, claimed their power *to* refrain from the session and thus flagged their disinterest. I had made it clear from the start of the program that at any point students were certainly free to refrain from any activities they were uncomfortable with¹⁷⁴. In the case of the poster activity, the boys opted to use this space for *non*-participation, which the program opened parallel to its spaces for participation. Arguably, although perhaps being less 'forceful' than voicing criticism, the boys' non-participation is equally 'empowered' a reaction as the girls' participation. If, as Allen (2003) suggests, power is not an entity, essence or quantity that can be created and passed on 'in tact', then the power that resistance to participation

¹⁷⁴ The right of non-participation should be a basic ethical requirement of participatory research.

generates cannot be seen as less in quantity or quality than that of participation. And, if non-participation ‘empowers’ participants to indirectly voice their opinion, then a linear view of increased empowerment through participation appears to present a one-sided picture. A view that more participation means more empowerment and vice versa neglects the multiple forms power can take, which includes the power *to* resist, object and abstain. Thus, unlike the enhancing, engaged and proactive picture of power *to* that Arendt (1958) draws, power *to* can work in the opposite direction and include non-involvement, which does not necessarily need to have a negative connotation. Several authors have pointed to the significance of resistance as a form of protest, agency and power (Murray Li, 2000; Ong, 1988; Parker, 2002a). In the context of participatory research, non-participation may be interpreted as a failure to take action in the participatory spaces the research creates; yet it can be a very active and legitimate choice and reaction to research. Resistance to the project activities and the powers of non-participation also emerged in the workshops with the ‘Nature Lovers’, albeit with different effects.

6.6 ‘Nature loving’ in- and outdoors

‘Nature lovers’ are...devoted to outdoor activities, such as camping, mountain climbing, rafting and scuba diving. As participants in internationally recognized adventure sports, they are self-consciously cosmopolitan in the fashioning of their identities. The nature they learn to love is not the fields and forests of ordinary, parochial lives. As they learn to love nature, student nature lovers break away from the world of routine and authority to embrace the breadth and freedom of the outdoors (Tsing, 2005 122).

While never being rude or entirely disinterested, the group of ‘nature lovers’ rarely engaged in discussions of environment, culture and future in a serious manner. When Zahnur and I arrived, the nature lovers often reluctantly stopped their outdoor preparation activities –

such as climbing up a rope attached to the roof of the school car park, or cleaning outdoor equipment – to join the workshop activities. Quite understandably, the students seemed to find sitting in a circle on the school car park to discuss Bali's future significantly less gripping than dangling from a high quality outdoor equipment rope, testing their muscle strength for the next trip to Bali's mountains. Displaying a distinctly 'teenaged' attitude, the group also seemed highly uncomfortable when talking about personal issues, and often ridiculed the more serious discussions about culture and religion. Zahnur and I regularly decided to terminate debates, either because of continuous giggling or because of students' lack of engagement. A similar reaction accompanied many of the creative expression exercises. As with the 'English students', I facilitated a 'photo voice' activity on meaningful places and spaces in the environment with the 'nature lovers' early on in the program. Although the group was as excited about photographing as the 'English students' were, the discussion of photos among the 'nature lovers' was slow and mostly unserious, with some students ridiculing each others' motives. The subsequent poster-making exercise generated equally mild excitement, on the part of both boys and girls. In a 'crisis meeting', Zahnur and I discussed how we could possibly attract this challenging group's interest. If not the 'nature lovers', who, amongst the school's students, would be interested in exploring environment, future and sustainability?

The 'nature lovers'' reaction to the workshop program reflects two issues: First 'nature loving' cannot be labelled a universal phenomenon, and, second, in Indonesia 'nature lover' groups are an expression of a national youth culture centred on certain activities set in the environment. As Tsing (2005) notes, the Indonesian 'nature lovers' clubs that can be

found at most high schools and universities evolved as non-politicised outdoor societies in the wake of the New Order ban of student organisations. Nature loving has since become a form of youth expression that includes a strong sense of exploring the rural ‘other’, a domestication of international forms of adventure tourism, which involves the utilisation of modern equipment, and an appreciation for Indonesian ‘national environments’:

Indonesian nature loving blends characteristics of nature-making projects from around the world: It is part nature romanticism, part scout troop discipline and loyalty, and part commercially sponsored adventure campaign (Tsing, 2005 126).

Nature lovers venture out into the Indonesian wilderness to study and explore, to find serenity, adventure and freedom, and to live what Indonesian society has labelled a ‘hippie’ lifestyle – yet from a starting point of urban sophistication. Given the culture and history of ‘nature loving’ in Indonesia, although interactive, my workshop program failed to cater for the adventure-seeking, outdoor spirit of ‘nature lovers’.

Our particular group of ‘nature lovers’ proved that, when their own interpretations of ‘nature loving’ were acknowledged in the workshop activities, the students could work much more proactively. In our crisis meeting, Zahnur and I decided to modify the draft workshop plan and, in response to the group’s apparent love for the outdoors and *‘jalan-jalan’* (going out, walking/driving around), we included an excursion to Sanur Beach. The ‘nature lovers’ excitement about the beach session already became evident during its planning phase. The teenagers enthusiastically debated who was going to share whose motorbikes to get to the beach. At the time of the workshop, the entire group (plus at least one student I had never seen before) rolled up at the PPLH offices almost 15 minutes early (an unprecedented event!). The beach session kicked off with a visioning exercise at the

PPLH office in Sanur, during which students formulated their visions for Bali in the year 2020. In discussing the visions, I followed an ‘asset-based’ rather than ‘needs-based’ approach (Gibson-Graham, 2006), focusing on what assets were already there for the teenagers to draw on, rather than focusing on the shortcomings that prevented them from moving towards their visions. In anticipation of the beach session, the students accepted this ‘serious’ introductory activity with concentration and compliance. The aim of the subsequent outdoor session was to forge connections between personal visions and ‘real life environments’, starting a reflective process on how visions can be achieved.

In the subsequent field activity, the ‘nature lovers’ lived up to their adventure and outdoor image (Tsing, 2005). Three field groups of ‘nature lovers’ cheerfully wandered off to three different sections of Sanur beach to assess the beach environment on an activity sheet. The sheet included the task of observing the state of the natural environment, built environment and infrastructure, the functional use and the social and spiritual dimensions of the space (see Appendix 4 for activity sheets). A question the groups were asked to answer was whether the state of Sanur beach matched their newly developed visions for Bali’s future, and further, which assets they could build on to transform the space into something closer to this vision. The activity included interviewing people on the beach, asking how they would like to see the beach environment in the future. Although initially shy to approach strangers for interviews, the ‘nature lovers’ seemed to genuinely enjoy their role as ‘outdoor investigators’, and filled out the activity sheets in an extraordinarily ‘serious’ manner. At discussion time, students could not wait to exchange their experiences of scary and funny interviews (one girl bragging to have interviewed an Indonesian-speaking tourist

– something none of the others had dared, despite the abundance of tourists at Sanur Beach). A subsequent discussion and group exchange of information gathered on the activity sheets worked less well, and the students started to lose concentration. As it was getting late, the teenagers seemed to be content with sitting on the beach – which we ended up doing until the sun went down.

The ‘nature lovers’’ differing reaction to various program activities can be seen as a way of exercising power. Through their non-participation in discussion and creative tasks carried out on the school grounds, they expressed their frustration with the limited resemblance the program bore to their idea of ‘nature loving’. What became evident in this program was a divergence between the students’ motivation to join the ‘nature lovers’ and their own understanding of their ‘nature loving’ identity, and the expectations of myself as a researcher, the school principal and the program convener. Discussing issues of environment and sustainability on a parking lot rather than exploring mountains seemed to match the school principal’s view of his ‘nature loving’ group much more than that of the students¹⁷⁵. However, through their resistance and non-participation in ‘un-interesting’ events, the students impacted the course of the program and indirectly provoked the inclusion of an outdoor session in their program. Thus, it can be argued, the students indirectly participated in the framing of the program through their *non-participation*, and exercised the power *to* change its course. They defended their interests and views of what ‘nature loving’ should entail and forced me to tailor the sessions more to their needs. The ‘nature lovers’’ seeming indifference thus had a democratising effect on the workshop

¹⁷⁵ Against all expectations, the group of nature lovers commented very positively on the program during the feedback and evaluation session. The beach session, of course, took up first place in the list of most enjoyable activities.

outline, in which youth conceptions of ‘nature loving’ partly overturned those of us ‘adult facilitators’.

In these examples of the workshop experiences with the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’, power was mobilised through both participation and non-participation. Although very similar in its content design, the two programs evoked differing responses and ways in which power and participation intersected¹⁷⁶. The ‘English girls’ reacted positively to the poster-making activity and used the space for participation to voice their views on Balinese environments. The boys, in turn, refused to participate in extensive ‘drawing’, similar to the ‘nature lovers’, who did not favour possibilities for ‘indoor’ creative expression. In their reactions, all students exercised power *to*, even where their reactions may have contradicted the notion of ‘empowerment’ through participation. Generally, students did not jump to each and every one of the program’s opportunities to voice their opinion, to contribute notions of sustainability, or to be ‘empowered’ through ‘participation’. Thus, a view that students in Bali are limited in their creative expression by Balinese pedagogies of formal education and are only waiting to be ‘given a voice’ in critical debates about sustainability would be a naïve interpretation.

In a linear concept of ‘more participation’ equalling ‘more empowerment’, it could be argued that the educational experiments with the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’

¹⁷⁶ This difference was due to the students’ age, the mix of participants (the group of ‘nature lovers’ contained an equal amount of boys and girls, the ‘English students’ were mostly girls), the groups’ backgrounds and recruitment process, and the participants’ interests and motivations. Due to their main interest in learning English, the ‘English students’ found the workshop activities more engaging than textbook English classes and were happy to embrace the environmental content. By contrast, the ‘nature lovers’ expectations from joining this extracurricular group may have been disappointed. Being assigned an existing group and replacing their ‘usual’ schedule with my workshop program was a very different set-up to assembling a number of volunteers who wanted to improve their English.

failed. Both programs only generated limited participation. Yet, in both programs students generated power by occupying the spaces of both participation and non-participation. In a diverse typology of power, the two programs ‘empowered’ students to negotiate the program activities and to defend and develop their own. Such empowerment often emerged at crisis points, for example the crisis of my participants caused by the divergence between the school management’s, my own and the students’ ideas of nature loving. Such crisis points also played an important role in the more intensive ‘Green Team’ program.

6.7 Competition and cooperation in the ‘Green Team’ – The powers of pre-existing subjectivation

From the angle of participation, the Green Team probably had the most spaces to contribute to the shape of their workshop program. The intensive schedule and the fact that the students themselves developed long-term programs from scratch created interesting dynamics and results that I will turn to in more detail in the coming chapters. For the sake of this argument around participation and ‘empowerment’, there is one particular point I want to highlight in regard to the Green Team workshops. This point is the influence of discourse, subjectivation and institutional arrangements outside the program on the constructions of power inside the program. The following stories from the Green Team projects show how constructions of power ‘crept’ into the program and affected how power was generated among its participants.

The Green Team was a group of volunteers, recruited through an extremely competitive selection process that simultaneously rested on and conjured imaginaries of ‘power’.

Although students in Bali are allegedly used to competition (PPLH, 2003c pers. comm.; 2004a pers. comm.), the selection process did generate real and perceived imbalances of ‘power’ that created tension and jealousy among the applicants¹⁷⁷. For many applicants, the selection process, which tested their ‘suitability’ for a team that they had only a very vague idea about, was an unnerving process. Most of the students I observed during the interviews were nervous; one girl was so distressed that she burst into tears. There seemed to be a lot of suspicion and tension amongst those applicants who mostly had not met before. The interaction among the participants, both in personal communication as well as performance during group tasks, showed frictions between students representing different schools. For example, when presenting the results of the group discussions that followed the interviews, students from the high school SMA4, commonly referred to as the ‘best school’ in Denpasar, acted extremely confidently and repeatedly mentioned the name of their school. Some of the applicants from other schools exchanged unnerved looks and rolled their eyes, while one boy whispered: “does he think he is a TV presenter or what!”¹⁷⁸ Perceived disparities between students and schools in ‘status’ or ‘competence’ seemed to create imaginaries of power – in this case the power some students were perceived to exercise *over* others. Students used the reputation of their school as a power tool in this competitive environment. To me as an observer, the selection day seemed a microcosm of those competitive structures within and between schools that shape the subjectivations of educational life in Bali.

¹⁷⁷ In one case, two friends who had gone through the selection process together were separated when one student was selected onto the team and his friend was not (both also took part in my ‘nature lovers’ program). In consequence, the boy who had been denied access to the team did not attend the ‘nature lovers’ sessions for several weeks.

¹⁷⁸ “Anggap diri presenter TV atau apa?”

The theme of competition that is writ so large in Indonesian education re-emerged at other phases of the program beyond the recruitment stage, yet with different effects. When planning the film team program, for example, there was the initial idea of making two films. An NGO staff member involved in the film team organisation pointed out that by having two film projects competing against each other students would contribute as best they could. Surprisingly, when given the choice, the Green Team members spontaneously and unanimously voted against this option. They argued that they wanted to be ‘one team’ and work together on one film project only. It was fascinating how, after only two initial workshops, the students had become so familiar with each other that they dared to unite and resist the concept of ‘competition’ in this particular case. The competitive feelings that had prevailed between them only a couple of weeks earlier had turned into a team spirit that enabled the film team to form a united front against a practice that suddenly they saw as misfitting the atmosphere of the film project. In this example, students reacted to institutional structures of formal educational life ‘creeping’ into the program by spontaneously exercising associational power *to* resist. They shifted the patterns of subjectivation from formal education and created their own educational space in the context of this project.

At ‘crisis points’ in the program, constructions of power and patterns of behaviour adopted from processes of subjectivation outside the program often emerged with increased intensity. For example, when the deadline for the film production was approaching, the students’ hesitation to engage in decision-making had turned the editing process into a particularly sluggish exercise. I eventually lost my nerve. I had a ‘crisis discussion’ with

the NGO staff and asked why they thought the Green Team members, who were now quite familiar with each other and us, were finding it so hard to make collective decisions. After all, the atmosphere in the editing lab was relaxed and far from competitive or intimidating. The staff was quite amused by my state of panic and referred to cultural differences. These were “typically Balinese kids”, I was told, and I could not compare their behaviour and progress to that of an Australian group of students. The NGO staff suggested that my presence as a ‘Western researcher’ and ‘program sponsor’ might intimidate the teenagers, and hinder some participants from contributing freely. We thus agreed to carry out a small experiment: the PPLH education officer and I would stay away from a couple of editing sessions and leave the editing team alone with the technical officer. The goal was to see whether this change in group constitution and environment would make any changes to the students’ contributions. The result of this exercise was that, despite reducing the number of ‘adults’ in the room and removing me as a potentially threatening influence, there was no significant change in the group interaction. The technical officer had to revert to giving students choices between two editing options, and thus resume the power of the facilitator *over* the production process.

As the foregoing example shows, perceived notions of power attached to certain personalities and figures affected the ways participants interacted. As the ‘program facilitator’, introduced to the students as a ‘foreign researcher’ who had come to Bali to research education and the environment, I was initially seen as the equivalent of a teacher. In this position with its attached ‘power as authority’, I was expected to make decisions and lead students towards results. In the case of the Green Team program, I was also the

‘sponsor’ of the activity in a monetary sense (while the NGO contributed infrastructure, staff, time and expertise). This set up may have led some students to believe that as a ‘sponsor’ I would have to be in some way ‘satisfied’ with the outcome of the program¹⁷⁹. The role of authority I was cast in may initially have kept the students from participating actively or from expressing criticism. The teenagers, on the other hand, came into the program with self-perceptions that were partly based on their experiences with formal and informal education in Bali.

Difficulties in decision-making such as those that caused the film editing crisis emerged in all three student programs. Students exhibited considerable difficulty with making collective decisions in small groups, and with pushing a task or discussion ahead without a facilitator’s input. These difficulties were exacerbated in the Green Team projects, where students were faced with comparatively challenging decision-making tasks. The teenagers’ performance in decision-making reflects processes of subjectivation that Balinese teenagers encounter, as well as the subject positions created for students. School activities in formal education are usually clearly outlined and firmly in the hands of the teacher; rarely do students develop tasks or discussions in small groups. In the Balinese educational system, students are not rewarded for decision-making or critical thinking. Moreover, in Indonesian and Balinese culture forcefully expressing an opinion is regarded as obnoxious and disrespectful. Balinese children learn to answer direct questions with a smile – or with an indirect answer. For example, when I asked the Green Team girls what drink I should get

¹⁷⁹ In a concluding evaluation session with the NGO staff we discussed whether the students had actually been aware that I had paid for the program through my research funds. While one staff member thought that the students had probably not noticed this detail, another staff member felt the fact that I turned up to each session with a bag of snacks and drinks and also paid for lunches may have been a giveaway.

them from the corner shop, they would reply: “It is up to you, Tina”. Even my insistent questioning and my arguments that after all *they* were the ones who would have to drink the drinks would not make them give me a direct answer. Thus, the ways in which participants felt they *were able to* engage and interact depended on subject positions they were used to occupying outside the workshop context.

The interplay between power constructions around participants’ roles and subject positions created in- and outside the program impacted on its participatory nature. In some situations, although an activity foresaw group decision-making, there was no option but to make the students choose between two ideas that had come up during a discussion. For example, in the film making process we would resort to asking students: Would you like this scene to end in a fade-out or not? Would you like the subtitles to fly in or to be visible from the start? Despite all ‘participatory’ intent, we often saw ourselves resorting to the ‘guided’ teaching methods that often dominate formal school lessons in Bali. When performing tasks that were new and challenging students often retracted to those participatory spaces they felt preserved or recreated the ‘power balance’ among students and facilitator that exists in the space of formal education. This created an over-engagement of us researchers through the facilitation of the project; a danger Pain and Francis (2003) note in their critical reflection on participatory research methodology. So in this case, the existing power constructions and subjectivations experienced by students produced barriers to participation. These prompted us as facilitators to react in ways that, again, restricted the group’s possibilities for participation even more, thereby creating a self-reinforcing effect.

So, two processes affected participation and ‘empowerment’ in this workshop program: Constructions of power ‘attached’ to research participants that shaped the interactions among all participants, and existing discourses, subjectivations and institutionalised practices (e.g. competition) from outside the program. At the same time, the program created a new educational environment in which these two factors had to be renegotiated constantly through interaction in its activities. Through the diversity of its participants, the workshops created a space in which different discourses and processes of subjectivation met, were unsettled, and recombined. Thus, interaction and participation were contingent on a complex interplay between pre-existing and newly formed imaginaries of power. Because the program setup differed from the usual teaching methods engaged in formal education, the subject positions and imaginaries of power ‘attached to’ the participants in formal education were unsettled. The teenagers seemed to experience a ‘crisis’ in their notions of how facilitators should interact – they continuously needed to renegotiate these interactions in the context of the program. In the example of our editing experiment without ‘adult’ influence, the NGO constructed my position as a ‘figure of authority’ in the editing process as more powerful than the students may have done. The technical officer, in turn, did not regard his own position as powerful or authoritative enough to ‘intimidate’ students in their responses, while in reality his technical expertise may have had a similarly ‘threatening’ effect on students as my university degrees. Students, in turn, saw themselves facing new tasks and responsibilities that required acting in subject positions they were not familiar with, facilitators that did not take up those roles of ‘authority’ students are acquainted with, and spaces for exercising associational power they had not inhabited before. Assuming one’s power *to* in the program involved getting used to new tasks and

responsibilities as well as negotiating the power other participants in the program appeared to or were portrayed to 'hold'. The example of the film group teamwork and the formation of one film team only is one where a crisis point led to the renegotiation of institutional arrangements. Here, the students themselves unsettled the discourse of 'competition' and renegotiated it in the context of the program.

6.8 Conclusion

The perception that increased participation in research and development will lead to 'empowerment' is problematic. A sense that more participation is necessarily 'better' assumes a linear understanding of power and neglects the multiple forms of powers. If, as Allen (2003) suggests, power is diverse and involves various types, from power *over* to power *to*, through associational power, authority, seduction and control, then participation does not necessarily only create associational power *to* perform collective action. Neither can power *to* only be created through active participation. The *non*-participation of students in the school programs also generated power *to*, even though this power may not have been of the associational or pro-active kind that participatory research seems to aim for.

A different issue is that, although non-participation in the program mobilised power, it did not necessarily create knowledges or discourses of sustainability. It is important that a distinction is made between participation and 'empowerment' (through the diffuse ways in which power takes effect) on the one hand, and participation and the creation of sustainability discourses on the other. Through non-participation students may exercise power, show their disinterest in sustainability, or exercise their right *not* to be involved in

discourse-formation about the concept. 'Failures' of participatory structures do not necessarily mean less agency, yet, in the case of this program they arguably limited the extent to which students contributed to shaping sustainability discourses. For example, those students who created posters to document their sense of environment and subsequently explained their visions to fellow students participated more in the creation of sustainability discourses than students who never handed in a poster in the first place. Thus, participation as well as non-participation may generate power. However, if empowerment is understood as 'enhancing the ability of students to contribute to sustainability discourses', then non-participation does not foster such empowerment in very proactive ways. Education *as* sustainability necessitates the proactive engagement of students in discourse formation. It would be false, however, to see this engagement as the only form in which education may 'empower' students. This becomes particularly important in a cultural context in which critical thinking and vocal debate may be seen as less crucial.

Thus, the relationship between participation and 'empowerment' or the mobilisation of power is much more complex than a simple, self-enhancing function of 'the more the better'. Participatory intent quite understandably does not always lead to actual participation on the part of research subjects. Furthermore, non-participation is not only the research subjects' fundamental right, it can also generate types of power and forge an empowerment of research subjects to react to and negotiate a research program. I argue that in the context of a diverse typology of power, non-participation cannot be seen as a failure to 'empower'. It would be equally reductionist to see the mere occurrence of any type of power as a step towards advancing sustainability. In any type of education, students

arguably exercise some sort of power – be that through resistance or non-engagement. It is thus necessary to rethink linear notions of power. It may be equally necessary to discuss the focus of ‘education *as* sustainability’ and many other recent educational approaches on ‘empowerment’ and on the assumption that participatory structures *per se* are good for sustainability. Researching how participation and sustainability interact may be a more useful approach to develop sustainability education. Where and how my experiment of education *as* sustainability created new knowledges and discourses of sustainability will be the focus of the coming chapters.

Chapter 7

‘Sustainable’ subjects and their constitutive outside

7.1 Are political leaders recyclable?

“There is really nothing we can do!” Additya, one of the ‘nature lovers’ declared in a workshop session on action planning¹⁸⁰. He had just developed an action plan on improving the waste management at his school, but saw its implementation as unlikely due to a lack of facilities and enforcement of regulations. “Students do not always obey the rules on waste management, but the headmaster is the one who should be enforcing these rules – with sanctions¹⁸¹!”, Abraham exclaimed. Another student pointed to a lack of garbage bins on the school premises. “There used to be a compost heap at school so we could separate organic and non-organic waste”, the teacher said, “but if there is only ever one or two teachers who care and take over the responsibility, it does not work”¹⁸². The compost heap had been removed and waste was being burnt on the school grounds again. The action planning workshop turned into an hour of listing problems and obstacles to action. After several, failed attempts to point out possibilities for change, we facilitators left the workshop with a sense of gloomy ‘powerlessness’. “So”, Zahnur turned to me on the way to the bus stop with a worried look on her face, “nothing can be done!” (Field notes, 2004).

Despite the negative outlook of the debate, I decided to take up the issue of waste management again in the subsequent workshop, using the participatory method of role playing. Each student drew a small piece of paper with a secret role to play in a debate about the issue of waste management at school. The roles included a ‘student’, ‘representative of the student council’, ‘teacher’, ‘school principal’, ‘NGO worker’,

¹⁸⁰ After the excursion to Sanur Beach there was a clear slump in participant numbers. Only two boys had turned up for this workshop. When two ‘nature lover’ alumni unexpectedly arrived and joined in with the workshop, we formed two groups. Each group filled out an action planning activity sheet (see Appendix 5) to formulate an action program they could carry out themselves to advance their vision of Bali in 2020.

¹⁸¹ “Siswa tidak selalu menghiraukan aturan sampah di sekolah, tetapi seharusnya ada sanksi dari kepala sekolahnya”

¹⁸² “Dulu kan ada kompos disini dan kita pisahkan sampah organik dan anorganik, tapi kalau cuma ada satu atau dua guru yang peduli, ngak jadinya”.

'cleaning staff' and 'government official'. After some initial shyness the play became lively and students had fun speculating who was playing what role. We then asked the 'nature lovers' to 'switch back' into their 'selves' to discuss the action plan some of the students had prepared the previous week. This plan contained ideas for recycling paper at school.

"It is fun making recycled paper, we learned to do this as part of the PPLH Green School Program", Dewi, the group leader, spontaneously shouted, "how about we collect old paper once a month, maybe after Wiyata Mandala [a free student newspaper] has been delivered and lies around everywhere after students have finished reading it!"¹⁸³. Zahnur picked up this idea and asked spontaneously: "Okay, who would like to make recycle paper?" All hands went up immediately. The 'nature lovers' went on to visualise the idea. "But we do not have all the equipment!"¹⁸⁴, one girl noted, referring to a bucket and a mixer. The teenagers agreed to put together money to buy buckets, to borrow a mixer from Abraham's mum, and pick up paper-making frames from PPLH. Suddenly, all barriers seemed broken. The students dashed off to classrooms to start collecting old paper and piling it up in the schoolyard (see Figure 7.1). This session ended with enthusiastic discussion: When to start soaking the paper? What colours would the recycled paper have? Were the pictures of President Megawati Sukarnoputri, which had been taken off the walls to make space for the newly elected president 'SBY', suitable for recycling? (The teacher cringed at this proposition) (Field notes, 2004).

The paper making workshop went ahead only a week later, organised and performed entirely by the 'nature lovers' themselves, without the presence of their teacher. It seemed that the role play had suddenly opened a space for waste management activism that I had previously thought unthinkable with this challenging group.

¹⁸³ "Membuat kertas daur ulang asyik kan, dulu kan itu proyek sekolah hijau PPLH...Gimana kalau kita kumpulkan bekas kertas tiap bulan, mungkin setelah Wiyata Mandala datang dan keliling di mana-mana setelah dibaca anak sekolah".

¹⁸⁴ "Tapi nggak ada alatnya, misalnya "".



Figure 7.1: The 'nature lovers' present their 'harvest' of used paper for recycling.

