

Routledge Explorations in Environmental Studies

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

**CREATING RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS IN THE
GLOBAL SOUTH?**

Lyn Parker and Kelsie Prabawa-Sear



Environmental Education in Indonesia

Indonesia's wealth of natural resources is being exploited at breakneck speed, and environmental awareness and knowledge among the populace is limited. This book examines how young people learn about the environment to see how education can help to develop environmental awareness and avert vast environmental destruction, not only in Indonesia, but also in the Global South more generally.

Based on in-depth studies conducted in the cities of Yogyakarta and Surabaya, complemented with surveys of students in secondary schools, *Environmental Education in Indonesia* examines educational curricula, pedagogy and "green" activities to reveal what is currently being done in schools to educate children about the environment. The book investigates the shortcomings in environment education, including underqualified teachers, the civil service mentality, the still-pervasive chalk-and-talk pedagogy and the effect of the examination system. It also analyses the role of local government in supporting (or not) environmental education, and the contribution of environmental NGOs. The book establishes that young people are not currently being exposed to effective environmental education, and the authors propose that the best and most culturally appropriate way forward in Indonesia is to frame pro-environment behaviour and responsibility as a form of citizenship, and specifically that environmental education should be taught as a separate subject.

This book will be of great interest to students and scholars of contemporary Indonesia and Southeast Asia, education for sustainability and environmental education, as well as sustainability and sustainable development more generally.

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Environmental Education in Indonesia

Creating Responsible Citizens in the
Global South?

Lyn Parker and Kelsie Prabawa-Sear

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To Clare and Rory, Shelley and Ben
and
Thel (Anang), Ruby, Kingston, Quinn and the Sudihartono and
Sear families

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1 Introduction

This book examines the environmental education of young people in Indonesia, and focuses on efforts to educate them towards taking responsibility for the sustainability of the natural environment. Using the base of “what’s happening now” in Indonesia, and taking into consideration the socio-cultural, economic and governance context of contemporary Indonesia, the book also suggests culturally sensitive ways forward, to transform young people into environmentally responsible citizens. In this sense, it is also an evidence-based public policy document.

The literature on environmental education (EE), and on environmentalism in general, is mostly about rich, Western, post-industrial, late capitalist countries where there are strong environmental movements and “green” political parties (Gough, 2003; Jickling & Wals, 2008).¹ Despite the international impacts of environmental problems and prolific use of the slogan “think global” in EE, the academic literature on EE in schools remains a Western, science-based discourse (Cole, 2007; Gough, 2003; Parker, 2016). The Global North is the “default position” in discourses of EE, and anything outside of that is still Other.

Despite the UN’s Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005–2014), and the series of international conferences and protocols on climate change to which countries in the Global South are signatories, there is a real lacuna in our knowledge of environmental attitudes and knowledge, and pro-environment efforts, in non-Western cultures of the Global South. This book examines the situation in a non-Western, Global South country and argues that this very different socio-cultural and economic context makes a difference. It proposes that the best, most culturally appropriate way forward in Indonesia is to frame pro-environment behaviour and responsibility as a form of citizenship. The objective is the creation of practising pro-environment citizens, who share a collective environmentalist subjectivity.

Indonesia is a resource-rich, democratic, developing country; with 258 million people, it is the world’s fourth largest country in terms of population (UNDESA, 2015, p. 14) and the largest Muslim-majority country; it is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries on earth; and it has a magnificent wealth of biodiversity, both terrestrial and marine. Unfortunately,

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it is also a country of dire environmental problems: of untrammelled exploitation of forests and marine resources, of serious air and water pollution, of population growth and a large and growing middle class set on material prosperity. All this is matched with a low level of environmental consciousness among its population. While the government has made some efforts to address the problem, the research reported upon in this book makes clear that much more needs to be done.

In Indonesia, young people have an established historic role as “agents of change”, both politically and socially. Their spirit and activism have been vital in ushering in each change of regime, beginning with the establishment of the independent nation-state and, most recently, in triggering the resignation of former President Suharto in 1998 and the re-establishment of democracy. They are “the hope of the nation”, and are remarkably optimistic and positive (Nilan, Parker, Bennett, & Robinson, 2011; Parker & Nilan, 2013). They constitute a huge resource for socio-cultural change towards pro-environmental subjectivity and practice. Indonesia is an education “success story”: in its short life as an independent, postcolonial nation-state, i.e. from 1945, it has gone from basically a country of nationwide illiteracy, without a mass, national education system, to a country where virtually all children attend primary school, the vast majority get nine years of schooling, and nearly 80 per cent attend senior high school. This amounts to an “education revolution”. Further, Indonesia inherited the arbitrary borders of the Netherlands East Indies, and in a remarkable process of creating and harnessing nationalism, has successfully constructed itself as a functioning and unified nation-state.

Arguably, the principal mechanism by which it has achieved this is through the national education system: the deployment and teaching of a single national language in schools (in a country of hundreds of languages); the nationwide sharing of the experience of school education; the connection between school graduation and securing desirable jobs (although this is problematic in contemporary Indonesia); and the unifying struggle to achieve development and modernity. In Indonesia, schooling also involves the constant instilling and development of civic pride and national loyalty. Students are constantly exposed to Indonesia’s national ideology, called Pancasila, in school lessons and school culture. Pancasila consists of five inter-connected “pillars”: belief in one Great God, a just and civilised humanity, national unity, consensual and representative democracy, and social justice for all the people.

However, it has to be said that, until now, in this story of national development, “the environment” has barely appeared as a topic. In the discourse of national progress, the environment really only makes an appearance as the wealth of natural resources that it is Indonesia’s prerogative to exploit to the maximum, to create prosperity for its citizens. In this book we call this “resource nationalism”. This means that a transformation of the national discourse is required, if these natural resources are to be used wisely and sustainably. Given the ubiquity of schooling now, and its historic role in creating a patriotic citizenry, environmental education in schools appears as the most suitable

vehicle for bringing about this much-needed transformation. In this book, we investigate schools' and others' attempts to bring young people to responsible environmental behaviour, because not only will today's young people inherit the problems wrought by irresponsible development, but also they represent the nation's best hope for staying their country's gung-ho destruction of the natural world.

A few notes of caution are warranted. First, there is potential here for unreasonable expectations. Collectively, young people have spearheaded social and political change, but one of the features of Indonesian societies is the strength of family and social norms that instantiate respect of children for their parents. Young people have a relatively powerless position in their families, and it is extremely difficult for children to suggest to their parents new ways of doing things, let alone to disobey their parents. There is something of a disconnect here in the historic public role of young people and their subordinate position within the family domain. Second, Indonesia starts its journey towards environmental sustainability a long way behind many countries of the Global North, where populations enjoy high levels of science knowledge and environmental understanding. For example, we have heard high school children in Indonesia explain that the "greenhouse effect" and global warming are caused by overuse of glass in houses ("glasshouses"); many farmers use red, blue and white chemicals on their crops, without knowing what elements or types of fertiliser, weedicide or pesticide they are applying, and they mix cocktails of these chemicals without wearing protection and using kitchen cooking utensils. International assessment tests of schoolchildren show that Indonesian students are woefully behind in science knowledge (OECD, 2016). Third, although this book suggests ways forward via the formal education system, there is great inertia in the enormous education system. It is not surprising, given that there are over 49 million students and ~3.5 million teachers in levels from kindergarten to senior high school (MOEC (Ministry of Education and Culture), 2