7.2 Mounting garbage: Waste management debates in urban Bali

The fact that the 'nature lovers' first thought of waste management when planning their future-oriented action planning, is not surprising. Garbage management has become an issue of public debate and media attention, particularly around the urban centre of Denpasar. During my fieldwork, waste management problems and pollution featured regularly in Balinese newspapers. To name just a few examples, in late 2004, the newspaper *Nusa* (2004 3, Dec 16) featured the headline "West Wind Turns Kuta into a Garbage Bin"¹⁸⁵ and reported that 200 truck loads of garbage had to be transported from Kuta Beach to a nearby garbage tip to prepare Bali's most notorious tourist beach for its daily influx of foreign and local visitors. In February 2005, the same paper presented two feature articles on the "problem with managing liquid waste" (*Nusa*, 2005 3, Feb 24). On

¹⁸⁵ Angin Barat Membuat Kuta Seperti 'Tempat Pembuangan Sampah' (*Nusa*, 2004 3, Dec 16).

February 11, the Denpost (2005 2), a section of the Bali Post that reports on the city of Denpasar, contained the complaint of Denpasar residents about illegal waste dumping in “wild garbage tips” in urban areas. Shortly after that, the Bali Post (2005 13, Feb 15) dedicated a special page to waste management and the separation of organic and non-organic waste.

Possibly in response to the mounting media pressure on the deteriorating garbage situation in Bali, garbage management also became a more publicised political issue. In early 2005, the government of Denpasar, in partnership with the Governor of the province of Bali, launched the *'Denpasar kota bebas sampah'* (Denpasar city without garbage) campaign. In a timely effort that matched its political agenda for the upcoming local elections in 2005, the government equipped most schools with *'sekolahku peduli sampah'* (my school cares about garbage) banners, and fit all garbage collection trucks with *'Denpasar bebas sampah'* (Denpasar free of garbage) signs (Figure 7.2). The fact that large government banners were now spanned across their main entrance meant visible commitment – it put high schools under very direct pressure to respond to the wider political rhetoric of a ‘waste free’ capital city with internal action at the school.



Figure 7.2: Garbage management campaign. Mega, a member of the Green Team research group is about to enter SMA5 beneath the '*Sekolahku peduli sampah plastik*' ('My school cares about plastic waste') banner.

Many of my respondents named garbage accumulation in public spaces and natural areas as Bali's most concerning environmental problem (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.; Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.; SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.) "The worst is garbage. This is the biggest worry. In the city of Denpasar, that is... We are afraid Bali will be like Jakarta"¹⁸⁶ (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.), one teacher told me, while shaking his head. In all workshop programs, the participants showed a strong concern for pollution and garbage management. For the photo voice, for example, many students chose motives of garbage pollution and waste management in Bali. The photos in Figure 7.3, which display the growing mountains of garbage in Denpasar's streets and rivers, were taken by the 'nature lovers':

¹⁸⁶ "Paling sungguh itu sampah. Ini paling rawat. Di kota Denpasar itu... kita khawatir Bali kaya di Jakarta" (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).



Figure 7.3: Photo voice. Pictures students from SMA6 took of garbage clogging both urban rivers (left and right) in Denpasar and the ecologically vulnerable mangrove forests on Bali's South East Coast (top).

Hopes for improved waste management and a decrease in urban pollution also featured in the future visions for Bali in the year 2020 the 'English students' framed. One student wrote: "I hope in the year 2020 Bali will be free from the pollution Balinese society causes, [that Balinese will] no longer throw garbage around, such as into rivers". Another participant stated, "I wish that in the year 2020 Bali has become free of pollution and garbage that is scattered on the street and in rivers; because garbage that is on the street and in rivers can cause sickness".

The Green Team research group felt it was important to contribute to the existing debate around garbage and waste management from a youth perspective. The students were interested to research the behaviour of high school students in regards to waste

management at school. Their study addresses a research gap, as there is not much existing literature on youth waste management and environmental behaviour in Bali. The only specific study I could locate was one by I Gusti Raka Panji Tisna (1998), who conducted a survey of student environmental awareness in Bali in the context of a Masters Thesis, based on a quantitative questionnaire with high school students in Denpasar¹⁸⁷. The survey, which formed part of an international study on youth environmental awareness, concludes that Balinese students have a high awareness of key environmental issues and concepts, which, however, does not necessarily translate into a highly developed knowledge of these concepts. The respondents showed more awareness of ecological and scientific concepts of environment, such as the 'greenhouse effect' or 'carbon cycle', than of more social and political concepts such as 'carrying capacity' or 'sustainable development'. Despite this awareness, they could not always link these concepts to their correct definitions. Tisna found that 100 per cent of the participating girls and 98 per cent of the boys felt that student behaviour in garbage management needed to be improved. In Tisna's (1998) survey, students ranked their own capacity to contribute to environmental action as only modest¹⁸⁸. The study measured the actual involvement of Balinese high school students in environmental action as moderate. While 63 per cent stated they had taken part in a clean-up or anti-litter scheme the students recounted little involvement in other types of environmental action. Nevertheless, 42.8 per cent of participants in Tisna's (1998) study expressed a *desire* to be involved in environmental action.

¹⁸⁷ The survey was conducted at three high schools in Denpasar, two public high schools (SMA1 and SMA3) and one private catholic high school (SMUK). The international study was conducted by an Australian team headed by Professor Yencken of the University of Melbourne and involved research in 15 countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The internationally standardised questionnaire, adjusted slightly to fit the Balinese cultural context, was conducted with a sample of 1271 students between 16 and 17 years of age in Denpasar (Tisna, 1998).

¹⁸⁸ 71.1 per cent chose 'medium' on a scale of five from very low to very high.

The Green Team decided to carry out a similar survey-based inquiry, yet with a focus on waste management. The Green Team waste study, to my knowledge, is the first Denpasar-wide attempt instigated by Balinese high school students to generate knowledge about the performance of fellow students in environmental and waste management behaviour. It is an important effort of students to research and create new knowledge about an aspect of sustainability they themselves care about. In the remainder of this chapter, the Green Team experience with conducting this study will act as the platform to explore how different processes of education, discourse and socialisation form 'subjects of waste management' in a Balinese urban environment. The chapter presents some of the findings the waste management study revealed about waste management practices of Balinese youth. It further explores how conducting the waste management study impacted the Green Team members themselves, their awareness and waste management performance. I discuss both in the context of different environments of subjectivation that Balinese students are embedded in. Before moving on to youth waste management and subjectivation, I want to consider a few points about the processes of subjectivation more generally.

7.3 The subjects of waste management

In the 'nature lover' story on paper recycling I presented at the start of this chapter, the subject positions as 'students' and 'nature lovers' seemed to inhibit the ways in which the participants were able to see themselves as becoming active in waste management at school. In the initial debate, the limitations of the institutional and organisational culture at school stifled ideas for activism. Then, the role play suddenly opened up a space for action. Playing different roles demanded of students to think themselves into and perform subject

positions that were not their own, to consider what languages these roles would use and what discourses they would tap into. It appeared as if thinking themselves outside their subject positions as 'nature lovers' broadened their imagination to see themselves perform new activities.

What happened in this workshop can be seen as a short glimpse of re-subjectivation, brought about by a change in discourse that emerged through performance. Innes and Boher (1999) argue that role play can be beneficial in the context of deliberation; by assuming roles that are not their own, subjects engage in "playful imagination, which people normally suppress" (Innes and Boher, 1999 12). Such a performative approach to deliberation supports a dynamic and contestable nature of reality-construction (Healy, 2003 99 and 100); it "allows players to let go of actual or assumed constraints and to develop ideas for creating new conditions and possibilities" (Innes and Boher, 1999 12). Besides inspiring debate and creative interaction, the role play of the 'nature lovers' worked as a catalyst for thinking and performing new subject positions. It created a moment in the workshop program where old patterns of subjectivation were broken and a process of re-subjectivation could suddenly take place.

Gibson-Graham (1994; 1996) and Cameron and Gibson (2005) confirm that action research can create new discourses which may lead to re-subjectivation. The interaction of subjects in action research can generate "new languages and representations [that] shift entrenched understandings and open up new and previously unthinkable possibilities" (Cameron and Gibson, 2005 328). Gibson-Graham (1994; 2002) conducted action research in 'declining'

Australian mining towns, where many residents had started to occupy the subject position of 'economic losers' constructed for them by discourses of growth and deindustrialisation. In the action research the researchers and research subjects exchanged life stories, workshopped community issues and brainstormed those assets and skills the community already possessed outside the mining economy. Uncovering existing skills, talents and non-capitalist activities through discussion created new languages in which research subjects could frame their experiences, histories and situations. Rather than as victims of a dysfunctional branch of the Australian economy, they started to see themselves as parts of a vibrant community that was already constructively involved in many non-capitalist economic activities (Gibson-Graham, 1994). Thus, reframing languages and discourses led to openings for re-subjection and experimentation with alternative subject positions.

As Gibson-Graham (2006) argue, openings for re-subjection emerge at fissures within discourse, governmentality and subjectivation. Such 'fissures' occur because subjectivation is an "active process that is always ongoing and never completely successful" (Gibson-Graham, 2006 24). In processes of governmentality, as Gibson-Graham (2006 13, referring to Butler, 1997) emphasise, subjects are "never fully subjected". Parker (2002a) makes a similar argument in respect to the never complete indoctrination of Balinese students by Indonesian government rhetoric under the New Order regime. As I have shown in earlier chapters, resistance against rule and subjectivation exist even in strictly regulated educational environments. 'Nature lovers', for example, 'rebel' against school rules and discipline by wearing 'hippie' outfits rather than their school uniforms, by carving "I love you" into their school desk, or by planning to soak pictures of their former president in a

bucket of water. These actions reflect ruptures or discontinuities in the process of subjectivation the educational system in Indonesia (and through it, the state) envisages for students. It is exactly these fissures in subjectivation where new subject positions can be thought and room is created to inhabit new ones. As Gibson Graham (2006 13, emphasis added) note, "liberation inheres in the *failures* of subjection – the potential of the subject to be other, the potential for unexpected changes of direction".

Fissures of subjectivation can be triggered by action research (Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Gibson-Graham, 1996; 2006). Action research brings together varying and potentially conflicting discourses, governmentalities and subjectivations which the research participants engage in both inside and outside an action research project. In this 'collision' and (re-)connection of discourses, action research may force or encourage participants to temporarily abandon existing subject positions and renegotiate new ones. For example, in the crisis of decision-making that occurred during the film-making editing process I described in Chapter 6, the subject positions students were used to from formal education became ineffective when tackling the decision-making the film project demanded of them. This created a 'crisis point' for students at which they had to imagine and test out new subject positions that enabled them to negotiate their newly combined roles of students, research participants and film editors. In this case, the action research itself created a fissure of subjectivation that demanded a renegotiation of subject positions.

Beyond creating 'crisis points' for subjects, action research may engender processes of re-subjectivation by encouraging research participants to *consider* and *evaluate* the very

processes of subjectivation and governmentality they are involved in. Action research has been linked to what Friere (1970) in his 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' calls 'conscientisation'. The communicative and interactive elements of action research may lead participants to think about what constitutes their subject positions in the first place. Through the research, "people become conscious of their prior socialisation, of the beliefs, attitudes, aspirations and ideologies that they have unconsciously 'internalised' or been indoctrinated into" (Krimerman, 2000 72). In an environment of collective exchange and interaction, research participants may develop a greater awareness of the processes and languages of the subjectivation they experience *outside* the research. Based on this awareness, the participants might then develop new vocabularies and languages and create environments of subjectivation *within* a research space. This may involve unsettling existing discourses that create social reality and establish codes of conduct according to which subjects have been governing themselves outside the research (Foucault, 1991; Johnston et al., 2000; Rose, 1999). In this way, research participants themselves may create breaks in subjectivation that make new subject positions possible.

The re-making of subject positions becomes easier when there are languages already in place that make alternative realities thinkable and speakable. Discursive and institutional environments that support such new subject positions create what Gibson-Graham (2006 17) refer to as a "constitutive outside". Such a 'constitutive outside' becomes critical where moments of re-subjectivation triggered by action research are to be transferred into *sustained* action, and where new subject positions are to be inhabited long-term. *Outside* the action research environment, new discourses and subject positions face a different

discursive environment, which research participants have to renegotiate in the light of those languages, discourses and subject positions they developed *within* the action research. In some cases, subjects face external discourses that are fundamentally different from, or even contradictory to, newly developed subject positions. They may face so-called 'hegemonic discourses' that may be much less supportive than the discourses that were created in the research environment (Gibson-Graham, 2006; McGregor, 2004). This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the coming chapter.

Performing against the grain of an established and non-supportive discourse and performative environment can be a struggle. So, a 'constitutive outside' that enables and fosters the continuous performance of new subject positions is critical:

It is clear to us that a politics of possibility (and the theoretical choices that constitute it) cannot simply be put 'out there' in the world with the hope that it will flourish. It needs to be sustained by the continual work of making and remaking a space for it to exist in the face of what threatens to undermine and destroy it...disclosing and sustaining new worlds requires nourishment over more than a few years (Gibson-Graham, 2006 xxvii and 162).

Thus, for action research to be sustainable, research needs to work on creating new subject positions *as well as* cultivating a constitutive inside in which these can thrive. In the case of the 'nature lover' paper workshop, the moment of re-subjectivation the role play created resulted in a one-day paper-making workshop. The fleeting idea that the 'nature lovers' could engage in paper-making on a regular basis was quickly abandoned when the teenagers saw how time-consuming the process of paper-making actually is. The question arose: who would take on the organisation of the paper making each week? After all, the 'nature lovers' had numerous other activities on their minds, such as camping excursions

and climbing tours. In the existing framework of the 'nature lover' program, the subject position of 'recycled paper makers' was not sustainable.

These theoretical thoughts on subjectivation, re-subjectivation and the 'constitutive outside' will inform the discussion around both research process and findings of the Green Team waste management project. The set-up of this research project was intriguing, as I was in fact researching teenagers conducting research about other teenagers. So, the study on waste management impacted both researchers and research participants. Taking part in the survey encouraged the participating students to evaluate their own opinions and practices. Meanwhile, studying the practices of fellow students led to a process of self-evaluation among the Green Team members. Both processes brought up issues of rule, performance, subjectivation and practice in regards to youth waste management performance that I now want to turn to. I discuss whether a constitutive outside exists for Balinese youth to engage in sustainable practices, and how students themselves evaluate the support for environmentally conscious waste management in their personal environments.

7.4 Youth researchers at work: A study on students' waste management behaviour

When we asked the Green Team students to develop a research topic for their study broadly related to issues of future, environment, youth and sustainability in Bali, the students spontaneously and unanimously agreed on the issue of garbage¹⁸⁹. In the latter part of the workshop the teenagers narrowed this research topic to youth behaviour in waste

¹⁸⁹ Incidentally, the first idea for a film script the Green Team film group developed also targeted the issue of waste management; this script envisaged a documentary drama staged at school and was tentatively titled '*Ada apa dengan sampah?!*' ('What's with garbage?' – a word play on the title of the popular Indonesian film '*Ada apa dengan cinta?*' (What's with love?)).

management. With this choice of topic, they tapped into the existing media discourse that prevailed in Balinese public life during the time of my research. When presenting their research to fellow students, the team announced “The aim of this study is to know the opinion and behaviour of the *young* generation in the city of Denpasar in the field of environmental management”¹⁹⁰ (emphasis added). The research group was interested in investigating the everyday behaviour of their own age group in managing garbage on a daily basis, focussing on students’ behaviour at school. Additional questions raised were how young people engage in waste management in public spaces outside the school environment, and how the provision of waste management facilities and education by schools impact youth waste management behaviour.

For the waste management study, the Green Team decided to combine a survey methodology with qualitative interviews in the field. With support and advice from the NGO personnel and me, the team framed the research questions, the questionnaire and interview questions. During several rounds of brainstorming and discussion, the students developed a questionnaire containing 17 questions. The questions were mostly quantitative with a choice of pre-formulated answers on the following key topics:

- the types and amounts of garbage students usually throw away at school
- the places where garbage is thrown, students’ knowledge and awareness of different types of garbage and waste management practices (such as the 3 R – reduce, re-use, recycle)

¹⁹⁰ “Adapun tujuan dari diadakan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui pendapat dan perilaku dari generasi muda di kota Denpasar dalam hal pengelolaan lingkungan hidup” (Quoted from the ‘garbage bin’).

- students' evaluation of their own waste management practices, and the services and education provided by schools

Towards the end of the questionnaire, students were given room to express their thoughts on how waste management at schools could be improved.

The fieldwork for the waste management study took place in October and November 2004. The survey was carried out between October 19 and 25, 2004 at those high schools the Green Team members represented: SMAN 1-7 Denpasar, PGRI 2 Denpasar, as well as two high schools in Kuta. The survey sample contained the students of the Green Team members' respective classes. I visited each school and assisted each research team member in overseeing the issuing of questionnaires. When introducing the study, I deliberately stayed in the background and left the facilitation to the youth researchers¹⁹¹. Questionnaires were issued to a total of 310 participants, 145 male and 165 female students¹⁹² (see table in Appendix 1). After the Green Team had manually evaluated the survey results, three sub-teams carried out additional face-to-face interviews in the field to follow up on some of the survey results. The students agreed to carry out these interviews in public places often frequented by youth: the public park Puputan Square in central Denpasar, Semawang

¹⁹¹ The issuing of questionnaires ran very smoothly at most schools. Teachers were happy to sacrifice a part of their teaching time to allow for the survey to be carried out. Before handing out the questionnaires, the students explained the aim and process of the survey to their classmates. Only at one school in Kuta the Green Team student was absent from school without notice on the day the survey was scheduled for, so I managed the questionnaires with her class in her absence. Any attempts to re-contact this girl, who did not have a home telephone, failed. She remained absent from both school and all Green Team sessions for several weeks without explanation, and even the school could not give us an indication of her whereabouts. The questionnaires from the two schools in the greater Kuta area were later neglected when the second participant from Kuta had dropped out of the Green Team as well (possibly due to the considerable distance of these schools from the PPLH education centre in Sanur). Nevertheless, the research team decided that they had collected enough data at Denpasar schools, and that the restriction to the city of Denpasar would also create a sharper research focus.

¹⁹² Most of these respondents were between 15 and 16 years of age.

Beach (in the Sanur area, not far from PPLH's office), and the high school SMA3 (Figures 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6).



Figure 7.4: Preparing to be reporters. The Green Team familiarises itself with video camera and tape recorder before commencing their interviews at Puputan Square (left).

Figure 7.5: "How do you like this park? Do you think it is clean?" Two Green Team researchers interview a group of visitors at Puputan Square (right).



Figure 7.6: Task completed. After interviewing fellow students, teachers, the school principal, a garbage collector and the school café owner at the high school SMA3, another Green Team group relives their interview experience by watching parts of the completed interviews on video camera (left).

Designing and carrying out the research encouraged the Green Team members to think about how they are subjected to rule and patterns of behaviour in and outside their educational environments. The study took place in an interesting setting: both researchers

and research subjects were involved in the same educational and discursive environment. In developing the research methodology, the Green Team students contemplated their own experience with waste management practices and subjectivation at school. For example, to frame the quantitative survey questions, the students brainstormed what answers and scenarios were likely from their own daily experience of being a student at a Balinese high school. Where were students likely to throw garbage? The river? The road? The garbage bin? The teenagers further debated how discussions and rules at school impact their own behaviour, and how students in general negotiate rule and practice around waste management in education. Expanding from the educational context to student behaviour in public domains, the Green Team contemplated their activity spaces and behaviours outside the school environment. In this way – although, of course, without using the academic terminology – the students researched processes of rule, subjectivation and governmentality, and debated what sort of 'constitutive outside' exists in Balinese society that fosters 'environmentally aware' garbage management behaviour. After conducting the study, the team was able to revisit their debates from the standpoint of informed researchers who could base their discussion on data they themselves had generated.

After discussing the results of both survey and interviews, the Green Team reflected how they could share their newly generated knowledge with other students. It was important to the Green Team that their study would somehow come 'full circle': they wanted to give information about students, gathered by students, back to other students. The team agreed to make a large garbage basket with a self-made wooden frame and cardboard on each side to display the findings of the study – a display garbage bin, in other words. The

presentation of results would not only reflect the research topic, but was both permanent and 'mobile' – it could be exhibited at different locations, at schools for instance. The students produced additional posters that displayed the results of the key informant interviews at each of the three interview locations: the park, the beach, and SMA3 (Figure 7.7). It is important that even in the presentation of results the team maintained a youth focus. By communicating what they had found in a tangible and interesting way the students hoped to contribute to the issue that drove their study: creating a supportive environment for waste management in Bali.



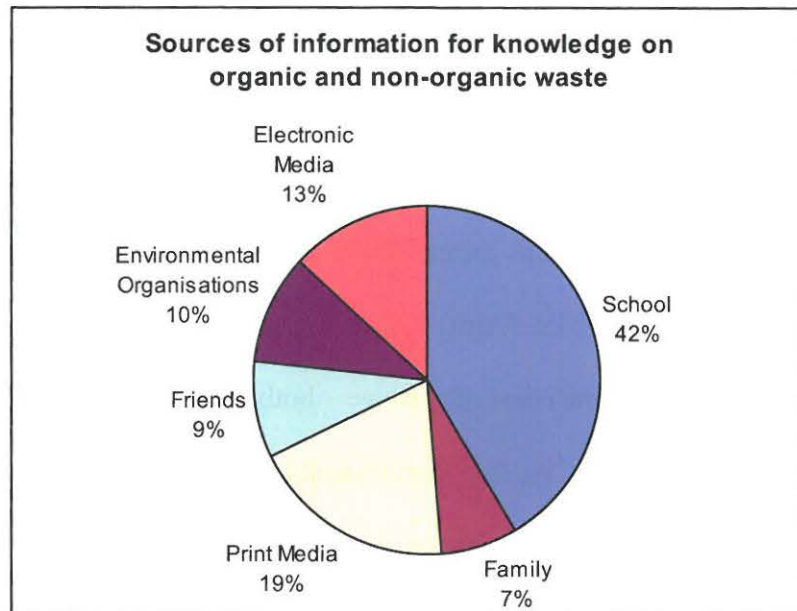
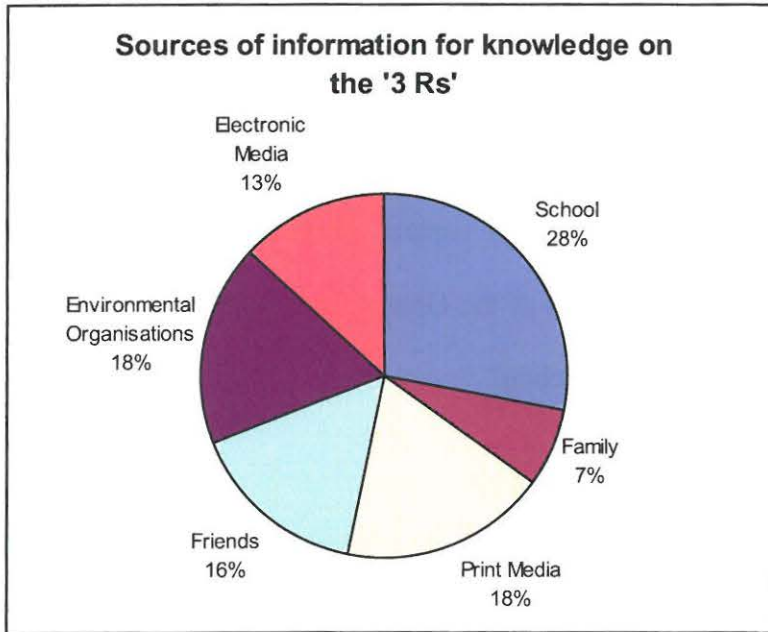
Figure 7.7: Exhibiting waste management results. The 'garbage bin' (right) and posters (left) the Green Team research group created to present the outcomes of their waste management study.

7.5 Student performances in waste management

The waste management survey revealed that the surveyed high school students share the Green Team's concern about garbage issues in Bali. Of those that participated in the survey, 85 per cent of the girls and 80 per cent of the boys agreed that waste was *the most* or at least *a* very important environmental issue in Bali. Taking up much of the teenager's daily time, school is an important space in which waste management is actually practiced. In the questionnaire, 82 per cent of male and 79 per cent of female respondents stated that they threw out waste in the school environment on a daily basis. This garbage is largely composed of plastic and paper. Simultaneously, school forms an environment in which waste management knowledges and practices are acquired. The participants named school education as the most important source of their knowledge on two particular concepts of waste management: the division between organic and non-organic waste and the slogan 'reduce, re-use, recycle' (the '3 Rs'). Of the participants 89 per cent are familiar with the concept of organic and non-organic waste and 42 per cent claim to have obtained this knowledge at school¹⁹³. In the case of the '3 Rs', only 10 per cent were familiar with the concept, and 28 per cent of these students stated to have heard about it at school. Apart from the school environment, students named the print and electronic media as well as environmental organisations as significant sources of waste management information.

¹⁹³ As the research group concluded: "Apparently the students' knowledge about the concept of the '3 Rs' [re-use, reduce recycle] is insufficient. This can be seen from the percentages: only 10 per cent of students know [about it], while as much as 90 per cent do not know about the '3 Rs'" ("Ternyata, pengetahuan siswa ttg konsep 3 R sangatlah kurang. Hal ini dapat dilihat di persentase siswa yang tahu hanya 10 per cent sedangkan siswanya sebanyak 90 per cent belum tahu tentang konsep 3R tersebut" (quote from the 'garbage bin')). However, there was a problem here with the way the question was posed. The students asked for the '3 Rs', which is the abbreviation of the English phrase. Some students may only have heard of '3 Ms', as it is often translated into Indonesian: *Mengurangi*, *menggunakan kembali*, and *mendaur ulang*. When discussing the questionnaire with students after they had issued it, most students asked for a clarification on the concept of the '3 Rs'.

Friends and the family took up the least prominent spots in the students' list of most important sources of waste management knowledge (Figures 7.8 and 7.9).



Figures 7.8 and 7.9: Sources of knowledge on the concept of the '3 Rs' and the separation of organic/non-organic waste

In Tisna's survey (1998), high school students also named school as a major source of information on environmental knowledge. In his study, the majority of respondents claimed

to have discussed ecological concepts such as biodiversity, renewable resources, ozone layer, the carbon cycle and greenhouse effect at school¹⁹⁴. The media also ranked high on the list of sources from which Tisna's participants claimed to have obtained environmental knowledge. Tisna also shows that discussion of environmental issues at home is rare in Bali, with only between 9.5 and 25.8 per cent of students stating that they had discussed environmental concepts such as the greenhouse effect, sustainable development or global warming at home. As school is such an important context for teenagers' environmental knowledge and practices, and formed the focus of the Green Team study, I want to take a closer look at waste management practices at school.

Student waste management practices at school

Despite naming school education as an important source of waste management knowledge, the Green Team survey respondents evaluated waste management facilities and student waste management performances at their schools as insufficient. The majority of respondents described their school environment as only moderately clean, and stated that both waste management infrastructure and youth waste management practices at school needed to be improved. Under increasing political pressure, schools in Bali make growing efforts to address the issue of garbage – both in teaching and through management practices on school grounds. As the participating students confirmed, basic waste management content, such as information on organic and non-organic waste, has made its way into formal teaching in Bali. Disciplinary practices play a vital role in the implementation of

¹⁹⁴ The students were less familiar with socio-political concepts such as sustainable development, carrying capacity, intergenerational equity and the precautionary principle. Although between 69 and 92 per cent claimed to be aware of these concepts, only between 26 and 35 per cent stated that they had discussed them at school (Tisna, 1998).

waste management practices. Also, as I showed in Chapter 4, waste management is a topic targeted in many informal teaching efforts by NGOs. Yet, as teachers and government officials complained to me in interviews, infrastructure for waste management at schools is limited and selective, and does not involve substantive transformations in waste management practices (BAPEDALDA, 2004b pers. comm.; DIKNAS, 2004c pers. comm.; Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.). Students and teachers agreed that improvements in both waste management infrastructure and student behaviour at schools needed to be improved.

In terms of infrastructure and services, schools provide bins and facilities for garbage separation. In 2004, according to my interviews with Balinese teachers and school principals, only some Denpasar high schools are equipped with separate bins for different types of garbage¹⁹⁵. Of the participants in the Green Team survey, 54 per cent stated that their school did not provide separate bins for organic and non-organic waste; 31 per cent thought their school had such bins in place and 14 per cent admitted that they did not know. In some cases, students claimed their school provided bins when it actually did not (and *vice versa*). A conclusion the Green Team students drew from these responses was that teachers do not educate students enough about the presence and purpose of separate garbage bins. Problematically, the provision of bins for organic and non-organic waste alone does not mean that different kinds of garbage are also *managed* separately. At one high school I visited, garbage was first separated and then burnt together at the edge of the school grounds. Even at a private international school I visited in Denpasar, which

¹⁹⁵ SMA7 for example, where I interviewed a biology teacher, has no waste management program in place yet. With 1,300 students, the teacher explained, it was too difficult to implement and maintain a waste separation program. "During break times there are more people [visible in the yard] than environment" ("pada saat istirahat ada lebih banyak orang daripada lingkungan"), he laughed: How could one possibly facilitate a program here that would allow for all students to throw their garbage in the bin?

provided four different bins (for organic waste, glass, metal and 'other' waste), the school management admitted that disposing separately of this garbage was too difficult in Indonesia. The separate bins at this school were there merely so students could "learn that garbage can and should be separated", at least in theory, a teacher stated.

How students respond to waste management infrastructure and govern their own behaviour according to the discourses, rules and infrastructure provided by schools is a separate issue. Hobson (2006) points out that in environmental governmentality, the shape and availability of 'objects', such as bins, influence the way in which subjects *can* govern their environmental behaviour. Of course, at those schools that do not have separate bins in place, students cannot separate organic and non-organic waste. But in Bali, waste management behaviour often has to start one step before waste separation, as many students still do not throw their garbage into any kind of bin, let alone placing the correct types of waste into multiple separate bins. Teachers put the lack of environmentally conscious behaviour down to laziness and limited awareness. One teacher stated in an interview, "Sometimes they [the students] just throw the garbage around because they don't want to go to the garbage bin. It's far. They finish with something and throw it here like this"¹⁹⁶, [imitating his students with an energetic hand movement] (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.). Another teacher added: "maybe on the level of theoretical knowledge they [the

¹⁹⁶ "Kadang2 buang sampah saja, dia tidak mau ke tempat sampah itu. Jauh sih. Habis ini, sini taruhnya (makes a hand movement that represents a student carelessly tossing a piece of garbage in the corner)" (Artha, 2004, pers. comm.).

students] know, but the action is not there yet, the behaviour is not there yet"¹⁹⁷ (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).

In the Green Team survey, students claimed to be largely complying with school rules on cleanliness and disciplinary practices – 99 per cent of girls and 90 per cent of boys claimed they throw their garbage in the garbage bin. While showing a high consciousness of school rules, some students also expressed commitment for reinforcing these rules. For example, 70 per cent of girls as opposed to only 58 per cent of boys stated they would tell their friends off if they caught them throwing garbage around. However, students also admitted to throwing garbage under their desk at school (males: 40 per cent, females: 32 per cent), around – rather than into – the garbage bin (males: 32 per cent, females: 9 per cent), onto the street (males: 25 per cent, females 13 per cent), and into rivers (males: 15 per cent, females: 6.7 per cent). Over a third of male respondents admitted to throwing garbage in places besides the bin at school, while a quarter confessed to throwing garbage on the street. So, students do throw some garbage in the bin, but apart from that in many other places as well, one Green Team student concluded with a grin on his face. The team evaluated the respect for school rules reflected in the participants' responses as clearly gendered. Girls, so the team concluded, were "quite obviously" both more diligent in throwing garbage into the bin, and more vocal in enforcing the school rules of waste management. Agung from the research group contributed a comic that captures this 'gender gap': A boy receives a beating from an ambitious and quite devilish female class mate for not throwing his garbage into the bin (Figure 7.10).

¹⁹⁷ "Mungkin sekedar pengetahuan dia tahu, tetapi actionnya belum, tindakan yang belum " (Martha, 2004 pers. comm.).



Figure 7.10: The gendered waste management war at school (created by Agung and displayed on the Green Team 'garbage bin').

In the responses of their class mates, the Green Team researchers recognised many of the issues and behaviours they are familiar with from their own school experience. In analysing the questionnaires, students debated their own performance in relation to the research results. When evaluating the questionnaires, the research team reacted with shock, amusement, as well as understanding. "Ha, this person throws garbage in the river!", one researcher would exclaim. "That happens near my school all the time!" another would reply. "I have thrown garbage in the river near my house before...", a third one would throw in with a guilty smirk. Generally, the research team thought the research results were representative of the waste management practices and processes of subjectivation they witness and practice at their schools day-to-day. The team admitted that occasional breaks with school rules also form part of their own behaviour: "Before [conducting the study], I

did not care very much about the environment and would throw garbage around”¹⁹⁸, one student confirmed. Conducting the study educated the Green Team and raised their awareness. As another student commented in his feedback questionnaire at the end of the program:

Surely the program has very much impacted on my awareness, as before I did not care much about the environment, but now I am very aware that every piece of garbage I throw out very much influences our environment¹⁹⁹.

Debating the results of their study encouraged students to talk about rule and socialisation at school, and about those slippages in subjectivation that they experience on a daily basis. The research also encouraged students to contemplate how different environments in Bali influence students' behaviour in waste management, and how students, in turn, negotiate rules and practices within these different spaces. Grounding these debates in the result of their own research created a more informed awareness of these processes that students could then link back to their own behaviour at school. In this regard, the action research created an awareness of the types of subjectivation that research participants are subjected to, which according to Krimerman (2000) and Gibson-Graham (2006) can act as a step towards to re-subjectivation.

¹⁹⁸ “Saya yang tadinya agak tidak peduli terhadap lingkungan dan buang sampah sembarangan”.

¹⁹⁹ „Tentunya sangat berpengaruh pada kesadaran saya yang tadinya agak tidak peduli terhadap lingkungan tapi sekarang sangat memperhatikan tiap sampah yang saya buang sangat berpengaruh terhadap lingkungan kita” (Research student, feedback questionnaire).

7.6 Openings for subjectivation and the culture of “throwing things around”

Beyond encouraging students to contemplate youth behaviour, the research itself created types of subjectivation that influenced the Green Team members and their waste management behaviour. Compiling, analysing and presenting their own knowledge about waste management put the students in a position that led other Green Team students, the NGO staff and me to jokingly refer to them as ‘experts on waste management’. The subject position of ‘experts’ put the teenagers under pressure to *govern themselves* in new ways: it had become unacceptable for a waste management expert to be caught throwing garbage anywhere else apart from the bin. Thus, the subject position the team members had created for themselves in the research started to work in the form of governmentality on their own behaviour. This was particularly effective within the physical and discursive space of the PPLH education centre, where the ‘waste management experts’ had to defend their reputation and demonstrate their responsibility.

The performance of these new subject positions of ‘waste management experts’ became a struggle outside the NGO offices in contexts where the subject position of an ‘environmentally aware and consciously acting student’ is not readily supported. An example of this dilemma emerged after the workshop program had officially finished, when some of the students asked me to join them for a night at the cinema. After obtaining the ticket, I went downstairs with two boys to pick up some snacks for the group. When I refused the plastic bags offered to me in the snack shop and stored all snacks in my large hand bag, Agung, one of the ‘waste experts’, commented: “Ha, that’s right, ‘3 R’s’, refuse plastic bags!” When arriving back upstairs, the other team members were just returning

from the popcorn counter with three individual plastic bags full of packed food. Agung pointed at them and shouted: "Ahh! They took plastic bags!!!" When the film had finished, all three plastic bags and other remainders of the students' snacks were left on the seats – much like on most other seats in the movie theatre. It seemed that in the context of entertainment and consumption, old habits overcame the better judgements of the 'waste management experts'. Performing new subject positions in public was a very different story to acting these out within the context of an environmental NGO, where waste separation and composting are a 'normalised' daily practice.

This dilemma was confirmed in the interviews on public performance in waste management behaviour the Green Team conducted on top of the questionnaire-based survey. At the public park Puputan Square in Central Denpasar, the teenagers spoke to a group of 13 year-old boys who spent the late afternoon hours playing an informal soccer game. The boys halted their match as Mira, one of the Green Team waste researchers, approached them:

- Mira: *Do you find this park clean?*
 Kids: Yes! / Well, so so! / Hm....pretty dirty...actually [different boys shouted]
 Mira: *Are you here often?*
 Boy 1: We like playing here...the park is spacious...there are many of our friends here...it's nice!
 Mira: *Where do you learn about the environment?*
 Kids: From our teacher! / At school!!
 Mira: *If you throw garbage away, do you just throw it around or...*
 Kids univocally: AROUND!!!! [the boys scream and laugh]
 Boy 2: We are honest...[grins cheekily]
 Mira: *Do you think the cleanliness around here needs to be improved?*
 Kids: Yes!
 Mira: *Do you also throw garbage around at school?*
 Kids: Noooo!

- Boy 2: Not at school! Just here. At school we throw the garbage in the bin. Otherwise the school principal gets angry...
- Another boy: Here everybody throws garbage around, we are just playing along!
- Mira: *Don't you want to provide a good example to others here?*
- Boy 3: There are so many people here, who is going to see that!?²⁰⁰

Laughing and shouting, the boys picked up their soccer balls and resumed their play. While the Green Team interviewed one soccer team, another group of soccer-playing boys stopped a vendor to buy themselves a round of plastic water bottles. After emptying the bottles, they proceeded to throw them straight onto the grass and vanished on their bikes. The bottles were picked up within 15 minutes by a *pemulung*, an informal garbage collector.

In a Balinese public park, throwing garbage in the bin is not a common practice. The young soccer players and other informants the research students interviewed depicted a phenomenon the Green Team came to name the 'culture of throwing things around'. In Denpasar, increasing materialism and urban 'comforts' combine with a rising monetary wealth of the Balinese urban middle class. In Bali's urban south, supermarkets are replacing the *pasar* (market) and plastic bags have replaced banana leaves as packaging material at traditional and modern markets. Meanwhile, practices of waste management seem to lag behind the innovations of 'modernity'. Some of my respondents pointed out that the fast incorporation of plastic and other wrapping materials in production industries

²⁰⁰ Mira: Apakah lapangan ini bersih? Kids: Ya/Lumayan/agak kotor sih! Mira: Kalian sering disini? One boy: Kita senang main disini...lapangan luas...banyak ada teman disini...enak! Mira: Tentang lingkungan tahu dari siapa? Kids: Dari guru! / Dari sekolah! Mira: Kalau kalian buang sampah, sembarangan, atau... Kids: SEMBARANGAN! One boy: Kita jujur! Mira: Kebersihan disini perlu ditingkatkan? Kids: Perlu! Mira: Kalian juga membuang sampah sembarangan di sekolah? Kids: Ngak! Di sekolah gak! Disini aja! One boy: Di sekolah kita buang ke tempat sampah. Nanti dimarahin sama kepala sekolah. Another boy: Disini semua sudah buang sampah sembarangan. Mengikuti! Mira: Kalian tidak mau memberi contoh yang baik? One boy: Ini orang banyak, siapa yang mau ngelihat!

in Indonesia has not triggered a waste management consciousness that is sufficient to avoid an environmental disaster caused by a mismanagement of these materials (GUS, 2003 pers. comm.; Kingdon, 2004 pers. comm.). Instead, Balinese in urban centres stick to the practices of waste management they have pursued for a long time: garbage is thrown on the road for collection, burnt or dumped in rivers. Only recently has the media started problematising the hills of plastic waste in Bali's urban centres. The soccer playing youngsters join in with the collective 'throw out' culture, while simultaneously complaining about the results. When Mira asked: "So, are there reasons why you would want a cleaner park?"²⁰¹, the students looked at each other and laughed. It would certainly reduce the biggest health hazard a soccer player in a Balinese public park faces – to step onto a thrown-out *sate* skewer and slit one's foot open, one of the boys exclaimed.

Taking up a proactive stance on waste management in the face of a 'culture of throwing things around' is a challenge. In addition to a public lethargy around opposing how things 'are generally done', throwing garbage in the bin is discouraged by at least three more reasons that adult and youth respondents at Puputan Park stressed:

- First, there is a lack of waste management infrastructure and services in Balinese public spaces. Most respondents felt that the number of garbage bins at Puputan Park needed to be stepped up significantly to improve the public waste management performance.
- Second, informal garbage collection in Indonesia is often perceived as more efficient than government garbage services. It is this informal garbage collection that "saves Indonesia from a waste disaster", as a garbage management informant at

²⁰¹ "Jadi, ada alasan kalian ingin meliat kebun yang lebih bersih disini?"

a workshop in Jakarta told me in an informal conversation. And, as the example of the bottle-throwing soccer players in Puputan Square shows, it is also a quick service that makes bins seem obsolete. One garbage collector the students interviewed even claimed that he preferred that garbage was not thrown into bins, as he would have to compete with both formal and informal collectors around formally established bins. Thus, informal garbage collection encourages a culture of 'throwing garbage around' and additionally obscures the amount of garbage that is thrown around in public places.

- Third, there is a lack of enforcement of waste management practices in public spaces. The soccer boys, for example, described themselves as more likely to obey rules on environmental practices in the school environment than in public places or at home, because the direct supervision of those figures that perform power-as-authority in the school context, is not given in public environments.

Environmental activism that operates against the urban 'culture of throwing things around' may appear futile. Two SMA6 'nature lover' alumni I interviewed recounted their experience of participating in a mountain clean-up effort organised by the university 'nature lover' club. The campaign involved abseiling into spaces that were difficult to access by informal garbage collectors. One of the students said:

I was sad when I participated in the Cleaning Up the Mountain activity at [lake] Buyan...From the bottom we were cleaning...here was a food vending stand...we went down on our ropes...zip...took the garbage, and up there the vending lady was pointing down: 'There's still garbage over there, and there'. So I thought: We are not social workers who the minute the lady tells us, we pick up the garbage²⁰².

²⁰² "Saya sedih ikut Aksi Bersih Gunung di Buyan...dari bawah kita bersihin...disini ada warung...kita turun pakai tali...sret...ambil sampah, terus pedagang yang disini lagi nunjuk lagi: 'Ada lagi samphnya, itu lagi'.

The students were particularly angry as the owner of this vending stand and her customers had thrown the garbage into these inaccessible areas in the first place. And they started throwing them there again as soon as the clean up team had wrapped up their effort, the students were convinced. Without more awareness and environmentally sound behaviour of the general public such clean-up activities will remain totally in vain, both students agreed. Having participated in cleaning activities in Bali myself, I could empathise with the students' frustration. I had spent a Sunday morning pulling out plastic bag after plastic bag from amongst rotting dog carcasses in a Denpasar river, taking off several centimetres of topsoil from the riverbanks to pull out the garbage that had worked its way into the ground. It had taken a mere three weeks until the spot looked very much like it had before the clean up. A Canadian environmental education teacher in Denpasar recounted a similarly frustrating cleanup experience. He had spent an entire Sunday morning freeing Sanur Beach of its mountains of garbage, only to witness the organiser of the clean up end his concluding speech on their 'successful communal effort' by throwing his plastic water cup into the sand in front of his stunned volunteer helpers. Without an environment of public awareness and support, performing subject positions that advocate environmentally conscious behaviour demands both counter-cultural activism and stamina.

7.7 Student subjects and waste activism – The need for a 'constitutive outside'

Performing subject positions of pro-active youth waste managers against a public culture that does not support this behaviour is a difficult task. The students who participated in my

Jadi saya baru pikir: Kita bukan pekerja social yang sebentar ibu bilang, kita yang ambil, gitu" (Alumni SISPALA).

workshop program expressed feelings of helplessness and inability to induce change without more assistance from adults. In Tisna's 1998 study of student environmental awareness in Bali, participants described the support they received in conducting environmental activities as only moderate, with only 0.1 per cent claiming to have received full support from family, friends, neighbours and teachers and the majority claiming to have received only *some* support²⁰³. Alumni students I interviewed, who had participated in both the 'nature lovers' and the PPLH Green Team programs described themselves as "not all that active"²⁰⁴ when it came to environmental activism, because of a lack of incentive and ongoing outside support. Even at university level support for environmental action was marginal, they claimed. The 'English students' unanimously agreed that currently adults were taking better care of Balinese environments than young people, "maybe because we are still young, we don't care about our environment", one teenager thought. But the students saw an urgent need for young people to take up a bigger responsibility in environmental protection and management.

So, where are the discursive contexts that might act as 'constitutive outsides' for proactive waste management behaviour among Balinese students? I now briefly turn to three environments individually that could provide support for proactive waste management to Balinese high school students – the school, the family, and the context of governance. I discuss where in these three contexts support for the subject position of 'environmentally conscious waste managers' currently succeeds or fails.

²⁰³ 23.7 per cent stated that other friends (not their close friends) of the same age were indifferent to their actions and 16.5 per cent described the response of their extended family and neighbours as indifferent.

²⁰⁴ "Secara pribadi, nggak begitu aktif" (SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.).

Constitutive spaces for waste management practices at school

Schools try to engender a 'constitutive outside' for waste management by putting garbage management and environmental behaviour high on the agenda and by encouraging and disciplining practice. This agenda is simultaneously supportive and limiting. In my workshops, the debate around waste management activism at Balinese schools hit somewhat of a deadlock. In the action planning workshop with the 'nature lovers' I recounted at the start of this chapter, the students kept pointing at the school principal and organisation to improve the infrastructure and push through regulations that students would then abide by. Teachers, in turn, argued that the provision of infrastructure was futile unless students obeyed waste management rules. When Zahnur and I brought up the idea of developing a student code of practice for waste management, one alumni 'nature lover' commented: "If the students make the regulation, it won't be strong enough. The students should be active, but they need help"²⁰⁵.

'Responsible behaviour' that is self-induced by students and that is performed for reasons other than conforming to school rules fails due to the lack of a student-crafted subject position for waste management. Schools limit their 'constitutive outside' to disciplinary practices and bins. In this process of subjectivation, students exercise power *to* choose to obey and resist rule, or power *over* others in enforcing rule. Yet, if students are not expected to do more than what they are told, then there is not much room for associational power *to* exercise waste management in a student-induced, cooperative way. The subject position of a student practicing environmentally conscious waste management seems to be

²⁰⁵ "Kalau siswa yang membuat peraturan kan kurang kuat. Siswa sih yang bergerak, tapi dibantu" (SISPALA, 2004 pers. comm.).

that of a tidy, disciplined student who complies with the rules. This process of governmentality becomes shaky as soon as students leave the disciplinary environment of the school. As the boys interviewed in Puputan Park admitted, once they have escaped the strict supervision of the school principal, garbage is thrown on the ground and not in the bin. A subject position based on compliance with rules that only matter in a certain environment of subjectivation thus limits the way in which students can develop alternative, student-based and proactive subject positions of waste managers which might also reach *beyond* the school context.

“Waste management starts within the family”

In their future visions, students named the family as an important starting point for environmentally conscious behaviour:

I hope every person will be able to care about the environment. This can start within the family. For example garbage can be separated earlier, thus organic waste can be disposed of separately. Non-organic waste can be collected separately, thus we can learn (vision for Bali in the year 2020, expressed by one of the 'nature lovers').

A teacher I interviewed agreed that behaviour at school was “a projection of what students receive at home” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.)²⁰⁶. Many of my adult respondents complained that middle class youth in Denpasar were quite focused on material goods and often spoiled by their parents with the newest consumerist gadgets. As an academic respondent remarked tongue-in-cheek, “In Bali there are many good facilities especially for children. The children drive the newest motor bikes, their fathers the older version” (Pujaastawa, 2004

²⁰⁶ “..proyeksi yang dia dapat di rumahnya” (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

pers. comm.)²⁰⁷. Concerns for moderation in consumption or the finality of resources often played a lesser role within the socialisation of urban kids, many of my adult respondents admitted (please see Appendix 6 for more information on Balinese family life in Denpasar; and Appendix 1 on the socio-economic background of the 'English Students').

Yet, informal education programs run by NGOs sometimes indirectly target the household and family as a possible provider of a 'constitutive outside' for environmentally sound waste management practices (GUS, 2003 pers. comm.; 2004a pers. comm.; 2004b pers. comm.). These programs follow the rationale that students who are informed about environmental issues and practices can pass this information on to their parents, siblings and friends. GUS, for example, at the end of each waste management education session at schools, encourages participants to take home extra handouts for their siblings and to speak to their family members and friends about the knowledge they have received in the program. This rationale critically depends on the interest and support of parents and other family members in waste management issues. Notably students named the family as the least likely environment that would provide them with knowledge about waste management practices. With 7 per cent, the family was the least named source of knowledge for both organic/non-organic waste and the '3Rs' in the Green Team study. In Tisna's survey (1998) students also described the occurrence of any debate about environmental topics at home as rare. So, students do not face a particularly supportive environment when striving to perform environmentally conscious waste management behaviour in the household.

²⁰⁷ "Di Bali banyak fasilitas bagus justru untuk anak. Anak pakai motor baru, bapaknya motor tua" (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

If youth are to contribute to creating this 'constitutive outside', then they need to be in a situation where they can influence decision-making on family life choices and behavioural practices. When I asked one teacher: "Could a Balinese child say to his or her father: Dad, don't throw the garbage in this bin?", he replied: "Yes, that happens!" (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.). Another teacher responded: "Yeah, why not... Most parents understand" (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.). Adults I interviewed saw a clear 'democratisation' occurring in both decision-making structures within Balinese families and the interaction between parents and their children. Family life was reflecting the ideals of an era of political reformation in Indonesia, one teacher felt:

Nowadays parents do not treat their children as they used to...children used to be dominated by their parents...it used to be very one-way [communication]...now there is already dialogue...parents don't force their children anymore...it has started to be democratic!²⁰⁸ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

Students who participated in my workshop program did not agree with the adult view that the relationship between parents and their children in Bali is 'democratising'. When I asked the 'English students' whether their parents ever asked them about their opinion, they quite clearly said no, that was rarely the case. From the program with the 'English students', I particularly remember the forceful reaction of a small, rather quiet girl, who forcefully exclaimed: "My parents never ask me about anything. They just don't take me seriously!" The students agreed that in order for waste management to start within the family, a lot more public awareness was needed. Yet, in their visions students showed commitment for

²⁰⁸ "Sekarang...orang tua dengan anaknya...tidak lagi seperti dulu...dulu masih didominasi orang tua...dulu satu arah aja...sekarang dialognya sudah ada...orang tua itu tak memaksakan...mulai demokratis lah!" (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

educating their own children about waste management. “[T]o sustain Bali we have to tell our descendants not to throw garbage around”, one student concluded.

Governance as a constituting factor?

In their vision for Bali in the year 2020, students also pointed to a need for government support in waste management. “I hope that the Balinese government will organise that the population does not throw garbage around, but into a place that has been provided”, one girl wrote. The opportunity for governance to create a ‘constitutive outside’ for pro-active environmental subject positions suffers from a discrepancy between the participatory rhetoric that marks the politics of Indonesian *reformasi* on the one hand, and rigid government structures on the other. In Indonesia, by law, “each person has the right to play an active role in environmental management in line with effective legislation”²⁰⁹. In practice, this right is limited by a lack of participatory structures of governance. As a respondent from the Department for the Environment in Denpasar [BAPEDALDA] explained, public participation in environmental governance is either restricted or non-existent in practice. The officer referred to the example of city planning, where the right of citizens to veto planning decisions during the planning process often remains theoretical only. On the other hand, the officer explained, if citizens are given an opportunity to participate and veto legislation, they often shied away from providing feedback to planning processes, unless they were politically organised (BAPEDALDA, 2004c pers. comm.).

²⁰⁹ “Setiap orang mempunyai hak untuk berperan dalam rangka pengelolaan lingkungan hidup sesuai dengan peraturan perundang-undangan yang berlaku” (PPLH, 2004). This quote is based on the piece of legislation number UUD No 23 1997 (Peraturan pemerintah, Keputusan menteri, Peraturan Daerah) paragraph five outlines the rights and duties of society.

For young people, participating in government decisions is even less likely than for adults.

I asked a Balinese anthropologist whether young people participate in any direct political decision-making, for example on government laws that affect youth. He replied:

I don't think they do. They are still passive...they do not criticise enough, they are not critical enough. Usually those who do respond are not the children, but parents who are intellectuals. So this is not the young generation, although this law would affect them (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.)²¹⁰.

Thus, although environmental activism and sustainable development have entered political rhetoric in Bali, the extent to which governance can provide constitutive spaces for waste management is limited by two factors. First, the lack in participatory structures limits pro-active environmental citizenship. Second, my informants referred to a lingering habit of Balinese to be directed by government decisions, accompanied by unfamiliarity with the subject position of 'active citizens' who take over active political responsibility in waste management.

A governance culture that restricts critical pro-active youth involvement in environmental politics commences *within* the context of the school environment. Here, it is not necessarily the lack of participatory structures, but the hierarchical organisation of school operations that limit students' agency to participate in decision-making in a pro-active way. High schools do have fairly well-organised student councils called OSIS, which contain at least one student from each class. Yet, in terms of activism within the school environment, the truly *critical* body is not the students themselves, but the parent committee, an

²¹⁰ "Saya kira tidak. Masih pasif...kurang mengkritis, kurang kritis dia. Biasanya yang merespon bukan anak anak, orang orang tua yang intelek. Jadi bukan kalangan generasi muda, walaupun hukum itu dibuat terhadap mereka" (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

anthropologist stated in an interview with me. Here the 'intellectual' parents were exercising their influence on the school management, he explained. Students, in turn, did not usually contest decisions made by this parent committee:

[Decisions made by the committee] have almost never been protested by the children, the ones who protest are the parents. And it seems like those children are just accepting any decision those parents make²¹¹ (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

The students I spoke to confirmed that OSIS functioned mainly as a student leadership organisational decisions that represented school organisation in each class, while only rarely carrying student complaints to the school principal. In terms of developing student-induced action within the school environment that can lead to subject positions of waste management which may be more sustainable in the face of 'hegemonic discourses', student bodies such as OSIS appear to be underdeveloped.

There seems to be more active engagement of youth in traditional Balinese government at the neighbourhood level, which also occasionally involves environmental management practices. According to *adat law*, which still regulates community life at the *banjar* [hamlet] level – even in urban areas – young people should actively contribute to community and religious activities. When I asked a teacher if youth were seen as playing an important role in shaping Bali's social and cultural life, he replied:

Generally, a[n] [active] role of young people, if they can, is very very much needed...leaders of the young generation can do things...In the *adat* [customary law] this is clear. In each village the young generation carries out tasks in the environment. For example on Sundays, communal work, this is cleaning, if there is a ceremony, *gotong royong* in the temple to prepare

²¹¹ "Itu hampir tidak pernah diprotes oleh anak2, yang protes itu orang tua. Dan anak-anak itu sepertinya, dia menerima apa saja keputusan orang tua itu" (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

anything, what is needed...this is the role of the young generation²¹² (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

This participation is organised by age and gender. While young men usually participate in clean-ups and temple maintenance, girls are more involved in the preparation of offerings for religious ceremonies. Young people take their involvement in *banjar* activities very seriously, and sometimes the hamlet can function as a 'constitutive outside' for environmental practices beyond the environment of the *banjar* temple. The interviews the Green Team conducted at Sanur Beach revealed that the local *mangku* (non-high-caste priest) in Sanur runs regular workshops on waste management for his community members and has also instigated a daily early morning beach clean-up. The clean-up is facilitated by a group of young men who run a canoe hire business on the beach. In interviews, these young men emphasised that a clean beach and marine ecosystem boosted their business opportunities, and that the *mangku's* initiative and support had helped them take over a leadership role in waste management on Sanur Beach. Thus, in the case of this *banjar*, the enthusiasm of a local religious leader has created a 'constitutive outside' within which this regular youth activism can take place.

²¹² “[K]alau secara umum kayanya peran generasi muda memang, kalau bisa, sangat sangat dibutuhkan...yang pimpin generasi muda itu melakukan...Kalau di adat kan jelas. Tiap desa itu generasi muda itu melakukan kegiatan di lingkungannya. Misalnya hari Minggu...kegiatan kerja bakti, kebersihan itu, kalau ada upacara, ya, gotong royong di pura itu membuat apa, keperluan itu...itu peran generasi muda” (Sinah, 2004 pers. comm.).

7.8 Conclusion

The Green Team research experience opened doors for re-subjectivation that were triggered by two processes: First, conducting the study led the team members to consider the rules, practices and discourses that shape their own behaviour and that of other students. Second, becoming 'waste management' experts brought along with it pressures of responsibility that worked as a process of governmentality – the teenagers started to govern their own behaviour differently. Importantly, the subject position of waste management research was one that the students created for themselves throughout the workshop program. The development of the survey, the performance of new tasks such as interviewing and evaluating questionnaires, through to the debating of self-created knowledge and data led to a gradual development of – and simultaneous familiarisation – with this new subject position.

When *outside* the supportive environment of the action research and NGO education centre, sustaining such new subject positions remained a challenge that, as in the case of the movie theatre incident, did not always end successfully. Outside the program the new subject positions met head on with rules, practices and discourses that do not necessarily foster pro-active waste management. In Balinese public spaces, it is the 'culture of throwing things around' that predominates. In the context of the school environment, the reduction of waste management subjects to students who conform to adult-formulated rules and disciplinary educational practices stifles student-induced action, especially outside the school. And in Balinese governance, both in and outside school, it is rigid organisation and a lack of participatory structures and culture that inhibit proactive student subject positions.

It became clear that without a 'constitutive outside', newly created subject positions remain nothing more than a fleeting glimpse of possibility.

In order for new subject positions to thrive outside an action research context, there needs to be supportive discourses, languages, as well as performative environments. How far action research can reach beyond its program context to influence external discursive environments and create 'constitutive outsides' is questionable. Yet, action research may be one of the contributors to a 'constitutive outside' that is shaped by the multiplicity of efforts. Even a program that is as short as three months may function as one of the catalysts needed to create new languages and discourses that make new subject positions possible. As actions and behaviours become speakable, they also become imaginable and performable, and at some point, may even gain the status of 'normal' behaviour. An example would be the way in which waste separation and recycling have recently become 'mainstreamed' in the discourses and behavioural practices of citizens in countries of Western Europe, for instance. How a research program can help create such new languages will be the focus of the next chapter. Based on the Green Team film project I discuss where and how the participants in this program re-formulated languages and discourses of sustainability.

Chapter 8

Youth-based discourses of sustainability

(Please watch attached DVD of 'Segi Lima' before reading this chapter)

8.1 Seeing the 'other side'

The Green Team documentary film starts with 'icons of globalised capitalism': Flashes of doughnut advertisements along urban roads; zoom-ins on the swanky names and logos of fast-food chains behind the Balinese gates of shopping centres; posters of the latest American and Indonesian blockbusters covering the façade of Denpasar's most popular cinema complex. Accompanied by American rock music, the opening scenes of the Green Team documentary film 'Segi Lima' (which translates to 'Pentagon') portray the 'glossy side of Denpasar': those venues of 'modernity' that give Bali's capital city an air of globalised sophistication. When asked "what made them feel at home in Denpasar"²¹³, citizens relaxing in malls and among the well-tended greenery of Renon's newly built government district point to the excellent leisure, culture and sport facilities the city boasts. One resident highlights the "thick"²¹⁴ cultural richness of Denpasar as well as her cultural facilities, such as the museum and statue of Bajra Sandhi in Renon. These, so the respondent says, make Denpasar a "city that is built, based on something traditionally Balinese"²¹⁵. This first part of the film shows a face of Denpasar that politicians and

²¹³ The original screen caption says: "Apa yang menyebabkan kita tinggal di Denpasar?"

²¹⁴ "Unsur budayanya masih sangat kental".

²¹⁵ "Kota Denpasar menurut saya adalah kota yang dibangun berdasarkan suatu yang mana tradisional Bali" (GreenTeam, 2004).

marketing strategies like to present to the Balinese population, to international tourists and to the rest of Indonesia: the face of a ‘developed’, attractive city that has incorporated globalisation with a Balinese face (Figure 8.1). This first section of the 23-minute documentary ends with a provocative question that encourages the viewer to start thinking beyond those environments that shape the lives of many middle class ‘Denpasarese’: “But have we ever looked at another side of our city?”²¹⁶.

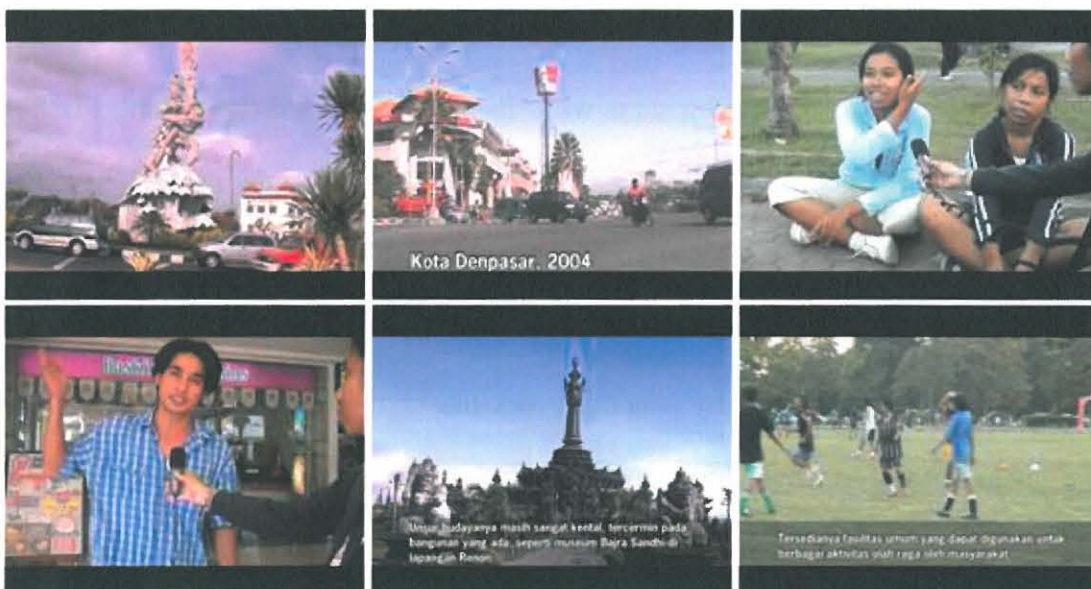


Figure 8.1: Snapshots of ‘Glossy Denpasar’, taken from Segi Lima (GreenTeam, 2004 59).

The film continues with a fast journey through the market area of Central Denpasar. Shooting through the front window of a car, accompanied by the theme tune of the film ‘Mission Impossible’, the cameraman takes the viewers to a part of the city that differs significantly from the shiny façades of shopping centres and government districts. ‘Kampung Java’, as the neighbourhood located on the river banks of Badung River is called, bears an air of cultural exoticness in the midst of the overwhelmingly ‘Hindu’ city.

²¹⁶ “Tapi pernah kita lihat sisi lain kota kita?” (GreenTeam, 2004).

The camera captures a large mosque, a man on a bicycle wearing a Muslim hat, two veiled women rushing across the street. Then, it swings to the main ‘location’ of the film, a cluster of make-shift shanty houses tightly built on the edge of the river. “Let’s open our hearts and minds to see everything!”²¹⁷, the screen captions invite the viewers, while the camera takes them down the uneven concrete steps into the heart of the shanty town.



Figure 8.2: Life on the banks of the Badung River in Kampung Java (GreenTeam, 2004).

Here the shots catch a glimpse of life in an ‘urban village’: an old sofa underneath a bridge that functions as an open air communal living room; images of children swimming and playing in the Badung River; people washing in the river; men fishing while plastic bags are floating by; women cleaning dishes on the concrete river banks (Figure 8.2). It is here where people immediately experience environmental pollution on a daily basis, while simultaneously contributing to the deterioration of the river’s water quality. The film and its message will be discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.

²¹⁷ “Buka pikiran dan hati kita untuk melihat semuanya”.

8.2 What is speakable? Challenging dominant discourses

Kampung Java is a place that does not seem to form part of the discourses of either Denpasar's discourses of modernity and progress, or of the discourses that promote the implementation of sustainability 'the Balinese way'. As a Muslim immigrant community, Kampung Java seems to be marginalised from those culturally conservative features local discourses highlight in their ideas for 'keeping Bali truly Bali'. If anything, it is a place hegemonic local discourses such as *Ajeg Bali* or THK exclude from their strategies for Balinese cultural integrity.

Hegemonic discourses are constructed as more 'powerful' or socially acceptable than others (McGregor 2004) and more able to influence the languages people use to problematise and communicate certain issues. Discourses create and maintain this hegemony by promoting a language and vocabulary that determine how certain processes, actions and problems are thought about. In hegemonic discourse, language 'naturalises' certain issues and behaviours – creating a 'normal', informed and 'accepted' way of speaking about an issue. Other discourses – those represented as less convincing or socially acceptable – are excluded by being presented as less 'normal', unprofessional or ill-informed. Such alternative discourses are often pushed to the very fringes from the mainstream and marginalised as 'insignificant'. McGregor (2004 599) notes that some discourses are 'hegemonised' and naturalised through politics, lobbying, or the media, while alternative discourses are represented as "purely academic and socially and politically irrelevant".

JK Gibson-Graham (2006) show how the hegemonic discourse of ‘capitalocentrism’ is “continually performed in and through technical, material, and discursive devices” that inhibit the possibilities for subjects to perform alternative economic subject positions. In earlier research in Australian mining towns they argue that the dominant discourse of a growth-based capitalist economy limited research participants’ subject positions to those of ex-miners and their partners, unemployable victims of a declining economic sector, and inhabitants of previously flourishing towns turned into ghost towns (Gibson-Graham, 1994). Gibson-Graham’s action research paved a way beyond the constricted spaces of this hegemonic discourse by highlighting alternative and parallel discourses of economic identity that are not tied to capitalist performance. When framed outside the language of capitalism, residents could occupy other subject positions as successful mothers, citizens actively engaged in community centres, artists and car mechanics, and as individuals shaping the culture of their place of residence. Here, alternative discourses suddenly unbalanced the ‘hegemony’ of the capitalist discourse and made alternative subject positions speakable.

Hegemonic discourses that may smother alternative subject positions and their performance also exist in the context of sustainability. In Chapter 2, I showed how different stories of sustainability engage modes of power and a politics of scale to create a position of hegemony. On the agenda of international organisations, for example, it is the discourse of sustainable development that has been given a ‘mainstream’ status. Within this more conservative discourse of sustainability, it is accepted that a certain level of economic

growth is necessary to foster environmentally sustainable outcomes and that sustainable development and the capitalist system can go hand in hand. Such ‘mainstreaming’ generated the international political support sustainable development needed to achieve political legitimacy worldwide. Parallel sustainability discourses, such as deep ecology, green governance or revolutionary ideas of economic reconstruction often struggle for their own legitimacy against ‘accepted’ paradigms of sustainable development (Dahle, 1998; McGregor, 2004).

In some cases, although presented as ‘mainstream’, a hegemonic discourse may not be the most feasible or most locally relevant way to approach an issue. Consider this example: international sustainable development campaigns encourage citizens around the planet to ‘act local’ and ‘think global’. Sustainable development is represented as a universal, overarching framework – the larger, all-encompassing goal that small-scale local actions ‘down there’ can work towards. Paradoxically, the politics of scale that creates the global as ‘higher up there’ can *inhibit* rather than foster the very local action it tries to spark. As Bickerstaff and Walker (2001) remark, universalist, global notions of sustainability may be so removed from people’s everyday lives that they become irrelevant. The authors research the environmental concern of air pollution, which is partly a ‘global problem’. They show that in Birmingham, UK, public perceptions of air pollution are localised and constructed in specific social and spatial contexts: “Air pollution is far from universal. For most people it was a diverse array of localised, physical and social encounters with air pollution that are important” (Bickerstaff and Walker, 2001 140). Although government campaigns frame the need for action in terms of the dominant discourse of global ‘sustainable development’, it is

the localised conditions of air quality such as busy roads or industrial exhaust fumes that people were primarily concerned about. Issues of global air quality degradation and global warming remained much less tangible phenomena. Enforcing links between local and global here may confuse local actors rather than creating a sense of global collaboration – and it is here where hegemonic discourses may limit and inhibit other relevant discourses.

By the very action of mainstreaming and ‘hegemonising’, a hegemonic discourse can appear so ‘powerful’ that its local applications may be stifled by a sense of self-conscious insignificance. Hinchliffe (1996) investigates a UK national government strategy that addresses another environmental issue, the reduction of energy consumption and climate change. In the national campaign ‘Helping the Earth Begins at Home’, the promotion of local action follows the ‘sustainable development’ discourse of acting for the global good. Here, the strategy of hegemonising dominant discourses at the local level failed because people saw their individual actions as futile and irrelevant in the light of such an overwhelmingly global problem as climate change. The campaign failed to “bridge the ‘distance’ between global concerns and local actions” (Hinchliffe, 1996 59). Although able to mainstream an idea – such as sustainability – and thereby draw it into the realm of ‘accepted normality’, hegemonic discourses can be overpowering, counter-productive and removed from local contexts.

‘Hegemony’ is not necessarily connected to a scalar representation of ‘larger’ or ‘more important’. In Bali the rhetoric of ‘sustainable development’ stops largely at the level of national government rhetoric. While aware of global debates, local academics and spiritual

leaders have integrated the issue of sustainability into the agenda by asserting a unique Balinese position in the face of Indonesian regionalisation, globalisation and international tourism. While international discourses of sustainability seem far from ‘hegemonic’ in Bali, the discourses of *Ajeng Bali* and THK have assumed local ‘hegemony’. By shaping how sustainability is thought and spoken, and what type of sustainability is grasped as ‘normal’ and suitable for Bali, they influence and limit what is thinkable and performable as sustainability in Balinese society – outside these discourses.

Students in Bali negotiate global discourses, local ‘hegemonic’ discourses as well as multiple other, partly competing, discourses. Some of these are discourses of sustainability, others are discourses that do not encourage – or may even oppose – the notion of sustainability. Proactive sustainability behaviour in Bali, as I have shown in Chapter 7, is ‘up against’ a number of hegemonic discourses that shape the environments of high school students. The school environment, for example, is dominated by a discourse of discipline, Indonesian citizenship and Balinese cultural integrity that limits sustainability activism to rules and bins. In public areas, the ‘culture of throwing things around’ is fed by a discourse of urban wealth and consumption, and a sense of ‘why should I be doing what others are not doing’? In the families of my research participants, sustainability and environment are largely undebated in the first place. In all the cases, speaking and performing sustainability ‘competes’ with hegemonic discourses that do not support the languages and subject positions of proactive behaviour for sustainability. What discourses the student participants tapped into and generated within the workshop program, and how these are related to

existing and (potentially hegemonic) discourses will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

8.3 Student languages of sustainability

In the workshop program students did not mention global notions of sustainability, or problems portrayed as global ones – for example climate change or ozone depletion. They did not engage the concept of sustainable development that has gained somewhat of a hegemonic position on the stage of international politics. This is an interesting finding, since secondary students in Bali *do* learn about scientific concepts of global environmental change at school, as Tisna's study (1998) showed (see Chapter 7). The workshop participants related to future in profoundly localised ways. In their visions for Bali in the year 2020, most students described Bali as a beautiful, desirable place to live, with a picturesque landscape, cultural richness and friendly people. Some students spoke in favour of preserving Bali the way it is *now* and accepted the present quality of life Bali offers as a base level for long-term sustainability. Other participants saw problems with Bali's present state, for example intensifying levels of pollution or the loss of Bali's nature and culture, and thus expressed a necessity for the long-term *improvement* of Bali's environments. The teenagers did see connections between processes of environmental destruction and human and economic activity in Bali, but did not link the transformations and challenges Bali faces to those at national or global levels. The teenagers portrayed themselves as first and foremost "orang Bali" (Balinese)²¹⁸. They did not assume the identity of 'world citizens'

²¹⁸ Students seemed deeply attached to Bali as a place. For example, when I asked the senior high school students at SMA6 about their career wishes and their plans for possible tertiary education, none of the students expressed a wish to leave the island of Bali. Only one girl stated that she had considered applying for university in Java, but had abandoned this plan as her Balinese family did not agree with her leaving.

who carry responsibility for the future of this planet (which is the subject position global discourses of sustainability envisage).

In their concerns about future and sustainability in Bali the participants focussed on local assets and environments. The disappearance of rice fields is one worry the high school students conveyed through various creative activities in the workshop program. “I hope the trees and rice fields [will be] more than building, restaurant, hotel”, one girl wrote in her vision for Bali in the year 2020. Several students complained that rice fields they loved spending time in – the boys particularly for playing with kites – were disappearing to giving way to an ever-growing urban sprawl. In their photo voice, two ‘nature lovers’ took photos of urban rice fields in Denpasar (Figure 8.3) – those remains of what used to be extensive rice terraces, or sad icons of resistance against rapid urbanisation, that one encounters frequently around the urban centres of Southern Bali. The disappearance of natural environments impacts youth activity spaces in urban areas. It also removes an environmental aspect of urban livelihoods that impacts youth identities.



Figure 8.3: Students capturing change. An ‘urban rice field’ between the buildings of Denpasar, and a temple that was spared by a building project on Sanur Beach – scenes captured by the ‘nature lovers’ as part of their photo voice activity.

Vera, from the group of ‘English students’, contributed a comic that captures the rapid transformation of urban Balinese landscapes in a ‘tongue-in-cheek’ way (Figure 8.4). It depicts two children wearing Balinese outfits playing hide and seek in a rice field, in view of Bali’s holy mountain Gunung Agung. Before the seeker has finished counting from one to 58, the rice field has been transformed into an urban landscape with skyscrapers, cars and hotels. Rather than leaning against a tree, the seeker is now facing an electricity pole, while his friend is no longer crouching behind a bush, but barely hidden behind the cart of a street vendor selling ‘*Es Cendol*’ – a popular cold drink sold on Indonesian streets.



Figure 8.4: Hide and seek in a rapidly changing landscape (by Vera from SMP8).

But it is not only the disappearance of nature and agricultural land, but also cultural and spiritual environments that students noticed. The teenagers showed pride in Bali's culture, and its integrity and sustainability formed an integral part of their imaginaries of the future.

As one student stated,

I wish that by the year 2020 Bali will be still beautiful and the customary law will be sustained properly. The young people speak the regional language, so it will be better known.

Her friend explained: "I want the culture in Bali don't be lose. But now teenagers not care with Bali's culture. Though the culture in Bali is important and interest". Another student added: "I hope that traditional arts in Bali will be protected". The students showed a sincere care for the practice of Balinese customs, ceremonies and language, and worried about their possible disappearance – a concern that emerges particularly strongly in the *Ajeg Bali* discourse of "keeping Bali truly Bali"²¹⁹. The teenagers were familiar with the catch phrase *Ajeg Bali*, and used it in their own visions for sustaining Bali's culture. One 'English student' argued,

I wish that in the year 2020 Bali will be really *ajeg* and will be sustaining its arts from the ancestors. I wish that Balinese will keep on using Balinese language or the language from the various regions.

I was surprised that students independently engaged the term '*Ajeg Bali*' and about the positive, almost conservative attitude the students hold in regards to Balinese culture. Here, my findings differ from those of Picard (2005), who argues that the younger generation in

²¹⁹ While playing a game of 'snakes and ladders' in which students answered questions about their interests, values and their opinions on political, social and cultural issues, two students were asked how important Balinese culture was to them. On a scale of one to ten (ten being the most important), one participant chose the figure nine, the other the figure ten. One of the teenagers elaborated on this choice: "Balinese tradition is very important, Balinese song, Balinese dance; it is interesting for foreign visitors to see". Therefore, Balinese arts and cultural practices needed to be sustained into the future, the teenagers argued.

Bali voice their criticism of cultural conservatism, which they see as a “prison impeding the progress of the Balinese”.

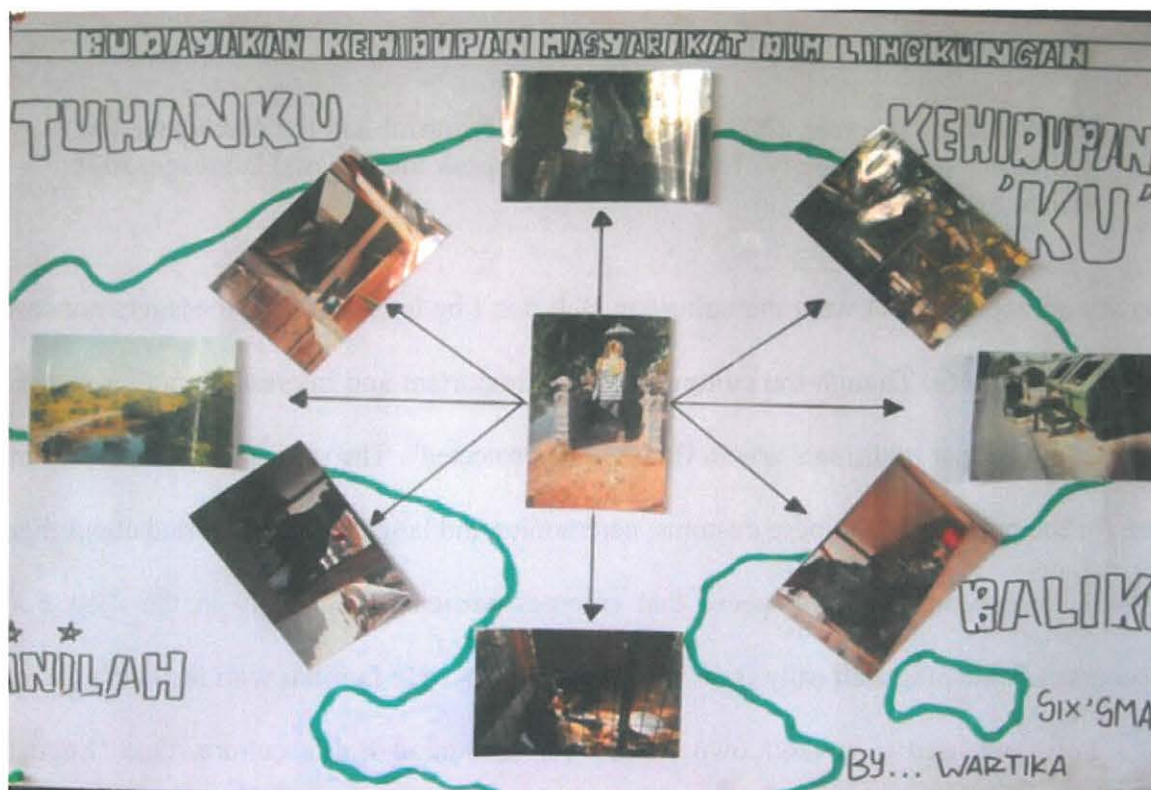


Figure 8.5: “To ‘culturise’ the life of society in the environment” – a poster contribution by Wartika, a ‘nature lover’ at SMA6.

The students identified spiritual harmony and balance as a main component of cultural and environmental sustainability in Bali. Most of the teenagers showed a sincere interest and concern for religion, and stated that spirituality formed a central part of their everyday lives. Apart from two students on the Green Team, all workshop participants were of Hindu religion. Hindu Balinese students pray several times a day, both at home and at school. In the mental mapping exercise most students exhibited a high awareness of the spiritual and sacred places around them. The neighbourhood temple in particular forms a central aspect

to the teenager's sense of personal environment. In his portrayal of culture and life in a Balinese environment, Wartika, one of the 'nature lovers' placed a photo of his village temple in the centre of his poster – it links and balances all those things that in his view make up the aspects of culture and environment in Balinese society, “my God” (*Tuhanku*), “my life” (*kehidupanku*), and “my Bali” (*Baliku*) (Figure 8.5).

The students mentioned Balinese customary law and traditional concepts, as regulators for the daily practices that sustain spiritual balance. Customary law “forges important connections between environment and culture”²²⁰, a group of 'nature lovers' established in a small group discussion about Balinese culture. Another group provided the following example: “Cultural and spiritual institutions and practices (such as the *subak* irrigation societies or cremation ceremonies) are regulated through the concept of THK”²²¹. When I asked when THK was practiced, the students unanimously shouted “every day!!!!!!” One girl elaborated that people prayed every day and offerings were made, so that the harmony in the relationship between people and God was re-established on a daily basis. I asked whether people also maintained a harmonious relationship with the *environment* on a daily basis. There was a pause. A girl eventually replied: “Some do and some don't”. Another girl stated that when considering the pollution of Balinese rivers one could clearly see that not all people cared about the harmony between people and the environment. Thus, the concepts of both *Ajeg Bali* and THK featured in students' debated and conceptions about culture, environment and sustainable 'balance', future and cosmic harmony.

²²⁰ “Hubungan alam dengan kebudayaan: Adat istiadat”.

²²¹ “Hubungan agama, alam, lingkungan, kebudayaan di Bali diterapkan konsep Tri Hita Karana. Subak, Ngaben”.

‘Modernisation’ and ‘change’ the workshop participants saw as processes that cause disharmony and ‘unbalance’. The tendency to transform Balinese landscapes to cater for tourists’ needs was one issue the teenagers perceived to be ‘unbalancing’ Balinese life. Many students were quite critical of the “negative influence of foreign culture in the lives of Balinese society”²²², especially where it seemed inappropriate in the light of Balinese cultural tradition. To spark off a discussion about tourism, modernity, culture and environment, I gave groups of students a comic from the magazine *Bog Bog*. The comic alludes to one of the more recent, post-Suharto mega-tourism projects: the plan to build a 10 km long aerial cable car above the scenic village of Munduk in the *kabupaten* Buleleng (Picard 2005). The cartoon portrays a picturesque village over which a group of camera-clenching tourist dangles in a cable car. After discussing the comic, one group of ‘English students’ phrased the following commentary:

The village is very beautiful and interesting because the view is still natural. So, many tourists come to that village. They don’t have transport to visit that place. So, they use the cable car to see the view. But, they have problems with traditional law in Bali. They mustn’t make cable car higher than temples. Balinese can’t stop the activity, because the Balinese get income from the tourists (original in English).

A group of ‘nature lovers’, in turn, crafted this statement:

This image mirrors a village that is already influenced by modernisation, for example a cable car has been constructed for tourists. This cable car should not have been built only so that tourists can enjoy nature. It also reflects [concerns around] *Ajeg Bali*. And there is one issue that is impossible and that is to build a cable car although beneath it there is a temple. This is very disrespectful of religion²²³.

²²² “Adanya pengaruh budaya asing yang negatif dalam kehidupan masyarakat Bali” (workshop on youth in Bali, SMA6).

²²³ “Gambar ini mencerminkan desa yang sudah terkena modernisasi contohnya dibuat kereta gantung bagi wisatawan seharusnya kereta ini tidak dibangun agar para toris itu lebih menikmati keadaan alam khususnya di Bali; dan agak mencerminkan *ajeg Bali*; dan ada satu hal yang tidak mungkin yaitu membuat kereta gantung padahal dibawahnya ada pura dan itu sangat tidak menghormati agama”.

Both groups of students noticed a conflict between tourism development, culture and the balance of the Balinese spiritual cosmos. The fact that a tourist cable car overlooked a temple violated both the temple's sanctity and Balinese customary law. Both student groups see the progression of tourists into rural Balinese areas, aided by modern technology, as a form of intrusion and as a submission to the demands of the tourism industry. While most participants exhibited a quite positive attitude towards tourism in general²²⁴, the statement that "Balinese can't stop the activity" of building a scenic cable car, "because the Balinese get income from the tourists" shows a certain feeling of 'powerlessness' in the face of the financial and economic potency of the 'tourism industry'. As I have stated before, in Bali, the loss of land is often associated with a loss of culture, as ancestral land is not only an important part of the family lineage, but also the spiritual home of the ancestors' souls. As a 'nature lover' elaborated: "Many Balinese are selling the land of their ancestors to foreign investors. Balinese society, particularly the population residing in villages, is already influenced by modernisation²²⁵". The fear that the influence from 'outside' might destroy the integrity and harmony 'inside' is a concern that is

²²⁴ In their future visions, one student expressed hope for an increase in tourist number, while several others hoped that Bali would become a "beautiful tourist place", "where tourists can enjoy recreation with their families". This positive attitude of 'urban kids' contradicts the findings of Wall (1996), whose study on 'perspectives on tourism in selected Balinese villages' revealed a trend that attitudes towards tourism are increasingly positive with growing distance from tourist resorts and centres. The author suggests that despite possibilities of economic benefits created by tourism, close proximity to tourists in tourism centres creates more negative attitudes towards both tourists and the tourism industry. A more recent study by Robinson and Meaton (2005) argues that in the aftermath of the Bali bombings, residents of remote villages hold a more critical perspective of tourism than their urban counterparts who live near tourist areas, as Bali's rural population has access to alternative livelihoods. Many of those involved in (and dependent on) the tourism industry, on the other hand, cling to the image of tourism as beneficial and decided to sit out the slump in tourism numbers in the tourism centres (Robinson and Meaton, 2005).

²²⁵ "Kami rasa bog-bog tersebut sangat memperhatikan keadaan masyarakat dan lingkungan. Banyak masyarakat Bali yang menjual tanah leluhurnya kepada investor asing. Masyarakat Bali, penduduk desa pada khususnya sudah terkena modernisasi".

consciously supported by the *Ajeg Bali* discourse, and something most of the students could readily relate to.

In some instances, students' commentary on Balinese futures and culture even recreated the exclusionary elements of hegemonic sustainability discourses in Bali. *Ajeg Bali* and THK create a 'Balineseness' which is based on Hindu Balinese religion, but makes universalist claims about its alleged cross-religious and cross-cultural relevance. Through *Ajeg Bali* and THK, Balinese academics and spiritual leaders indirectly promote an adversary attitude towards any outside influence that challenges the integrity of that constructed 'Balineseness'. Such animosity is often directed at immigrants who are accused of exploiting the local economy while showing insufficient care for Balinese environments. In their workshop contributions, some students reproduced this fear of 'outsiders' created in the *Ajeg Bali* discourse. In his vision for the future, one student stated:

I hope the government will forbid people coming to Bali because they want to work for example as petty vendors...and other small businesses, because in Bali it is...already crowded enough. Normally those who are not native Balinese do not care about the environment in Bali and only look for their own profit.

The alleged connection between foreignness / unfamiliarity with Balinese customs and environmentally destructive behaviour echoes the *Ajeg Bali* discourse. Influenced by reports in the local media, some students reiterated the prejudice that newcomers to Bali end up mostly in low-income and low socio-economic positions and come to Bali solely to exploit its resources for their own benefit. As one teenager stated, "Immigrants are often on the streets. Beggars can cause conflict. Are they poor or not? The newspaper says they are not poor. They can work daily, but they are lazy". Some of the workshop participants saw

increased immigration to Bali as a threat to the sustainability of those values they had emphasised as worth sustaining in their visions of Balinese futures.

In the workshop programs, students conceptualised Balinese sustainability discourses within the framework of *local* hegemonic discourses on Balinese future and integrity. It seems that the discursive power of local sustainability discourses, which have entered Balinese formal education, forms a framework for students to approach sustainability and the future. This framework is much stronger and more prominent in student discourses than globalised notions of sustainability. Also in youth languages and knowledges local conceptions of future take up a hegemonic position.

The influence of local discourses on student conceptions can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it may be seen as positive that *Ajeng Bali* encourages young people to perform and sustain Hindu Balinese practices that foster the harmony among environmental, cultural and spiritual spheres. Thereby, local debates create a focus on and debate around Balinese values and culture. This is an important component of ‘sustainability-as-debate’ and encourages students to form their own views on Balinese environments, culture and futures. On the other hand, the exclusionary elements in local discourses – especially those directed at foreigners – are worrying. The media creates a fear of the foreign that does not foster social collaboration in discussing and advancing sustainability. Instead, the subject position created for young people in advancing sustainable futures closes off possibilities for young non-Hindu Balinese.

Intriguingly, the exclusionary aspects of the *Ajeg Bali* discourse only emerged in the shorter-term discussions of the workshop programs with the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’. In their documentary film ‘Segi Lima’, which I now turn to, the Green Team approached sustainability and foreignness in a fundamentally different way.

8.4 The odd side of the pentagon: Speaking sustainability differently

‘*Segi lima – sisi lain kotaku*’ is the title of the final outcome of the Green Team film production process. This translates to ‘Pentagon, another side of my city’. The film team chose the metaphor of a pentagon, as the ‘odd side’ in this geometrical figure (the ‘tip’ of the pentagon) differs from the other sides and thus mirrors the topic of ‘otherness’. In unearthing the connection between poverty and river pollution in an urban shanty town, the students’ aim was to illustrate the vast socio-economic differences that exist across the city of Denpasar.

The film team wanted to portray a part of the capital that is often ignored in the tourist hype surrounding the city: the livelihood of a socio-economically marginalised community dwelling only hundreds of meters away from the fancy icons of middle-class Denpasar, the shopping malls, cinemas and tourist attractions that reflect images of globalised modernity. ‘Kampung Java’ or ‘Java village’ – as its name implies – it is a village of immigrants from the island of Java²²⁶. Just before Indonesian independence, these immigrants were allocated land by the *Raja* of Badung to settle on the river banks of the Tukad Badung, so one of

²²⁶ The inhabitants of Kampung Java are strictly speaking mostly from Madura, a small island off the north-eastern coast of Java, and have mostly come to Denpasar as ‘*pendatang*’ (‘immigrants’).

PPLH's staff informed me. Kampung Java is stigmatised for being 'different', and is, at least by name, known to most residents of Denpasar.

It is intriguing that it was this particular choice of theme for a documentary film that finally emerged during the first weeks of the film team program. After a two-day introductory workshop facilitated by a Balinese film director, which introduced all participants (including the NGO staff and myself) to the basics of cinematography, the film team was free to develop their own ideas for their film project. In a number of workshops conducted at PPLH's education centre, the students, five boys and five girls, debated the type of film they wanted to produce as well as the story line and script. Initial ideas of producing a docudrama that would contain student acting were quickly abandoned due to the short 12-week duration of the program. The tight timeframe only allowed for a few sessions of storyline and script development, shooting on location and subsequent editing respectively. The students then settled on the issue of river pollution, and came up with Kampung Java as a location to film and study. The fact that the students independently chose a village of Javanese immigrants in the midst of the overwhelmingly Hindu Denpasar immediately intrigued me, as this resonated with the ethnic and religious 'otherings' that were emerging so prominently in local discourses during the time of my fieldwork. After the discussion of foreignness, culture and environment with the 'English students' and 'nature lovers', I expected a similar connection between cultural 'otherness', poverty and environmental destruction that these discourses partly enhance. As it turned out, however, the students' intensive involvement with Kampung Java would result in a very different portrayal of 'otherness' than that engaged in local debates.

Throughout the film production process, the film team went through a personalised transformation in its relation with Kampung Java. The first excursion to the filming location proved an adventure that not all film team students look back upon with pleasant memories. When we arrived in Kampung Java, the film team – which now consisted of a self-elected crew of a director, a producer, a camera and editing team – two of PPLH’s staff and I slowly followed uneven steps from the main road towards a seemingly random assembly of shanty houses. After crossing the Badung River by way of a flimsy bamboo bridge, we balanced along the rail-less cement ridges of the river bank, carefully squeezing past a group of nude children who were happily preparing to take jumps from the ridge into the waters of the Badung. Only barely avoiding a fall into the river and clinging to his tripod, one of the cameramen turned around and gave me a look of ‘this is not what I expected from my ‘film career’’. Seeing Kampung Java up close was a confronting experience for all of us. It was hard to face the poverty in the village and to witness life in a suburb where running water is considered a luxury, and where children play soccer with burning coals in mud alleys rather than in green parks. Far away seemed the formidable leisure and sporting facilities the interviewees in the government park of Renon had praised.

Experiencing the life conditions in a shanty town was a new experience for the middle class film team members. One of the students was so shocked that he refused to return to the village for filming again²²⁷. Another team member phrased his first impression of Kampung Java as finding a “black spot in the city of Denpasar, the opposite of the glamour

²²⁷ As participation in the program was voluntary, of course, this student’s choice to avoid the filming location was respected. The boy decided to become more involved again at later stages of the program during the editing work that was conducted at PPLH’s office.

and beauty of the city”²²⁸. However, after the film team had developed the script and shot list, had practiced to use the camera equipment, and shooting in Kampung Java finally began, the team quickly adapted and warmed to ‘their’ filming location. Before long, the team members knew their way around the village, and the bamboo bridge now seemed like a small obstacle in reaching the film set. The teenagers were excited to pick a ‘perfect’ location for each shot, became comfortable in approaching the residents for information and interviews, and after a few visits were constantly followed by a circle of fascinated children, who enjoyed the presence of a camera team in their neighbourhood.



Figure 8.6: Discovering the voices of Kampung Java (GreenTeam, 2004).

Through the filming process, the students personally came to know the people of Kampung Java and started to feel empathy for their views and concerns. In interviews, of which excerpts are shown in the film, the residents speak about their livelihoods, their personal life story, their daily activities, about life in the village more generally, about problems of water pollution, and about their hopes for the future (Figure 8.6). Ibu Suryati, a widow the students interviewed very early on in the filming process, became one of the ‘leading characters’ in the documentary. Ibu Suryati is in her fifties, has lost her husband and now secures an economic livelihood for herself and her two children by sewing up mattresses,

²²⁸ “Inilah hitamnya kota Denpasar, dibalik glamor dan indahnya kota”.

which are then sold on the street – an activity several village women are involved in. Other community members, so Ibu Suryati explains, sell glasses and watches, work as mobile *sate* vendors or own small food stalls in the village²²⁹. Ibu Suryati affirms that the community of this part of Kampung Java, which is not serviced with running water and only equipped with a communal water pump, directly depends on the waters of the Badung River for most basic daily activities – washing, cleaning dishes, washing clothes, as a “free swimming pool for the kids” (according to the film caption), but also as a sewerage system. At the same time, she explains, most garbage produced in the community is thrown into the river, “because it is faster and easier; seldom people take the garbage to the street or to the garbage bin; that is rare”²³⁰.

²²⁹ While Ibu Suryati speaks the film contains images of *sate* stalls parked on the main village square. The muddy square is cramped with motor bikes and both used and old, rotting wooden food stalls, intersected with clothes lines. One food stall features the writing ‘*Sate Ayam Madura*’ (chicken skewers from Madura, the origin of most of Kampung Java’s residents) on its glass window.

²³⁰ “Biasanya masyarakat disini...lebih banyak yang buang sampah di kali, karena lebih cepat, lebih mudah; jarang yang buang ke jalan, ke tempat sampah, itu jarang” (GreenTeam, 2004).



Figure 8.7: The garbage management problems in Kampung Java (GreenTeam, 2004).

Garbage accumulation and pollution of the Badung River are two of the most pressing environmental problems in the village. In the heart of the shanty town, most free spaces are covered in plastic waste and canals leading into the river are clogged with garbage; foaming substances linger here, bubbling as the water runs through them (Figure 8.7). Several scenes in this part of the film portray the problems of waste management and pollution in the village: children playing amongst piles of plastic waste; a chicken roaming a large area covered in plastic bags in search of food scraps; a boy angrily throwing a stick into the fire that burns away on top of a mountain of garbage.

According to a study on water quality carried out by the provincial Department for the Environment in partnership with Denpasar University, the 19 km long Tukad Badung, which flows through a mostly urban area of 22.55 square km in the two *kabupaten* Badung

and Denpasar, shows a higher level of pollution than other Balinese rivers included in the study. Nitrate levels of 11.1 mg/l measured upstream in the Badung, 10.2 mg/l halfway down the river's course and 10.7 mg/l near its estuary all exceed the maximum level of 10 mg/l outlined in the Governor's decree No. 5.15 in the year 2000. Also in terms of nitrite and phosphate levels and the concentration of e-coli bacteria and coliform, the Badung exceeds the levels measured in other Balinese rivers²³¹ (BAPEDALDA and PSLUW, 2004a). Thus, pollution is an issue that due to their dependence on the Badung, residents in Kampung Java feel more immediately than other 'Denpasarese'.

The village children of Kampung Java seem largely oblivious to the environmental pollution of their living environment. Whenever filming in the village, we saw children cheerfully bathing in the river. The pleasure of swimming in the waters of the Badung River was confirmed by the second 'leading character' of the film, a young boy who accompanied the film team everywhere they went when 'on location' in the village (Figures 8.8 and 8.9). The boy is seen in most captions of children playing and running around the village. He was also the only child who dared to volunteer for an interview. The boy explained the importance of the river in his daily life to Ari, the film director:

²³¹ The study measured the water quality of the rivers Tukad Saba, Medewi, Balian, Sungi, Mati, Badung, Ayung, Petanu, Pekersian, Melangit, Jinah and Undah. Nitrate levels upstream, for example, were measured as 11.1 mg/l for the Badung, and only reached between 3 and 4 mg/l in all other rivers. The amount of E.coli was as high as 90 MPN/100 ml in the upstream area of the Badung, and only between 0 and 5 MPN/100 ml in the other rivers (although the measurements for all rivers are far below the government-determined maximum level of 2000 MPN/100 ml). Phosphate levels measured half-way down-stream were 1.447 ml/l for the Badung, and only between 0.3 and 0.6 for most other rivers (with the exception of the Tukad Mati, which contains over 2 mg of phosphate per litre) (BAPEDALDA and PSLUW, 2004a).

Ari: *Have you used this river before?*
Boy: Yes, I have.
Ari: *What for?*
Boy: For swimming and washing.
Ari: *Do you enjoy bathing in the river?*
Boy: Yes, very much!
Ari: *Normally when you swim, is that with lots of friends, playing together?*
Boy: Yes, with friends, or alone.
Ari: *If you were asked to bathe at home or in the river, which one would you choose?*
Boy: I would choose at home or in the river.
Ari: *One – just one of the two!* [laughs]
Boy: Oh, one of the two... Then in the river!
Ari: *Why is that?*
Boy: Because it's really enjoyable! [smiles]



Figure 8.8: Interviewing the main 'youth respondent'.



Figure 8.9: The kids enjoy the 'free swimming pool' the Badung River provides in Kampung Java (GreenTeam, 2004).

Adults allow children to bathe in the river despite their knowledge of the degrading cleanliness of the water: "What the kids here really like most is swimming in the river. Yes, they don't want to bathe in the well. They love the river... We can't say anything, we can't forbid it!"²³², Ibu Suryati explains in the film with an understanding smile. Another adult respondent states that the experience of bathing in the river had changed because of

²³² "Anak-anak disini itu memang paling senang dia mandi di kali. Ya, ndak mau mandi di sumur, ndak mau. Senangnya di kali...Ndak bisa dibilangi, tidak bisa dilarang" (GreenTeam, 2004).

increasing water pollution. The middle-aged man recalls his experience of bathing in the river when growing up in Kampung Java:

When I was still small the water was clean. That was here, around 1974. Back then the water was clean. After that many vendors and *pendatang* came and now the water has become dirty. [People] throw garbage around, into the river, although the river is for washing and other things...So the awareness of the people is just insufficient²³³.

Later on in the film, one respondent, interviewed while fishing in the river, confirms that the water used to be clean, but was now already “coming down dirty”²³⁴ because of pollution further upstream. His hope for the future was for “the river to be really clean, just that”.

One of the major themes that emerge in the film is that of poverty and the consequences of poverty for quality of life, life choices and environmental sustainability. Other than just ‘difference’, the film examines the *interconnectedness* between poverty, the livelihoods of Kampung Java residents, and pollution of the Badung River. The students consciously decided to focus on the poorest section of the village²³⁵, where inhabitants depend on the river for daily necessities due to lack of access to running water or a sewerage system²³⁶.

²³³ “Waktu kecil itu bersih airnya. Disini itu, tahun 74an. Itu bersih airnya. Setelah itu pedagang dan pendatang banyak, sekarangnya menjadi kotor, kumuh, airnya. Buang sampah sembarangan, membuang sampah ke kali, padahal kali untuk mandi, untuk apa...Jadi kesadaran orang yang kurang” (GreenTeam, 2004).

²³⁴ “Turun buruk dari atas” (GreenTeam, 2004).

²³⁵ There are significant socio-economic differences between different parts of Kampung Java, which is located in between two rivers. The other side of the village, built on the banks of a narrower river, is significantly better off: here houses are multi-storey and built with concrete. Residents have access to running water and sewerage, there are cars parked in front of the houses and satellite dishes attached to several roofs. Thus, within Kampung Java, the section built on the Badung River is the ‘poor section’ – houses are made shift and are put together from a mix of concrete, wood and aluminium pieces. Houses here mostly contain only one or two dark rooms, equipped with sparse furniture – although in several houses I saw television sets.

²³⁶ While the central water pump, which is operated manually, provides treated water, the difficult access leads most residents to fall back to the river as a water source. Residents transport pumped-up water to their

Residents of Kampung Java are direct victims of water pollution caused further upstream, but simultaneously contribute to the waters' pollution. Although residents directly suffer from decreasing water quality, the river is used as a means of waste disposal on a daily basis. Due to the community's poverty and the lack of government services, the residents have less choice than other Denpasar citizens in managing their solid and liquid waste. Problematically, in many cases the river also appears to be the 'easier' option to get rid of waste²³⁷. Despite a lack of government support and financial means to upgrade services, if community members were serious about reducing the garbage problem there would be several options. To avoid garbage pile-ups on the village grounds, reduce river pollution and decrease the necessity to burn, village members could negotiate with richer parts of Kampung Java to organise for garbage collection or discuss composting options for organic waste. In fact, as one Kampung Java resident explained, there are already efforts to reduce pollution, such as an annual river clean-up. Also, the village head had given the residents suggestions on how to keep the environment clean. As "not everyone wants to be aware, not everyone can be aware"²³⁸, the river still looked the way it did, the respondent complained.

In the film workshops the students debated how to present life in Kampung Java and how to visually approach the interconnectedness of poverty and pollution. An issue the students acutely wrestled with during the editing process was how to portray the residents of

houses in buckets, for cooking purposes. This exercise is taxing where large amounts of water are required, so in such a case, residents prefer to use the communal pump.

²³⁷ For example, rather than transporting garbage up the stairs to the main road it is thrown onto village grounds and subsequently burnt, or else thrown into the river.

²³⁸ "Ngak semua orang mau sadar, ngak bisa sadar semua...harapannya sih saya berharap juga kali ini tetap bersih, begitu aja".

Kampung Java through the choice of images, interviews and music featured in the film. Students did not want to depict the residents as victims of poverty, governmental negligence and pollution. Although many residents in Kampung Java live close to the bare minimum for existence, life in the village does not appear ‘unhappy’. Children are cheerful, laugh, play and run around, women and families sit together, wash dishes together, or chat and watch their children play (Figure 8.10). Men fish on the river banks with their friends and sons, repair houses or gather around food stalls. As one student asked during an editing workshop: “Is this a community of ‘victims’, or of sad and unhappy citizens?”



Figure 8.10: Kids at play. Children proudly showed us their village when we arrived at Kampung Java (right). Playing with a burning coal ball, drenched in petrol, is a ‘tradition’ amongst boys in the hamlet (left and centre).

Thus, the students refrained from using narration and decided to let residents themselves describe life in Kampung Java in their own words. This would not only solve the issue of representation, the team decided, but would give the documentary more authenticity and lend the village people a face.

Beyond difficulties in representing poverty, the film team was also aware of the danger of reinforcing the stigma of cultural difference attached to Kampung Java through their film.

As, clearly, this was not the film team's intention, the students decided not to mention the name of the village in the film, thereby making the location an 'anonymous quarter' of Denpasar²³⁹. The theme of religious otherness never came up in a negative way in any of the film workshops or discussions. Although the 'stigma' attached to Kampung Java may have resulted in the students choosing this location for filming in the first place, the link between cultural and religious difference and environmental negligence, which features in hegemonic local discourses of sustainability, was never made by the film team. Instead, those who made a link between increasing numbers of immigrants and environmental destruction were the residents of Kampung Java themselves. One of the interviewees, quoted above on the deteriorating water quality in the river, mentions that "after that many vendors and *pendatang* came and now the water has become dirty". It was surprising to hear an immigrant, who has come to call Bali home, express fear about ongoing immigration, overcrowding and their environmental consequences.

The film team unsettles some of the foundations of 'hegemonic' languages of 'the other'. In the film, those lumped together as the 'outsiders' in local discourses of sustainability become people with faces, stories and concerns – concerns that might not be so different from those of many Balinese who according to *Ajeg Bali* are on the 'inside' of Bali's cultural identity. When talking to immigrants, it became clear that 'outside' and 'inside' in the *Ajeg Bali* discourse and in the immigrants' own discourses are constructed along different lines. The community of Kampung Java sees itself as part of Bali, their river as both part of Bali's ecosystem and as a source of their own livelihood. Rather than as the

²³⁹ A shot of a street sign, however, may give away which village is portrayed to some Denpasar residents (the students were particularly attached to this difficult street sign shot that had taken them hours to film).

'outsiders' local discourses make them to be, these immigrants see themselves as on the 'inside' and view potential future newcomers as on the 'outside', causing overcrowding and increasing the pressure on Bali's resources. As the interviews reveal, the residents of Kampung Java are far from unaware of or indifferent to environmental pollution in Bali. So, instead of reinforcing the existing stigma, this documentary came to provide an immigrant perspective on the discourse of Balinese sustainability. The residents of Kampung Java show a clear concern for the future of Bali's natural environment.

Working *with* the people of Kampung Java rather than discursively excluding them led to a more proactive and inclusive way of approaching sustainability. Rather than assigning blame to this particular community for exacerbating pollution, the students concluded that the residents of Denpasar are 'in this together'. The film ends with the message: "What they hope for is not an issue that is removed from all our lives. Rivers are the water source for the citizens of Denpasar. Do we care whether our rivers are polluted?"²⁴⁰. The message points the viewer to the fact that rivers are a *common* good and that it is the responsibility of *all* citizens to keep Denpasar's rivers clean. Whoever was to watch *Segi Lima*, so the film team decided, was to take a minute to consider his or her own role in and responsibilities for the sustainability of Denpasar's environment. The film team's close involvement with the location of Kampung Java during the filming process, getting to know its residents on a personal level and sympathising with their situation led the teenagers to resist the more exclusionary and culturally conservative paths of local

²⁴⁰ "Yang mereka harapi bukan hal yang terpisah dari kehidupan kita. Sungai adalah sumber air bagi warga kota Denpasar. Pedulikan kita jika sungai kita tercemar?" (GreenTeam, 2004).

discourses around *Ajeg Bali* by highlighting mutual awareness and collective responsibility.

As one student outlined in her feedback questionnaire:

In my opinion the message contained in the film *Segi Lima* is that every person should always be aware of/take care of the state of the environment around them. So that we do not see things from one angle alone. Besides that, to open our mind to see the situation of other people (Film team student)²⁴¹.

It seems that conducting a sustainability project in a long-term and intensive fashion gave the students the confidence to object to those discourses they are familiar with through the local media, and to use their own experience of Kampung Java as a reference. The film making thus helped create a language of sustainability that is much more inclusive than local 'hegemonic' discourses.

Creating an inclusive language of sustainability that was based on their own experience and expertise, generated room for the students to occupy a subject position that thrived on their very own discourse of sustainability. At the official 'launch' of *Segi Lima* on December 12, 2004²⁴², the film team responded to comments and questions from the audience. Around 50 fellow students, workshop participants, friends, teachers and relatives had come together to view the workshop results, and were keen to question the film makers about both the film content and the film making process. "Why is the film so 'black and white'?" one student asked the film team in the discussion of *Segi Lima*. "Why did you not represent Denpasar as more of a cultural city?" a teacher asked. "Were you sponsored by international fast food

²⁴¹ "Menurut saya pesan yang terkandung di dalam film Segi Lima adalah agar setiap orang selalu memperhatikan keadaan yang ada disekitar mereka. Agar jangan sampai kita hanya mengenal sesuatu dari satu sisi saja. Di samping itu, untuk membuka pikiran kita untuk melihat keadaan orang lain".

²⁴² The film launch formed part of the exhibition of the results of all three workshop programs (see Chapters 7 and 9).

chains?” another student cheekily hinted at the shots of ‘trademarks of globalisation’ that feature in the first part of *Segi Lima*. In responding to these questions, the film team engaged the languages they themselves had created and adopted during the film making process. The team now had experience with script writing, filming, directing, and editing they could fall back on, but also self-gathered knowledge of Kampung Java, its environmental dilemmas and the hopes and fears of its residents. The teenagers thus had a basis to face questions about both the technical and more conceptual elements of the film.

Ari, the director, confidently responded:

The film is black and white to some extent, but so are the discrepancies between rich and poor in Denpasar. We wanted to highlight these problems and show them to people who may turn a blind eye on them. We wanted to show that, ultimately, we are all responsible for looking after our environment.

8.5 Conclusion

‘Dominant discourses’ seek to limit what is speakable, define what appears ‘normal’, and – therefore – what seems ‘performable’ and what does not. A ‘constitutive outside’ that enables the sustainable performance of new subject positions depends on the availability of languages and discourses that make them speakable. Strengthening and supporting these discourses might require the questioning and unsettling of ‘dominant’ discourses, and then the creation of new ways of speaking the same issue. In the context of sustainability, it is the language of sustainable development that on the one hand has facilitated international political acceptance and on the other has been ‘mainstreamed’ to the extent that silences parallel discourses. In the context of Bali, discourse hegemony seems much more localised.

In the weekly workshop sessions with the ‘nature lovers’ and ‘English students’, the participants spoke sustainability largely within the context of locally hegemonic discourses. The teenagers’ ideas of sustainability proved to be profoundly local, and tied to a deeply rooted care for the island of Bali. They expressed their worry about Bali’s disappearing rice fields and ancestral lands in the face of expanding tourism infrastructure, about the spoiling of Bali’s culture under the pressures of modernisation and outside influence, and about the pollution of Bali’s natural environments. The students’ visions and statements did not forge any direct links to sustainable development discourses that are ‘hegemonised’ at the level of international politics (although some of the issues students named also feature in the sustainable development debate).

The students’ sincere care for Bali’s natural and cultural environments is an important foundation on which future sustainability education and action in Bali can build. But at the weekly school workshops, students also recreated some of the exclusionary elements of local discourses, and the projected fear of ‘invasion’ onto a certain part of Bali’s population. Within the confined time and space of these workshops, where sustainability issues were debated ‘in theory’ only, and not followed up by field visits or long-term student-led projects, the teenagers did not find a language to approach sustainability outside the hegemony of local debates.

The long-term, intensive work of the film team on sustainability issues in Kampung Java seemed to make all the difference when it came to creating student languages of sustainability. The process of making the film gave the participants more space to create a

representation of issues of environment and sustainability in Bali that interested them: poverty, river pollution, and contrasting lifestyles evolving in the face of modernisation in Bali. Instead of one- or two-hour workshop sessions, the team had three months to develop their ideas, to rethink them, and, importantly, to consider sustainability in an environment of growing team spirit and mutual exchange of values. In considering what *kind* of sustainability to produce, students needed to stop, rethink their own lives, take stock, examine and exchange their values, explore the situation of other citizens and contemplate the issue of poverty in the context of a sustainable future in Denpasar. Being able to closely interact with those who are portrayed as the ‘other’ in local discourses and to cultivate an understanding of their situation encouraged the film makers to paint the situation of Kampung Java in a new way. Through the activities of the intensive and long-term action research, the film team members found space to exercise power *to* rewrite discourses of sustainability and to create more inclusive languages of sustaining Bali. As an experiment with education *as* sustainability, this longer-term and intensive model in which students were given room to shape their own sustainability projects was more effective than the two-hour model. It was more successful in forging student-based discourses and practices of sustainability in a locality, and in creating openings and possibilities for new and different inclusions.

In the case of the film team, a new and self-produced discourse of sustainability also enabled students to represent their vision of sustainability in front of an audience at the film launch, and to inhabit the subject position of film makers they had created for themselves. In Chapter 7 I showed that new subject positions struggle to thrive without a ‘constitutive

outside' and supportive discourses. 'Segi Lima' as a documentary film is a student-based effort of discourse formation that publicises new languages and carries them *outside* the action research environment. Those who watch 'Segi Lima' are audiences who may not be familiar with the workshop program, but who may still be influenced by the discourses created by it. Making a film is one way to encourage audiences to engage with student ideas of sustainability. It is one small step that may contribute to forming a 'constitutive outside' for youth-based sustainabilities, the effort of an action research project reaching for its discursive outside and trying to alter it.

Yet, taking new languages beyond the scope of action research also requires the active 'forming of an audience' – getting 'the outside' to engage and listen. Chapter 9 will take a closer look at where the Green Team students took their youth-based knowledges and subject positions of sustainability. What happened after the workshop program had wrapped up? How did the new subject positions of the Green Team students fare in the context of (possibly non-supportive) outsides, shaped by converging 'hegemonic discourses'? The concluding chapter will provide some thoughts on the sustainability of a sustainability project, as well as on the possibilities and limits of sustainability education. I use the 'post-workshop' experiences of the Green Team members as an example to discuss how subject positions created in action research can be sustained, and to show how far they are able to alter participants' subjectivity.

Chapter 9

Education, subjectivation and the sustainability of sustainability

9.1 Towards education *as* sustainability?

This thesis had three objectives: to examine the ways in which sustainability is debated in Balinese public life generally; second, to research how it is produced and taught in formal and informal education in secondary schools; and third, to assess the outcomes of the interactive workshop program with high school students to discuss new ways to engage sustainability and education. I approached the matter of sustainability education from a conceptual perspective, using the field of education, and particularly the case of sustainability education in Bali, to research how sustainability is engaged as discourse, governmentality and subjectivation in the institutional contexts in which it is implemented. As neither sustainability nor education involves neutral concepts, policies or institutional set ups, it is critical, as I have shown, to examine how imaginaries and knowledges of sustainability intersect with the institutional arrangements and practices of education.

Sustainability matters in Bali. Young people face physically, environmentally and culturally transforming landscapes, which are made the centre of newly emerging debates. These debates problematise the topics of Balinese environment, sustainability and cultural integrity in the face of change. The *Ajeng Bali* and THK discourses are two examples of localised expressions of sustainability concerns. They construct a 'Balineseness' that is

portrayed as a culturally viable way to advance more sustainable lives. Young people are integrated into these debates in the field of education. *Ajeg Bali* and THK have entered formal education in Bali in various ways – in Hindu religious education, extra-curricular programs on Balinese culture and other school-based events, such as *Ajeg Bali* contests. In theorising sustainability issues, teachers in formal secondary education employ mainly such localised expressions of sustainability.

The sustainable development discourse, which has been on the agenda of international politics for a while, and has been given a new political thrust for the start of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in 2005, is far less prominent in Balinese education. This could be seen as a ‘lack of local solidarity’ for a global effort. But as I have shown, sustainable development is only one particular discourse of sustainability. If it is seen as the global benchmark for sustainability education, it may stifle those local approaches to sustainability that challenge or contradict. Fostering sustainability education based solely on the discourse of sustainable development is both limiting and universalist, and, on top of this, may struggle to generate local interest and relevance. Sustainable development is also a discourse developed mostly by adults and passed on as ‘knowledge’ to students in educational environments. Thus, in this thesis, I have argued for approaches to sustainability education that are non-universalist, youth-based and locally relevant.

My thesis is that in order to create such an approach, one has to consider the interplay of discourse, power and subjectivation within the spaces of both sustainability and education. The practice and politics of hegemony and scale effected through diverse discourses of

sustainability are important to study, as discourse generates power, subjectivation and governmentality. Discourses employ constructions and politics of scale, create hegemonies and thereby serve political ends. For example, the mainstreaming of sustainable development and its ‘upscaling’ to a globalised framework led to the signing of Agenda 21 by 172 Heads of State. As I have shown, how goals and practices are produced as either local or global affects how they can be pursued in place. Despite its global acceptance, the global sustainability approach may not always be most successful in acquiring local relevance. It is thus vital to question discourses of sustainability – as these affect sustainable practices. What becomes speakable seems more performable. Thus, the subject positions a discourse places on offer influence the ways in which subjects decide to govern their own behaviour.

But the powers discourse generates are not as straightforward as sometimes portrayed. For example, scenarios of ‘the global’ dominating ‘the local’, or *vice versa*, become simplistic when viewed through the lens of Allen’s (2003) diverse typology of power. In Bali, discourses of sustainability are local in their focus, and are tied to productions of ‘Balineseness’ and cultural particularity. Yet, they also negotiate their place within international and national discourses of culture, politics and sustainability, borrowing from ‘global’ discourses while simultaneously adding ‘local particularity’ to them. Through persistent lobbying, these discourses have become hegemonic at the local level – here they engage a politics of scale both with and against the international and national, and achieve dominance from their particularly local relevance and effectiveness. Besides their elements of cultural exclusion, these discourses disenfranchise young people from the phase of

discourse formation. When *Ajeg Bali* and THK are taught by adults as traditional knowledge and cultural etiquette, they can have an effect that is similarly universalising as the sustainable development discourse. To find ways to educate that start with concerns of young people was one of the main concerns of this research. Therefore, I based my action research on the notion of ‘education *as* sustainability’.

‘Education *as* sustainability’ is an approach that leaves considerable room for discourse formation as it does not start with the premise of a ‘fixed’ definition of sustainability. Rather than teaching adult-formed knowledge that is portrayed as ‘factual’, the process of education itself is seen as framing the concept of sustainability. Sustainability here becomes a debate about how we should live, a fluid and evolving discussion of how to sustain those ecological, environmental and cultural assets young people treasure. To this end, students become generators – rather than mere consumers – of sustainability knowledge. In order to avoid universalist elements it seems that an approach to education *as* sustainability enables the widest possibilities for localised and bottom-up constructions of sustainability knowledges that involve students in creative ways. Yet, the approach is also a theoretical construct that provides few suggestions for practical implementation.

My workshop program experimented with ways in which the idea of education *as* sustainability could be implemented in Balinese high school environments. The goal here was not to develop concrete lesson plans but to act out the idea of conducting sustainability education as an interactive process in an action research setting. The program worked without any introductory ‘theory lessons’ on issues that form part of international debates,

such as greenhouse gas emissions, global warming, globalisation, the carbon cycle or definitions of 'sustainable development'. By testing different methods of creative expression, I experimented with how students would react to and shape an educational exercise that started from their own perspectives and knowledge base. Of course, this is not to mean that students were completely unfamiliar with these terms from formal education. In fact, as Tisna (1998) found, Balinese students have a high awareness of (albeit lesser knowledge of) these concepts. Neither do I mean to argue that sustainability education should not contain the teaching and discussion of such scientific concepts, or that student debates would not benefit from a general knowledge of these concepts. Indeed, recent research discusses what concepts and teaching content could form part of sustainability education (Corney and Reid, 2007). My workshop program took a different angle. By not starting from a universalised knowledge base and keeping sustainability discussions essentially open, I ventured to test *what* languages, ideas and discourses students in Bali would refer to or come up with. The goal was to see how students could be encouraged to formulate opinions and knowledges of sustainability that were based on their own knowledge and experience.

The program aimed to support the formation of student knowledges and discourses through various avenues of participation that were based on creative expression, discussion and critical thinking. Arguably, the pre-assumption that youth involvement in sustainability should take place as 'critical, creative engagement' is based, to some extent, on a Western notion of education and citizenship. In an Indonesian context, the formation of critical engagement in education takes a much less prominent position. Although recent

educational policy developments in Indonesia are based on the rhetoric of ‘participation’, this participation is not necessarily assumed to include critical thinking or the challenging of knowledge, discourse and practice. But if sustainability education is to create locally-relevant and youth-based knowledges and practices, then a teaching approach that leaves students room to explore, question, discuss and perform seems necessary. A degree of participation in education that fosters critical engagement and that takes the students’ own opinions and experiences as a starting point for knowledge-formation may help create a sense of ownership in students for the aspects of sustainability they personally care for. It may be that participatory approaches such as those pursued in this program may only form the start to a more comprehensive sustainability education unit which also embraces the teaching of concepts such as sustainable development or climate change. My program experimented with ways of encouraging students to start thinking about – and form their own opinions of – sustainability in a Balinese context, while starting from the students themselves.

As I have shown, the premise of forging participation was not always successful in the workshop program. Where the workshop activities did not match students’ interests, or their visions of what their role in environmental performance should be, the participants exercised their power *to* refrain from participation. What may appear as a failure of participation to ‘empower’ – according to the language of many development publications – might actually just be a different way to effect power. In this project, spaces of non-participation generated power, though this form of empowerment did not help in a proactive and creative way to shape sustainability knowledges and practices. While students

affected the course of events and indirectly shaped the workshop program through resistance and non-engagement, the moments in which they became creators of sustainability knowledge and discourses hinged upon their *proactive* participation. The outputs showed that an interactive workshop program can trigger both student-induced discourses and subject positions of sustainability.

In Chapters 7 and 8 I demonstrated how this small experiment with education as sustainability led students to create knowledge about youth waste management behaviour, about life in a marginalised and culturally different suburb, and about their own and other people's visions for Bali in the year 2020. Students both recreated and unearthed discourses of sustainability, cultural integrity and 'otherness'. The more intensive program of the Green Team in particular, enabled students to develop alternative subject positions for themselves – those of interviewers, researchers, film directors, camera operators and editors. Within the program, students found spaces to inhabit and develop these subject positions; and started to govern themselves according to the expectations that came with them. The researchers would stop throwing garbage around when at the PPLH offices, and educated the film team about the statistics of waste management behaviour. The film team, in turn, would identify with their film and its inclusive message of environmental responsibility, and would defend this message in discussions with other students, and even teachers.

Based on the experience of this action research project, it seems that the idea of education *as* sustainability might be most successful when implemented in a longer-term, intensive

fashion. In encouraging student involvement and pro-active engagement, the Green Team waste management and film projects were successful. A more project-based intensive approach, such as the Green Team program, leaves students enough opportunity not only to assess their own values and visions in regards to sustainability, but to craft their own project in working towards a vision. The weekly workshops also brought up interesting discussions and creative outputs such as posters, photos and theatre performances. But one topic was never discussed for much more than one session, which is why students had much less time to connect with each topic. Also, the poster-making, map-making and photo voice all operated on a fairly general level of assessing issues and values of sustainability, with much less opportunity to delve into deeper issues, such as waste management or the relationship between poverty and water pollution. Students had less time to ‘develop’ their own languages of sustainability by speaking and interacting about it in an intensive and ongoing fashion. The ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’ also had much less space to experiment with new subject positions by testing them out in a step-by-step manner. The workshop setup required these students to make one-time contributions to an array of topics, often at a theoretical level only. Meanwhile, the Green Team students had time to slowly get accustomed to the subject positions and practices of film-makers or interviewers, while actually practicing these self-developed subject positions ‘in the field’.

The intensive engagement of the Green Team students with ‘their own’ project also seemed to leave much more of a personal impact on the teenagers. When it comes to action research that focuses on qualitative research methods and interactive teaching techniques, it is hard to measure or quantify the outcome. How much the research participants learned in

the research process, what things they will remember and which practices they will continue to perform after the action research program finished requires ongoing additional research. In this context I will be more concerned with the question of what subject positions created in the program could be sustained, and where the project may have started to contribute to a 'constitutive outside' beyond the program margins. As this is not a longitudinal study, of course, these can only be glimpses of the impact such a three-month program can have. In the following section, I recount a few stories of how the student participants of this research program evolved after the program had finished, and where the research activities did and did not continue to influence their lives.

9.2 Some thoughts on the sustainability of sustainability

One aspect that is sometimes neglected in sustainability projects is the sustainability of the project and its impact. The workshop programs in Bali generated awareness, debate, creativity, new knowledges, languages and subject positions. But, what happens after an action research project of sustainability wraps up? To expect research participants to walk away from a project and practice more 'sustainable' behaviour on a daily basis is optimistic. I was interested whether the Green Team in particular had sustained the enthusiastic teamwork the program had generated. I visited Bali three times after my 'official' field research had wrapped up; in February / March 2005, in June 2005, and in April 2006. During these visits, I had the chance to catch up with some of the students, and to visit PPLH and the schools I had worked with. During these visits, I was particularly interested to see where the students were taking the knowledge, discourses and subject positions they had created for themselves during the research process, and whether this

sustainability project had actually generated an ongoing sustainability process in some shape or form.

As I have shown, new subject positions are not easy to uphold without the research environment that constituted them. As the wasteful practices of the research team at the local cinema showed, performing the subject positions of ‘waste management experts’ failed in the absence of a ‘constitutive outside’. What is needed is the development of new languages – beyond the action research environment – that make new behaviours imaginable and performable. In the case of ‘Segi Lima’, the inclusive language the students had developed through the film helped them perform their subject positions of film makers in front of an audience. How to extend the languages that will support new subject positions beyond the scope of an action research project seems one of the challenges to the sustainability of sustainability education. To carry the ‘constitutive outside’ that an action research project may create *outside* this space is the key upon which the long-term performance of new subject position hinges. I now consider the stories of several Green Team members post their workshop experience to make my point about the subjects of sustainability.

Into new ‘outsides’ – The Green Team’s expanding role

After the workshops had wrapped up, several opportunities emerged for participants to carry the subject positions developed during the research beyond this discursive scope. These opportunities emerged partly from the students’ own initiative and enabled the teenagers to build on the skills they had accumulated during the research processes, and to

engage the languages and subject positions they had developed. The first occasion was the final exhibition for all programs that took place at the PPLH meeting room on December 12, 2004. Here, the students presented their work to a total audience of around 50 people – school teachers, members of the first Green Team, the ‘English students’ and ‘nature lovers’²⁴³, as well as some friends and family members. For the exhibition, the participants had set up an elaborate display of their workshop productions: posters created by all three groups, the research team’s garbage bin, and a huge screen on which *Segi Lima* was to be ‘launched’ (see Figure 9.1). The program also featured a number of presentations: a program overview by the NGO staff and me, and presentations by students from SMP8, SMA6 and the Green Team on the workshop programs and their creative outcomes. Setting up the displays and preparing for their presentations created excitement among all participants. As Ari, the film director, remarked: “there was the peak of our 3-month long activities, and it was presented to many people. Is this not a test for the mind?”²⁴⁴

Being in the limelight as presenters was a challenge for many of the participants, who were not used to presenting in front of an audience – and particularly one drawn from the context of formal education. Being questioned by their own peers, by adults and even teachers reversed the roles students and teachers usually assume in formal education. It was now the teenagers who presented and explained. The students managed to overcome their initial nervousness by taking up some of the new subject positions they had practiced throughout

²⁴³ All workshop participants were invited to take a role in the final exhibition. Unfortunately, the event coincided with the ‘English students’ week of major exams, which is why only three members of this group represented the program. The ‘nature lovers’ turned up in almost full numbers. Students from each school had been asked to invite one teacher of their choice from their school. Unfortunately, school principals who had been invited could not attend.

²⁴⁴ “disinilah puncak kegiatan kami selama 3 bulan dan dipertontonkan kepada orang banyak. Apakah itu tidak menguji mental?”.

the course of the programs: those of interviewers, researchers, artists, English speakers, directors, editors, camera operators and film producers. When presenting and addressing questions, the teenagers used the languages they had created in the workshop activities – in discussions, poster-making, photo voice, the research and the film. For example, the research team quoted statistics and recounted episodes from their interview experience; the film team described their first impressions of Kampung Java and recounted how they had captured difficult shots; two English students performed an *ad hoc* presentation of their program, using the English vocabulary they had learned when creating their posters. In the exhibition, the teenagers had become ‘educators’ whose knowledge was both acknowledged and greatly appreciated by both students and adults. Here, the program unsettled the subject positions students are used to from formal education and put into effect student-based subject positions.

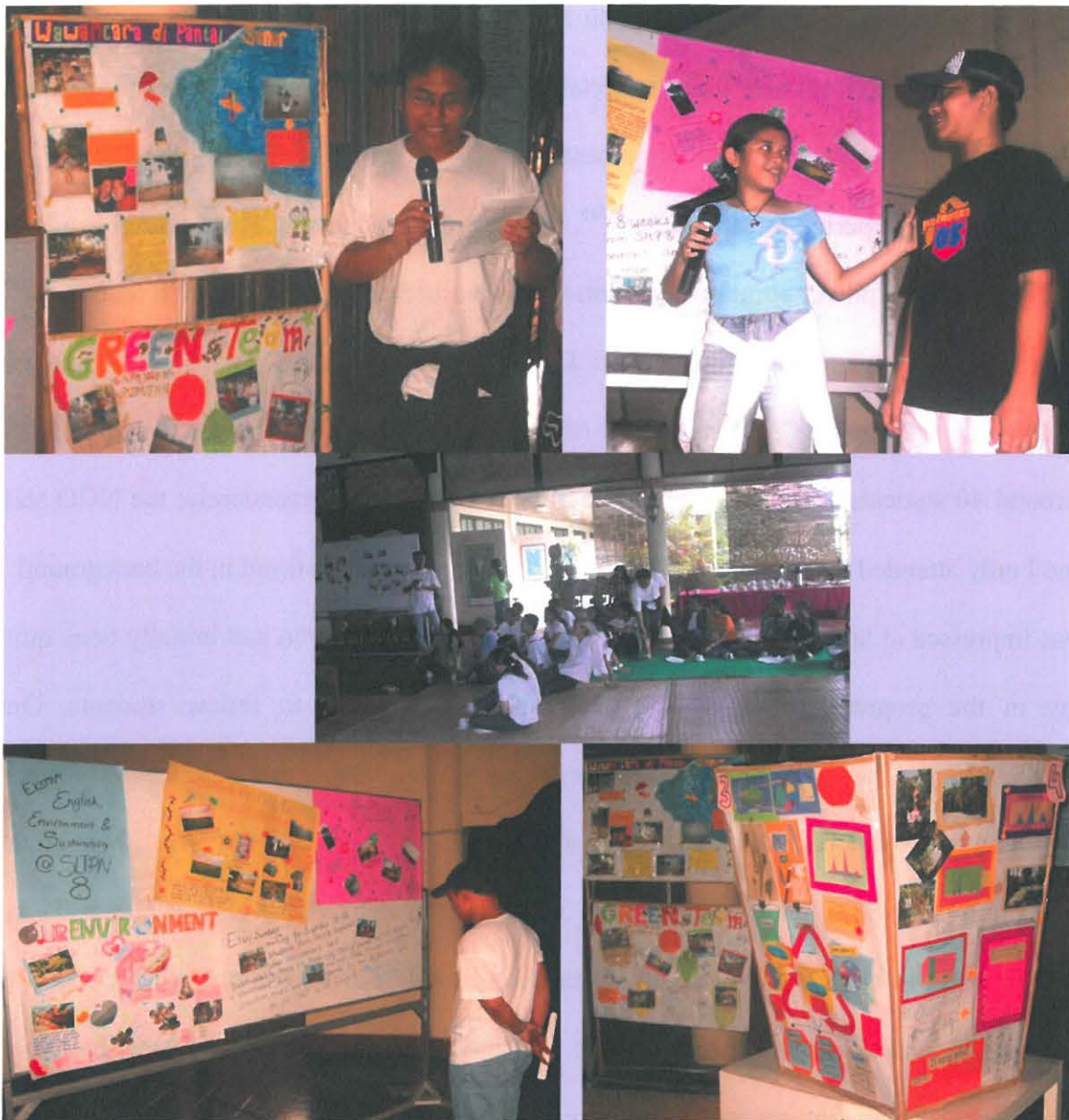


Figure 9.1: Performing new subject positions at the final exhibition. Agung presents the findings of the waste management research (top left); two students from SMP8 whip up a spontaneous presentation in English language, introducing the ‘English meets sustainability’ program at their school (top right); the audience enjoys the launch of *Segi Lima* (centre); an English teacher of SMP8 studies the posters produced by his students (bottom left); and the research group’s garbage bin and posters (bottom right).

The Green Team decided to build upon its experience as presenters and to engage this role beyond the official close of the workshop program in December 2004. In early 2005, when

PPLH held an evaluation workshop with the Green Team students (in my absence), the students expressed their interest in undertaking a 'Road Show', in which they would tour their ten high schools to present the research outcomes and film. During the time of my second fieldwork period in March 2005²⁴⁵, the students produced a 'Road Show' program, which included a power point presentation on the waste management research outcomes²⁴⁶, games, a quiz, and a screening of *Segi Lima*. The first 'Road Show' presentation was performed on March 5, 2005 as a 'test run' in front of SMA5's student council 'OSIS' (around 40 students). The Green Team facilitated the event independently; the NGO staff and I only attended as audience and 'assistants' and consciously stayed in the background. I was impressed at how confidently some of the team members, who had initially been quite shy in the program, presented the outcome of their work to fellow students. One particularly shy boy from SMA5 had surprisingly volunteered to be the 'show master' (given that the test run was carried out at his school), as he did not want to miss the opportunity to show his fellow students what he had achieved with the Green Team. Despite some initial technical challenges, the first 'Road Show' session was a success. The audience was captured by the documentary film and questioned the Green Team about their experience of both filming and carrying out research. The students returned to the PPLH office in a victorious mood and excitedly exchanged their thoughts and experiences of acting as 'show presenters' (see Figure 9.2).

²⁴⁵ I had returned to Bali for additional fieldwork between February 14 and March 8, 2005 in order to assist with the 'Road Show' preparation and to witness the first presentation at the high school SMA5.

²⁴⁶ After the first Road Show presentation, the research students with the help of PPLH's technical officer transformed some of the video footage taken during the waste management interviews into a short film to make the research results more enjoyable and easily accessible for the student audience.

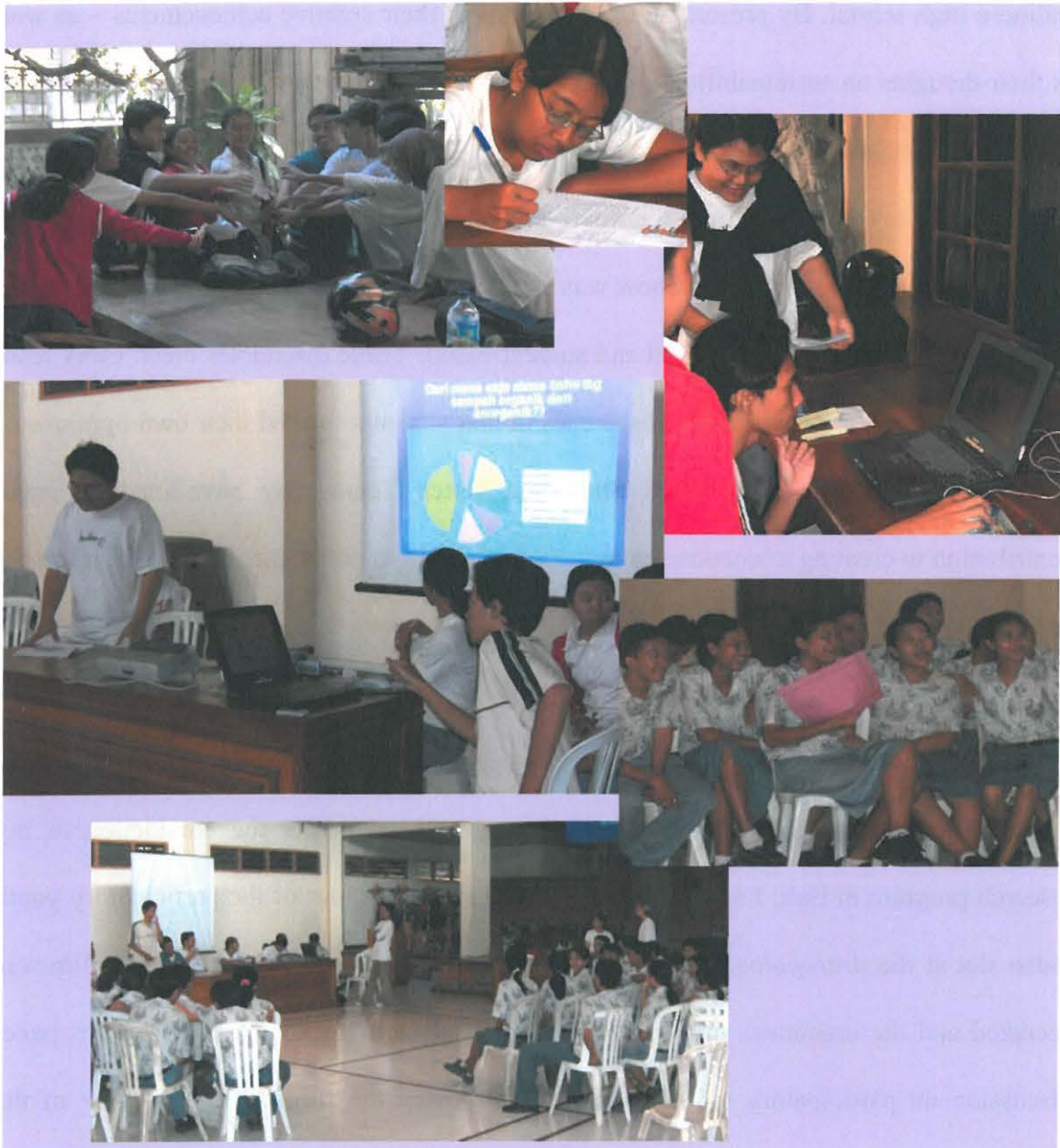


Figure 9.2: The first 'Road Show' session. The Green Team members prepare (top three photos). Agung presents the results of the waste management study while Alit facilitates the power point presentation on the computer (centre left). The OSIS students at SMA6 enjoy the multi-media show that includes quizzes, games and freebies (centre right). Alit, the 'show master', confidently leads the session in front of his fellow students from SMA5 (bottom).

With the 'Road Show', the students effectively ventured to carry the knowledges and languages they had developed during the workshop program into the environment of a

Balinese high school. By presenting the outcomes of their creative achievements – as well as their thoughts on sustainability – to fellow teenagers, the students contributed one small step towards making sustainability a youth debate. The waste management study and film making project represented ideas for where sustainability action initiated by young people might start from. Thus, the Road Show was an attempt to engender discourses and practices of sustainability that are student-led and student-based. These discourses break away from locally ‘hegemonic’ sustainability discourses in that students formed their own opinions of local issues. In staging the Road Show the Green Team may have made a small contribution to creating a ‘constitutive outside’ in which youth debates around environment and sustainability become possible.

In an unexpected turn of events, one of the film team members even had the chance to carry the message of *Segi Lima* beyond Bali’s borders. Months after the completion of my research program in Bali, I applied to screen ‘Segi Lima’ as part of the participatory youth video slot at the *Antropologi Indonesia* conference in Jakarta in July 2005. The film was accepted and the organisers invited me and one student to participate in an expert panel discussion on participatory video-making that followed the film screenings. One of the NGO’s educational officers, and Zahnur, my assistant, spontaneously agreed to join me for the conference, and also promised to encourage a film team student to attend. Indah was the only film team member who had time to leave school for the conference, and the shy girl surprisingly agreed to take part in the panel discussion. Indah had been one of the camera operators in the Green Team’s film group. Although incredibly committed, she had not spoken much during the first month of the film program. When facilitators addressed her

directly and asked for her opinion, Indah would prefer to pass on the question to a fellow team member. As most other Green Team students, Indah had never held a video camera before in her life. After some practice she was more than capable at handling the camera; yet, taking on the responsibility for shooting in the field was something she avoided whenever her fellow camera team was around. Therefore, I was surprised in her enthusiasm to represent the Green Team at this international conference (see Figure 9.3).



Figure 9.3: Indah on the film makers' discussion panel.

Attending the conference was an exciting experience for all of us. We felt like a delegation representing the Green Team and our program in front of an international audience. Zahnur and Indah were particularly excited as it was their very first visit to the capital city of Jakarta. There was a lot of publicity around the film screenings, and the Indonesian documentary channel Metro TV even conducted an interview with us about the Green Team film program. Indah looked particularly proud when she was repeatedly introduced as the 'youth director' of 'Segi Lima'. The Green Team documentary was screened along with other student and youth productions and was received positively. The 'panel' for the subsequent film discussion included two high school students who had been involved in

film productions, an independent filmmaker, the moderator, Indah and myself. Knowing Indah as a shy and quiet girl, I was worried she might not feel confident to speak in front of a larger audience. I was certainly surprised when she took the microphone and clearly and confidently described the process of making 'Segi Lima'. Her personal film-making experience had been inspiring, she said, and she was proud of the final film result. Indah assertively replied to questions from the moderator and the audience, and did not lose her nerves when a critical commentator asked why the Green Team had not chosen the entire island of Bali as a filming location. I left the discussion panel positively stunned and could not believe the difference between Indah as I had known her during the initial stages of the program in 2004, and her performance as a representative for the Green Team in 2005. It seemed that her experience with performing the subject position of 'youth film maker' within the program itself, and at the concluding program exhibition had broken the boundaries for her to take up this subject position at an international conference. Her familiarity with the discourse and language the film team had developed assisted her in representing the film. Indah's story is one that shows how an action research program can stretch far beyond the spaces of its immediate scope. But her story is also one of personal transformation.

Indah was not the only Green Team member who was 'tested' outside the program environment. The environmental activism of PPLH also brought opportunities for other Green Team members to perform their newly acquired subject positions. In December 2004 PPLH invited the Green Team to volunteer for a mangrove planting activity near the island

of Serangan organised by the Indonesian Students Association²⁴⁷. Alongside university students, six Green Team members excitedly joined in with planting mangrove seedlings in the muddy mangrove forests of Bali's Southeast shore (Figure 9.4). With utmost seriousness, the teenagers assumed the subject position of 'environmental activists'. Their roles as youth researchers and film makers gave them a basis to converse with the university students about environmental topics. While planting seedlings, I overheard Mayun explain the findings of the waste management study to one of the organisers, while Dima added anecdotes from the making of 'Segi Lima'. The students' involvement with the Green Team and PPLH had provided them with the confidence to engage with the activists on the basis of equal volunteers and to experiment with subject positions that reached beyond those they had created within the workshop program.



Figure 9.4: Mangrove planting. Agung and Dima pass on mangrove seedlings to the planting location (left). Mayun and Dima bravely step barefoot into the mud, which was speckled with sharp coral, to transport the seedlings to the designated areas for planting (right).

²⁴⁷ PPLH often invites the old and new Green Team members to participate in environmental activities organised by the NGO itself, the government, or other organisations.

The mangrove planting event was immediately followed by a youth environmental drawing competition at Semawang Beach in Sanur, organised by private schools around Denpasar. Here, the same Green Team students assisted PPLH staff in facilitating group workshops with primary school students on ‘waste management’ in Bali²⁴⁸, followed by a collective beach clean-up. The teenagers were proud to be aligned with the ‘facilitators’ of the event, rather than taking on the more familiar role of participants. One student excitedly exclaimed: “This is the first time I have ever had to take up the responsibility of being a ‘teacher’. Normally I am the one who has to listen and learn. Man, this was fun!”²⁴⁹.

In the students’ performance and self-representation it became clear that we facilitators, who had acted as research participants throughout the program, had also influenced student subject positions. The Green Team’s acts as mangrove planters, Road Show talk masters and panel discussants at an international conference showed that the teenagers had not only created new subject positions for themselves in the workshops, but had also partly internalised the subject positions that the PPLH staff and I occupied. These are for example subject positions of environmental activists, facilitators and presenters. On a poster the research group produced to document their interview findings, one of the students caricatured himself as a reporter equipped with microphone and camera (Figure 9.5), wearing a shirt that sports the slogan: “Let’s clean up Bali”! This and similar slogans often adorn the T-shirts worn by NGO staff and environmental activists in Bali. In this self-

²⁴⁸ Facilitators were asked to give the (mostly primary school) students a short introduction to different types of garbage and to the practice of the ‘3 Rs’ – reduce, reuse, recycle. The children were then to mention examples for each practice from their own experience. The facilitators encouraged students to each recount a story on garbage management and to vote for the most popular story. Two Green Team students assisted the PPLH staff with facilitating groups of Indonesian students, while I facilitated a group of expatriate students from different international schools in English language.

²⁴⁹ “Pertama kali aku bertanggung jawab sebagai ‘guru’ – biasanya aku yang harus dengar dan belajar! Asyik sekali, dong!”

portrait, this student combined his newly performed role of a student interviewer with that of a non-governmental environmental activist – a mix that reflects the scope of experiences that shaped the formation of subject positions the Green Team students encountered during the program.

Figure 9.5: A Green Team student as a Balinese environmental activist – a poster contribution by Mayun from the research team.



9.3 Expanding on subjectivity and governmentality

The findings of this educational experiment caused me to rethink some aspects of the theories of sustainability and governmentality. Firstly, the ways in which this project opened doors for subjectivation stimulates questions around the distinction between subject positions and subjectivity, particularly in the context of sustainability. In this project, the workshop participants showed confidence to perform newly developed subject positions where spaces outside the research project offered a supportive, ‘constitutive’ environment. But are these new subject positions – combined with the experience and knowledge the students gained through the project – the equivalent of a ‘new subjectivity’? Newly developed subject positions in my project were temporary expressions that depended on a

supportive discursive and institutional context – both within and outside the program, as these examples I have just provided show. What about when there is no supportive environment; when new subject positions have to be performed against opposing ‘hegemonic’ discourses and processes of subjectivation? Can students be expected to perform such new subject positions they temporarily inhabited during the course of a research program (or shortly afterwards) on a regular basis in their day-to-day lives? It is here where a distinction between the concepts of subject position and subjectivity becomes important.

As I have argued, subjectivity is not a limited or predictable pool of subject positions. It embraces a subject’s experience, personal history and identities; it is shaped by the subject roles a subject has performed in the past, and constitutes those subject positions a person can choose to occupy in the present²⁵⁰. Thus, to know some of the subject positions a subject may occupy is not the same as knowing his or her subjectivity, because at no point in time can an outside observer be aware of all the different forms of subjectivation a subject is being and has been exposed to. Thus, the subject position of a student who helps organise recycling at school does not translate to a subjectivity called ‘student recycler’. One of the program’s achievements was that students were able to add new self-developed, youth-based subject positions to their personal experience. The fact that students have enacted – and can potentially re-enact – the subject positions of film makers, researchers, interviewers and presenters does not mean that the workshop participants are now

²⁵⁰ Identity, in this context, can be seen as a subset of subject position. Identities are embedded in a subject’s personal history and are constituted by those categories and processes of ‘naming’ and ‘being’ others offer a subject to occupy. Thus, identity only comprises a certain number of the subject positions a subject can inhabit, and only those processes of subjectivation that are identifiable by others or that a subject can ‘identify’ with.

‘sustainable subjects’ who will perform these on a regular basis. Thus, new subject positions created through action research are not necessarily evidence for new and ongoing subjectivities.

Even the Green Team ‘Road Show’, which initially seemed a big success in terms of creating long term student engagement, did not result in sustained action. After the test run at SMA5, only two more visits to high schools took place. Scheduled performances had to be postponed several times due to school holidays, religious ceremonies, or organisational problems at the schools. The NGO staff struggled to reunite the Green Team in full numbers on a regular basis to prepare for Road Show sessions, as the students were caught up with school activities²⁵¹, family or *banjar* commitments, or had simply lost interest. After my research funding had run out, the sustainability of the Green Team and Road Show programs rested on shaky ground. When I briefly returned to Bali in July 2005, we managed to gather most of the Green Team members for a reunion and evaluation session. Although the students still showed a strong team spirit, I could sense that the enthusiasm for conducting a ‘Road Show’ had waned. Staff changes within the NGO made it hard to sustain an environment which could keep the students enthusiastically engaged over such a long period of time.

An educational effort to advance sustainable behaviour cannot be expected to create such a thing as a ‘sustainability subject’. To varying degrees, the workshop programs created spaces for self-evaluation, an assessment of values, debate, creative expression, even

²⁵¹ This was the particularly the case for those students who had progressed to their third year of high school education.

innovation and new ways of perceiving, speaking and acting. Clearly within the context of the Green Team program new student subject positions students were created and a process of re-subjectivation took place. Yet, fostering a subject's subjectivity that is overall more inclined to enact subject positions of sustainable behaviour requires more than a workshop program. It requires more than a discourse, and more than an environment that opens space for new subjectivations. As Graham and Amariglio (2006 200) argue, "the political and ethical project of 'changing the subject' exceeds the proliferation of subject positions availed by discourse". 'New' subjectivities can only be nurtured by a constitutive outside that continues to reinforce and support the subjectivation and assists in reproducing the self-narratives subjects develop around sustainability, their understanding and practice of it, and their personal histories.

This argument has two implications. First, subjectivation theory should avoid using the terms subject position and subjectivity interchangeably. The subtle differences between subjectivity and subject position become crucial as one looks more closely at the ways in which subjects, in this case students, venture to adopt new ethics and behaviours, and to make new discourses performable. Second, sustainability education efforts cannot be expected to shape the 'subjectivity' of their participants. It can only set out to create new subject positions that students learn to employ as part of their subjectivity. With the support of other main discursive environments, such subject positions may become incorporated in dominant discourses and practices, and thus start to shape student sustainabilities.

This, again, has implications for the ways in which sustainability should be engaged in school education. The idea to implement sustainability education in different sectors and subjects of education, which then create a constitutive environment from different angles, makes sense. There is no need, however, for the entire institution of education to subscribe to one particular form of internationally defined sustainable development or sustainable subject. Implementing sustainability in a 'whole school' approach can also start from the local particularities of sustainability, and from the particularities of each subject.

The other theoretical field in which this thesis makes a contribution is that of governmentality. While Foucault's (1988; 1990; 1991) approach to governmentality theory has focused on the governing of larger societies through the subject, geographers such as Merriman (2005a; 2005b) have emphasised the need for more micro-geographical studies of governmentality. I have shown that in researching a phenomenon such as sustainability education, one should deal with a *multiplicity* of governmentalities. Thus, rather than seeing 'governmentality' as a method of governing 'attached to' a certain phenomenon or theme, such as ecologically conscious behaviour or following a highway code of conduct, there should be more focus on the *interplay* of different governmentalities. If one takes a constructivist perspective on the formation of knowledge, practice and politics – for example in regards to sustainability and education – then one needs to take into account the governmentalities that operate through institutionalised sustainability *and* education. This institutionalisation involves levels as diverse as policy formation; school organisation and governance; the media; national, regional and local constructions of citizenship; the tools and infrastructures for sustainable behaviour; and educational conduct and practices.

Looking at governmentality as a process of multiple governmentalities will create more attention for the nodal points where politics that seek to 'govern' through the subject interact, clash and potentially contradict each other. This can also involve the governmentalities that seem to be located outside the field of investigation, i.e. those policies and discursive frameworks that do not aim to foster sustainability through education, but that still form important contexts of subjectivation. In regards to sustainability in Bali, these are those discursive environments that have not yet become 'constitutive outsides' for young subject positions of sustainability.

9.4 Creating 'constitutive outsides' in Balinese education

The challenge for Balinese educational environments is to create 'constitutive outsides' for youth-based and locally relevant discourses and practices of sustainability. While informal education efforts create spaces for action and fleeting moments for change and possibility, it seems that beyond the environment of these programs 'hegemonic' discourses limit or contradict sustainable behaviour to a stifling extent. In the case of the Green Team waste managers, it was the public culture of 'throwing things around' that brought their efforts for environmentally conscious behaviour down. Within the environment of formal education, the limited focus on disciplinary practices in order to foster sustainable behaviours limits the experimentation with new and youth-based subject positions. In Balinese public life more generally, the increased media and political attention on environmental and waste management problems does not necessarily lead to practically implemented solutions. So, in order for sustainability education to lead to new subjectivities and patterns of behaviour

that have become mainstream, general practice, the sustainability discourse in Bali will have to become a lot stronger and more inclusive of youth concerns and languages.

Shortly after the first Road Show session had been held, Mayun, one of the waste management researchers was invited to a discussion on waste management on Balinese television. Alongside a teacher and Hindu priest, he talked about youth behaviour in waste management. None of the students recorded the show, which is why, to this day, I rely on recounts of PPLH staff and other Green Team students. Nevertheless, it is extraordinary that students are invited as discussants in television debates, and it seems that Mayun was approached by a teacher who knew that the teenager ‘had been involved with waste management before’. It is in this way that action research and other youth projects may pave ways for students to enter Balinese public debates of sustainability and to add their own voices to these debates.

Problematically, formal education currently does not seem to prepare students for taking up independent subject positions of sustainability. The subjectivation in formal education largely ties environmentally conscious behaviour – for example by adhering to disciplinary practices – to the discursive environment and governance of the school. As the interview with the soccer playing youngsters in Puputan Park showed, students are much less able to perform these adult-crafted subject positions of disciplined students beyond the school buildings. This experiment of education *as* sustainability was only one small step in the creation of youth-based sustainabilities in Bali. One particularly interesting outcome of the workshop program was that it succeeded in creating a base of experience and self-

generated knowledge that helped teenagers to perform new behaviour *outside* the workshop environment (when there was a supportive environment for such behaviour). Sustainability education in Bali seems to lack educational contexts in which students can adopt roles and behaviours of sustainability that are effective in various discursive environments. Schools might thus want to consider forging youth spaces to perform sustainability action that are not restricted to formal education, but that include a multiplicity of public spaces. Discourses and organisational structures that support youth-based subject positions need to become more engrained in political, public and educational institutions.

The success of the Green Team model suggests that possibly a more project-based approach to formal and informal sustainability education might be one way forward. Students working on their own longer-term project in an interactive way that leaves room for student ideas and discourses to emerge is something that could either be facilitated by NGOs, or as part of formal education. Such an approach would also sit well with the participatory, competence-based requirements of the new KBK curriculum. If schools were willing to generally give students more room to create approaches to waste management behaviour, environmental performance, future and sustainability, then educational components such as the extra-curricular programs of the 'nature lovers' club or Balinese culture could frame and implement student-led sustainability projects. Also, the student council OSIS could be a driving force behind student-induced environmental policies at the school level. Student activity here, at least within the OSIS councils I experienced at my partner schools in Bali, would benefit significantly from a more supportive culture of critical engagement in policy-making within the context of school governance.

Given the rhetorical shift towards participatory teaching within Indonesian educational policy, and a gradual inclusion of participatory citizenship language into political rhetoric on a broader level, the trend in school governance may already be heading this way. In interviews, teachers and school principals expressed their respect for youth opinions and confirmed that youth needed to play a leading role in advancing sustainability in Bali. It is largely the gap between rhetoric and the bureaucratized organisational arrangements in educational culture that needs to be bridged. Undoubtedly, NGOs in Bali will continue to play an important role in problematising pollution, and in educating about sustainable behaviours. The capacity of NGOs to carry on sustainability education at schools, of course, hinges upon the availability of donors.

As Bali defends its cultural and political place within the regionalisation of Indonesian politics, the political and media focus on ‘Balineseness’ and cultural integrity has already strengthened the focus on Balinese culture content in formal education. The local discourses of *Ajeg Bali* and THK, which both operate in this cultural vein, would definitely be an opportunity to integrate students more in debates of sustainability in education. In order not to recreate the exclusionary aspects of these discourses, educational programs that thematise *Ajeg Bali* should leave students enough room to find their stance on Balinese sustainabilities, rather than being conveyed as lessons of cultural appropriateness. Within this educational experiment – although, as I have shown, the workshops generated mixed student responses – the Green Team managed to frame more inclusive languages of sustainability that broke away from local discourse hegemony. I hope that some lessons

from this action research may help frame the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in less universalising terms. I further trust this research may represent one of many efforts to find educational approaches that render sustainability both locally relevant and constitutive of the concerns, discourses and knowledges of young people.

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Appendix 1: Statistics

Type and number of schools in Bali's *kabupaten*

<i>S=State</i> <i>P=Private</i>	Primary School			Junior High School (SLTPN)			Senior High School (SMU)			SMK		
	<i>S</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>S</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Total</i>
Buleleng	488	3	491	38	20	58	14	21	35	4	5	9
Jembrana	181	3	184	16	9	25	5	9	14	2	5	7
Tabanan	343	1	344	24	3	27	9	9	18	1	7	8
Badung	254	4	258	17	23	40	6	11	17	1	11	12
Gianyar	282	2	284	16	23	39	7	11	18	4	10	14
Klungkung	142	-	142	14	4	18	5	4	9	1	1	2
Bangli	161	1	162	13	4	17	5	4	9	1	1	2
Karangasem	358	1	359	27	5	32	7	10	17	1	3	4
Denpasar City	186	22	208	10	33	43	7	19	26	5	14	19
TOTAL	2,395	37	2,432	175	124	299	65	98	163	20	57	77

Source: Pemerintah Propinsi Bali, Dinas Pendidikan (DIKNAS, 2003a 4).

Information on the socio-economic background of the 'English Students'

Profession of parents

Civil servant: 4
 Private employee: 5
 Lecturer: 2
 Teacher: 1
 Tourism guide: 2

Participant age, Green Team Waste Management Study

AGE	Male students	Female students
14	5	13
15	89	94
16	46	52
17	5	5
18	0	1
	145	165
TOTAL: 310		

Appendix 2: Overview of the workshop programs with the ‘English Students’ and ‘Nature Lovers’

SMP8 – Program with ‘English students’

<i>Date</i>	Workshop content	Aim
<i>19/09</i>	<p>1) Photo Choice activity – students choosing photos I had previously taken of different Denpasar scenes and explain why they chose them;</p> <p>2) Defining environment: ‘Woolly web exercise’ – finding interconnections between different environmental, social and economic processes (see appendix 4)</p> <p>4) Explaining photo voice exercise and handing out cameras</p>	Thinking about what constitutes environment; constructing a definition of environment; viewing environmental, social and economic processes in an interconnected way
<i>26/09</i>	<p>1) In pairs: Write a list of daily activities</p> <p>2) Making mental map</p> <p>Drawing map of one’s own environment, the places students often see, spend time in, or value. I emphasised to also draw places or areas that are holy or sacred</p>	List to think about activity spaces in preparation for mapping. Mapping exercise to find out how students see their environment and what places and aspects they would include if drawing freely
<i>03/10</i>	<p>1) Photo voice evaluation</p> <p>Discussion of photos students took. Students explained where and why they had taken their photos</p> <p>2) Making posters</p> <p>Students could use their photos, newspaper clippings, drawing writing etc. to make a poster of their environment. I asked students to explain on posters as to why and where they had taken the photos</p>	Compare and discuss photos the students had taken and tape their own explanations of why they had taken them. On the posters photos could be explained and put into context. Posters thus became a medium for students to represent and (re-)create their environment
<i>10/10</i>	<p>1) Review Game: ‘Hot seat’ – explaining key terms of last sessions to person seated in the ‘hot seat’ without using the actual word</p> <p>2) Finishing posters and presenting/discussing results</p> <p>3) Discussing material from Australia: posters on environment and a booklet of Australian and Indonesian animals in Indonesian</p>	Playful review of terms and concepts; discussing and taping students’ explanations of and comments on their posters; taping students reactions on the posters Australian students had made for them
<i>17/10</i>	<p>‘Drama’</p> <p>2 groups writing a role play on:</p>	Role-play as a performative way for the students to represent themselves as a part of Balinese

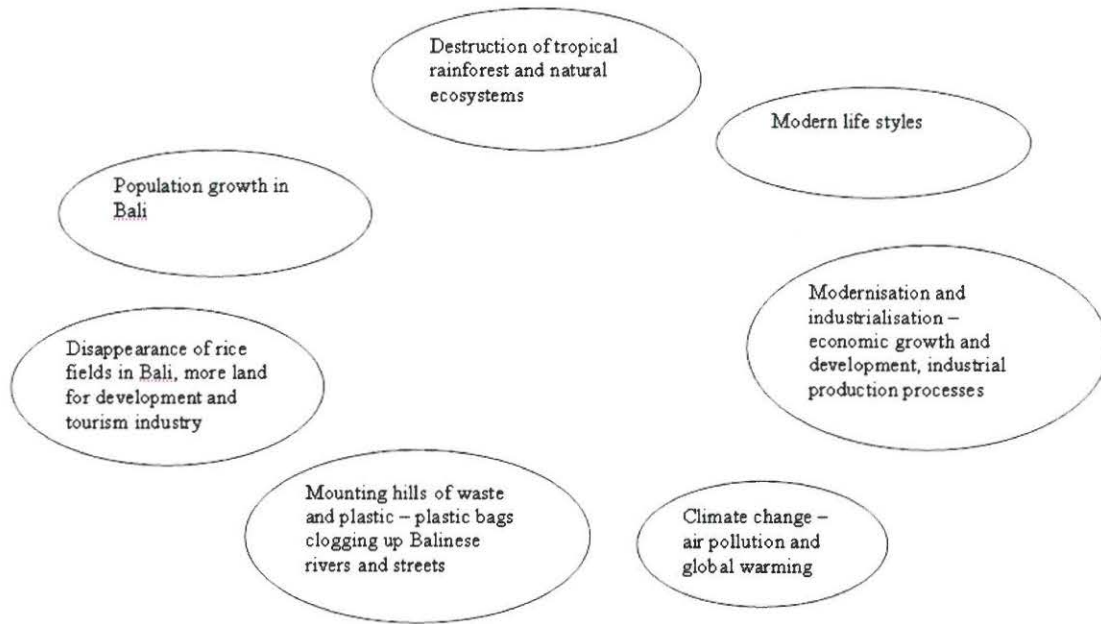
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ‘The role of young people in Balinese society’ ▪ ‘Conflict among young people and between young people and the older generation in Bali’ <p>Performance of role play and discussion on the role of young people in Balinese society and in shaping future in Bali</p>	society based on their daily experience. Discussion to elaborate on the topics emerging in the role-play.
24/10	<p>1) Game: ‘Snakes and Ladders’</p> <p>Game with questions on the students’ thoughts and opinions, future plans, hobbies etc.</p> <p>2) Comics – Modernity and tradition in Bali</p> <p>3 groups discussing comics from Bog Bog, a Balinese comic magazine that portrays conflict between tradition and modernity in Bali in a satirical way. Students writing letters to Bog Bog in pairs/drawing comics</p> <p>Discussion on environment, development, modernity and tradition in Bali</p>	<p>Game as a way of ‘interviewing’ the students in an informal way and find out more about their backgrounds.</p> <p>Comics as a light way of getting the students to think about issues of modernity and tradition</p> <p>Writing and/or drawing as a way of making a connection between the topic and students’ own experiences</p>
31/10	<p>1) Song: ‘<i>The Last Unicorn</i>’</p> <p>Discussion of environmental message in the song</p> <p>2) Visioning exercise: Students’ vision of Bali in the year 2020</p> <p>3) Action planning: How to plan concrete projects or activities to work towards these visions</p>	<p>Music as a different medium to discuss future; message of song: ‘hope’ and ‘we can do something’</p> <p>Visioning to get students to think about their own and Bali’s future, action planning to think up concrete ways to get active</p>
05/11	<p>How to become active?</p> <p>1) Game: Race for correct chair - Organic or non-organic waste?</p> <p>2) Evaluation questionnaire</p> <p>3) Discussion – how can we become active and do something for environment and future in Bali?</p>	<p>Game functioned as icebreaker while testing students’ knowledge of different types of waste. In discussion students could voice their ideas of concrete action for future and environment in Bali and discuss how they themselves could get active</p>

SMA 6 – Program with ‘nature lovers’

<i>Date</i>	Workshop content	Aim
<i>19/09</i> 1	<p>1) Round of introduction</p> <p>2) Photo Choice activity – students choosing photos I had previously taken of different Denpasar scenes and explain why they chose them</p> <p>3) Defining environment</p> <p>Students writing aspects of environment on a poster</p> <p>‘Woolly web exercise’ – finding interconnections between different environmental, social and economic processes</p> <p>4) Explaining photo voice exercise and handing out cameras</p>	Start thinking about what constitutes environment; constructing a definition of environment, viewing environmental, social and economic processes in an interconnected way without mentioning sustainability as a concept
<i>26/09</i> 2	<p>1) Relations between nature, culture and religion in Bali, small group discussion:</p> <p>2) List of daily activities, short group activity</p> <p>3) Making a mental map</p> <p>Drawing map of one’s own environment, the places students often see, spend time in, or value.</p>	Discussion to find out what connections students would draw between the three spheres and what they learned about these relations at school. List of daily activities preparation for mapping and to explore students’ activity spaces. Mapping to find out how students see their environment and what places they would include
<i>03/10</i> 3	<p>1) Photo voice evaluation</p> <p>Every student commented on where they had taken their photos and why</p> <p>2) Making posters</p> <p>Students used their photos, newspaper clippings, drawing writing etc. to make a poster of their environment</p>	Compare and discuss photos the students had taken and tape their own explanations of why they had taken them. Further comments on the photos and their context students could express on the posters.
<i>10/10</i> 4	<p>Game: ‘Snakes and Ladders’</p> <p>Game with questions on the students’ thoughts and opinions, future plans, favourite activities, school subjects, food, newspapers, music etc.</p>	Find out about students’ ideas, habits and opinions in an informal way
<i>17/10</i> 5	<p>1) Game: ‘Hot Seat’</p> <p>Explaining terms related to youth culture to a person seated in the ‘hot seat’ in front without using the actual word</p> <p>2) ‘Drama’</p> <p>2 groups writing a role play on: Conflict among young people; Conflict between young people and the older generation</p>	<p>Icebreaker and playful way of making students think about youth issues in preparation for drama</p> <p>Drama as a way for students to represent themselves as a part of Balinese society from their own experience.</p>

	<p>Performance of role play and discussion on the role of young people in Balinese society and in shaping future in Bali</p> <p>3) Comics – Modernity and tradition in Bali</p> <p>3 groups discussing comics from <i>Bog Bog</i>, a Balinese comic magazine that portrays conflict between tradition and modernity in Bali in a satirical way.</p> <p>Students writing down comments on the comics</p> <p>Discussion with whole group on environment, development, modernity and tradition in Bali</p>	<p>Comics as a light way of getting the students to think about issues of modernity and tradition</p> <p>Writing and/or drawing way of making connections between the topic and students' own experience.</p>
24/10 6	<p>Outdoor session: Sanur Beach</p> <p>Preparation at PPLH library:</p> <p>1) Visioning exercise: vision for Bali in the year 2020</p> <p>Individual exercise: Writing down personal vision, then taping these to a large poster</p> <p>2) Theory: Action planning</p> <p>3) Outdoor Activity: Answering questions on activity sheet and evaluating environmental conditions in its connection to other processes and assets in the field, interviewing people, each of 3 small groups working on different part of the beach</p> <p>4) Discussion of results</p>	<p>Vision: finding out students' vision and priorities for the future</p> <p>Theory on action planning: How to evaluate and build on existing assets</p> <p>Outdoor activity: Getting students away from school for a session, finding out how students evaluate environmental, social and other issues in regards to concrete spaces in the field</p>
31/10 7	<p>Presentation: GUS staff member – how to become active</p> <p>Action planning – formulating concrete action to match vision formulated in week 6 on an action planning activity sheet</p>	<p>Translating the vision created in week 6 into concrete ideas for action, thinking about possible own involvement in a 'sustainability' process</p>
07/11 8	<p>How to become active?</p> <p>1) Game: Race for correct chair - Organic or non-organic waste?</p> <p>2) Discussion with 'secret' roles on waste management at the school</p> <p>3) Evaluation questionnaire</p> <p>4) Discussion – how can we become active and do something for environment and future in Bali?</p>	<p>Game functioned as icebreaker while testing students' knowledge of different types of waste.</p> <p>Role-play discussion to see how students would represent different standpoints of players involved in waste management at schools.</p> <p>In final discussion students could voice their ideas of concrete action for future and environment in Bali</p>
14/11	Extra session: making recycle paper	

Appendix 3: Woolly web activity – in English and Indonesian languages



Appendix 4: Activity sheet for the workshop at Sanur Beach with the ‘nature lovers’

Keadaan besar tempat ini bagaimana? Suasananya bagaimana?

[What is the general atmosphere of the space like?]

Siapa yang menggunakan tempat ini? Dengan kegiatan mana?

[Who is using this space? Pursuing what activities?]

Ada infrastruktur apa? (Gedung, sungai, jalan, tempat parkir, pembangunan, tempat sampah etc). Bagaimana keadaan infrastruktur ini?

[What type of infrastructure is there? (Buildings, rivers, streets, parking lots, garbage bins etc.) How is the condition of this infrastructure?]

Ekologinya bagaimana? (Ada pohon/tanaman? Ada abrasi/erosi? Ada hewan? Airnya bagaimana? Pantai? Udara?)

[What is the ecology like? (Are there trees/plants? Is there erosion? Are there animals? What is the water like? The beach? The air?)]

Apa fungsi sosial tempat ini?

[What is the social function of this place?]

Apakah ada tempat suci? Dimana dan bagaimana keadaannya?

[Are there sacred places? Where and what condition are they in?]

Apa pendapat orang yang menggunakan tempat ini tentang keadaannya? Bagaimana mereka mau melihat tempat ini pada masa depan? Apa yang sudah bagus, apa yang harus diperbaiki? Tanya orang lokal, pedagang, turis, pemulung, orang yang bekerja di restoran, di artshop – siapa saja!

[What is the opinion of those people who use this space about its condition? How do they want to see this space in the future? What is already good, what needs to be improved? Ask local people, vendors, tourists, garbage collectors, restaurant and souvenir shop employees – anyone!]

Apakah keadaan tempat ini sudah sesuai dengan tujuan kita untuk Bali 2020? Kalau belum, apa yang harus dibuat/diperbaiki? Di mana kesulitannya dan apa ASET kita?

[Does the condition of this place match our goals for Bali in the year 2020? If not yet, what needs to be done / improved? What are the difficulties and what are our assets?]

Appendix 5: Activity sheet provided during the action planning workshop with the ‘nature lovers’ at SMA6

MENJADI AKTIF
[to become active]

PERSOALAN: [the problem]

Persoalan ini tentang apa? [What is this problem about?]

Di mana? [Where?]

Siapa yang dihubungkan dengan persoalan / tempat ini? [Who is involved in the problem / space?]

Mengapa penting memperbaiki persoalan ini? [Why is it important to solve this problem?]

Bagaimana cara memperbaiki persoalan ini? [How can you solve this problem?]

Persoalan [problem]	Aset [assets]	Kegiatan [activities]	Tujuan [goals]	Waktu [timeframe]

Appendix 6: A few notes on Balinese family life

In Bali, the extended family represents an important context of socialisation. Informal education programs run by NGOs sometimes indirectly target the household and family as a possible provider of a ‘constitutive outside’ for environmentally sound waste management practices. These programs follow the rationale that students who are informed about environmental issues and practices can pass this information on to their parents, siblings and friends. GUS, for example, at the end of each waste management education session at schools, encourages students to take home extra handouts for their siblings and to speak to their family members and friends about the knowledge they have received in the program. This way, the GUS presenters recounted when I interviewed them (GUS2, 2003; GUS, 2004 pers. comms.), garbage management discourse and practices can become part of family life and interaction, and younger children can adopt waste management practices from the knowledge of their older siblings. This rationale, however, critically depends on the interest and support of parents and other family members in waste management issues. Students themselves named family as an important start for environmentally conscious behaviour:

I hope every person will be able to care about the environment. This can start within the family. For example garbage can be separated earlier, thus organic waste can be disposed of separately. Non-organic waste can be collected separately, thus we can learn (vision for Bali in the year 2020, expressed by one of the ‘nature lovers’).

Notably, students named the family as the least likely environment that would provide them with knowledge about waste management practices. With 7%, the family was the least named source of knowledge for both organic/non-organic waste and the ‘3R’s’. A teacher I

interviewed argued that students often failed to translate their knowledge into the corresponding behaviour as they were not taught the basics of waste management within the family. Students' behaviour at school was "a projection of what students receive at home" (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.), the teacher added²⁵². Especially kids from richer families in Bali were used to having household staff cleaning up after them and were thus not used to handling their own rubbish, he explained. Children of middle class families were additionally brought up in the context of an increasingly consumerist culture with a growing focus on materialist goods, one of PPLH's staff emphasised (PPLH-UGS-Officer, 2004 pers. comm.). While Balinese family and society value and respect children, in middle class Denpasar this respect bordered on spoiling youth, several of my respondents stated.

Most students who participated in my workshop programs belonged to this 'middle class'; they exhibited a strong interest in material goods. Many among the students owned their own motorbikes²⁵³ or were allowed to drive those that belonged to their family. Most had mobile phones; many wore youth fashion and accessories. The NGO staff often joked that the students drove better motorbikes than they themselves could afford to even look at. In her research on Indonesian 'nature loving', Lowenhaupt Tsing (2005, 124) emphasises the connection between the culture of nature loving, which presents itself as distinctly "cosmopolitan", and urban consumerism. 'Nature lovers' pride themselves on wearing the 'hippest' outdoor fashion and purchasing the latest outdoor equipment. The nature loving

²⁵² "...proyeksi yang dia dapat di rumahnya".

²⁵³ Motorbikes are one of the most important and most popular means of transport in Bali. They are much more affordable than cars and offer greater mobility for all family members. Motorbikes are a typical sight in Balinese traffic, and in fact the numbers of motor bikes have risen much more rapidly over the past years than the number of cars (BAPEDALDA, 2003).

movement in Indonesia has called a whole industry around producing and retailing leisure and adventure sport goods into being (Tsing, 2005). “National anti-politics; middle-class distinction; domestic adventure tourism; consumer culture”, so Tsing (2005 131) states, all “came together to give meaning and practical substance to nature loving as a project of youth”. In the context of urban Denpasar, practices of consumerist culture and environmentally conscious behaviour clash to some extent.

But the focus of youth on consumer goods, and the “spoiling” of children by their parents also reflect the dynamics of Balinese family life. Providing children with material goods is anchored in a deep respect for children that forms an intrinsic part of Hindu Balinese culture. As one teacher put it, young people “are our future” (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.), they do not only look after their parents when they are old – which, in a country with limited government-sponsored social support systems remains an important concern²⁵⁴ – but also carry on the family lineage. As Balinese Hindu belief is based on reincarnation, this can be taken quite literally. Souls of ancestors are reincarnated in a lineal descendant (Darling and Blair, 1980; Eiseman, 1989; Howe, 1991). When a child is born in Bali, it is still believed to have the status of a god, because its soul was sent down from heaven (at conception, between conception and birth, or at birth – there is some variation of belief on this aspect). Because of its godly status a young child is not permitted to touch the earth²⁵⁵.

²⁵⁴ Although children in Bali are seen as providers for their parents, many Balinese nowadays adhere to the national government’s ‘two child policy’. Families with large numbers of children are rare nowadays. When I asked my students whether they wanted children, they said: “Yes, but two at most”. Although girls traditionally join the family and *banjar* community of their husbands, they still visit their own family on a regular basis and look after their parents. Due to the better educational and career opportunities for girls these days, many of my students stressed in the workshop program that they had no preference for either girls or boys.

²⁵⁵ At the same time, the baby is also polluted by its contact with female blood and genitalia through the process of birth. Both the birth pollution and godly status wane with time and the association of a child with

At the ceremony of *nebulanin*, 105 days after birth, the child's soul, the soul of an ancestor, is welcomed into the body and the child is lowered to the ground for the first time (Howe, 1991)²⁵⁶. Indirectly, treating children with respect and honour means granting ancestors respect and honour. As one of my respondents affirmed: "The last thing you would want is for your child to be disappointed and unhappy" (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.). In Bali's urban middle class, paying children respect is nowadays partly achieved through providing them with material goods. As an academic respondent remarked tongue-in-cheek, "In Bali there are many good facilities especially for children. The children drive the newest motor bikes, their fathers the older version" (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.)²⁵⁷.

Access to consumer goods can create tension between the older and younger generation within Balinese families, as teenagers become more affirmative in voicing their needs and wants. An adult respondent, interviewed by the waste management group at Puputan Park, complained that 'modernisation', youth culture and political democratisation had reduced discipline and respect towards elders amongst Balinese youth, and had made children both demanding and materialist. Children had become more affirmative and "more difficult to regulate", this gentleman pointed out: "Children are very different...compared to the times I attended high school... If you give them harsh words they may become angry, those are

the gods ends at the time when a child's first teeth fall out. At the ceremony of *nebulanin*, 105 days after birth, the child's soul is welcomed into the body and the child is lowered to the ground for the first time (Howe, 1991)

²⁵⁶ My own 'homestay' family in Bali had an 11 year-old girl, Dewi, who was born shortly after her grandfather's death. Dewi had a rather deep voice, was active and sportive and generally seen as a 'tomboy'. For the family it was clear that Dewi was the reincarnation of her grandfather. This fact, according to Dewi's mother, made the interaction between the girl and her grandmother, who was still alive and lived with the family, tense at times, as the grandmother knew she was in fact "communicating with her husband" ("Dia sebenarnya berkomunikasi dengan suaminya").

²⁵⁷ "Di Bali banyak fasilitas bagus justru untuk anak. Anak pakai motor baru, bapaknya motor tua" (Puja).

the children of this age...their soul is hard”²⁵⁸. The effects of negotiating the needs and wants of material culture within the family came out in a short play about ‘conflict’ between young people and the older generation that the students performed in the drama workshop:

The play starts with the following scene: A Balinese family, father, mother and daughter are gathered, the father seated on his parked motorbike, reading the newspaper. The narrator introduces the play:

Narrator: There once lived a family of four people who never agreed on anything. They just argued and argued...Now we are showing one argument that is not ideological, or that does not make any sense. Please enjoy:

Son: Dad, I need money, I want to join the motor cycling race.

Father: What? It is not already hard enough for me before you come up with this motorcycling nonsense? What sort of child are you? Is that what do you want to become?

Son: Give it to me Dad, money Dad! Three million for the ticket, Nasi Goreng, Bakso [Indonesian soup] *[laughter in the audience]*

Mother: Come on, father, just let him, he is also the only son in our family.

Daughter: Don't allow it Dad!

Father: I am not going to allow you to take part in a motorcycle race.

Son: Your principles suck. You don't know the modern times. Idiot! *[gasps in the audience]*

Father: What!?! *(gets up and slaps his son on the front of his baseball cap)* *[laughter in the audience]*

Narrator: The boy moved out of his family's house and into his friend's house. There he ate only cigarettes and coconut fibre *[laughter in the audience]*. In the end he passed away. What a poor guy, really!

This fictitious (and admittedly exaggerated) account of a Balinese family situation sketches out tensions that influence urban Balinese family life: the respect for children and their wishes on the one hand, the respect for the older generation on the other, and the discrepancies between the two brought about by the influences of modern life. In the play,

²⁵⁸ “Anak2-anak sekarang...SMA, SMP sudah lain sekali prilakunya dari wakru saya dulu SMP. Anak-anak sekarang itu susah diatur. Kalau kasih dia kata-kata yang keras nanti dia akan marah, itu anak-anak jaman sekarang...Jiwanya keras”.

the students portray the son as quite bluntly and disrespectfully asking his father for a large amount of money, thereby failing to adopt a respectful attitude towards the older generation. On the other hand, the son's tragic-comical death following his demonstrative decision to leave his family conveys the message that this is the punishment for disobeying and abandoning his family: he loses both his home and his parents' vital support for living. In the play, the son succumbs to the decision-making of the elders, but defends his viewpoint and does not give in.

Decision-making within the family is a crucial aspect to consider if families are to function as a 'constitutive outside' that fosters pro-active waste management behaviour. If students are to contribute to creating this 'constitutive outside', then they need to be in a situation where they can influence decision-making on family life choices and behavioural practices. So, how does the subject position of an 'environmentally pro-active child' sit with concepts of authority and respect towards the older generation within Balinese families? When I asked one teacher: "Could a Balinese child say to his or her father: Dad, don't throw the garbage in this bin?", he replied: "Yes, that happens!" (Artha, 2004 pers. comm.). Another teacher responded: "Yeah, why not... Most parents understand" (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.). Listening to a child's advice and adjusting one's own everyday behaviour accordingly, however, are two different issues. One teacher and parent of two children admitted: "[M]ost parents are selfish. When their children explain...the parents sometimes refuse...They are busy with their own business...That depends on the financial problem for every family I think" (Murah, 2004 pers. comm.).

Nevertheless, adults I interviewed saw a clear ‘democratisation’ occurring in both decision-making structures within Balinese families and the interaction between parents and their children. Family life was reflecting the ideals of an era of political reformation in Indonesia, one teacher felt:

Nowadays parents do not treat their children as they used to...children used to be dominated by their parents...it used to be very one-way [communication]...now there is already dialogue...parents don’t force their parents anymore...it has started to be democratic!²⁵⁹ (Dewa, 2004 pers. comm.).

The alleged ‘democratisation’ of decision-making structures within Balinese families was partly due to ‘educational change’, a Balinese anthropologist argued in an interview with me:

This is interesting. I see it this way: In the society that you could call village society the father might be a former worker who has never gone to school. Meanwhile his child is attending junior or senior high school...In such a family the child becomes more the one who would be making decisions. That father is not able to. ‘Dad, I need money to cover costs at school...sell the cow, I am having exams’. The father does not understand the world of education: ‘Yes, it’s up to you’...In the city this is quite different. Take me for example, my children don’t make the decisions, but I do. But if I were a person who could not read or write, I would leave that to my child²⁶⁰ (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

In this example, the students’ higher level of education provides the son or daughter with a perceived authority that undermines, or at least competes with, the authority that is attached

²⁵⁹ “Sekarang...orang tua dengan anaknya...tidak lagi seperti dulu...dulu masih didominasi orang tua...dulu satu arah aja...sekarang dialognya sudah ada...orang tua itu tak memaksakan...mulai demokratis lah!”

²⁶⁰ “Ini menarik. Saya melihat begini: Pada masyarakat boleh dikatakan masyarakat pedesaan...bapaknya bekas buruh, tidak pernah sekolah. Sementara anaknya sekarang sekolah SMP atau SMA...Pada keluarga seperti itu justru pengambil keputusan lebih banyak ada pada anak. SiBapak itu tidak berdaya. ‘Pak saya butuh biaya untuk sekolah...jual sapi saya, saya mau ujian.’ Bapak tidak mengerti dunia pendidikan: ‘Ya, terserah kamu saja’...Kalau di kota agak berbeda. Saya misalnya, dia tidak mengambil keputusan tetapi saya. Tapi kalau saya orang yang buta huruf, itu akan serahkan ke anak saya” (Pujaastawa, 2004 pers. comm.).

to the role of 'parent' and 'elder' within the family. Thus, the improved access to better levels of education in some families creates a generational gap in educational status that changes Balinese family dynamics. 'Education' can here also be seen in a wider sense, as the channelling of 'information' on the goods and services of rapidly transforming urban lifestyles. When it comes to information on technological consumer goods, the anthropologist suggested, teenagers are more informed on such items than their parents. Being more familiar with the technical details of TVs, stereo systems or computers than their parents, teenagers often take over the decision of which new model of TV the household should acquire. Thus, it is not only democratisation and education, but also – in a twisted way – consumer culture that increases the 'power' of decision-making children can exercise in the domain of family life.

Students who participated in my workshop program did not agree with the adult view that the relationship between parents and their children in Bali is 'democratising'. When I asked the 'English students' whether their parents ever asked them about their opinion, they quite clearly said no, that was rarely the case. From the program with the 'English students', I particularly remember the forceful reaction of a small, rather quiet girl, who forcefully exclaimed: "My parents never ask me about anything. They just don't take me seriously!" Adults and children perceive and construct 'power' around decision-making within Balinese families in a 'democratising Indonesia' in different ways. However, if waste management is to "start within the family" then arguably power dynamics within Balinese families are an important factor. How far teenagers would be ready to exert decision-making power around waste management in the family is a different question. In their

visions of a future Bali, students focused more on educating their own children rather than influencing the behaviour of their family members. As one student put it, “to sustain Bali we have to tell our descendants not to throw garbage around”. This focus may to some extent rest on the circular nature of the Balinese life view, which consists of constant renewal from one generation to the next, as one soul is reincarnated in a new member of the family. Purification and renewal in this cycle move downwards, not up. Thus, the way in which Balinese families can provide the ‘constitutive outside’ in which subject positions of proactive youth waste managers and activists can thrive, depends on dynamics as diverse as Hindu Balinese religion, political change, achievements in ‘human development’ and the ‘modernisation’ of urban life.

Appendix 7: List of interviews

All interviews were conducted face-to-face and were between 30 and 90 minutes in duration. I recorded all interviews and either transcribed them *verbatim* or analysed them according to key subjects.

Teachers

- Physics Teacher at SMP8
- Physics Teacher at SMA6
- Physics Teacher at SMA3

- Biology Teacher at SMP8
- Biology Teacher at SMA6
- Biology Teacher at SMA7

- Geography Teacher at SMA6

- English Teacher at SMP8

School principals

- School Principal at SMA7
- School Principal at SMA6
- School Principal at SMP8

Students

- Two alumni students from the group of ‘nature lovers’ at SMA6
- Several informal conversations with the students participating in my research program

Department of Education [DIKNAS]

- Head of the Department of Education, provincial level
- Head of the Section for Primary Education, provincial level
- Head of the Department of Education, municipal level (Denpasar)

Department for the Environment [BAPEDALDA]

- Environmental Officer
- Head of Law Enforcement Section
- Employee in Law Enforcement Section

Non-governmental organisations

PPLH

- Director of the NGO
- Two Educational Officers
- Green School Program Officer
- Technical Officer

Gelombang Udara Segar

- Former Director of the NGO, 2003
- New Director of the NGO
- Two Environmental Educators

The Bali Post Group

- Deputy Editor of the Bali Travel News Magazine
- Member of the Jury of the THK Tourism Awards

Academics

- Balinese Anthropologist who focuses on environmental anthropology and teaches at Udayana University in Denpasar (and member of the jury for THK Tourism Awards)

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text

NOT FOR LOAN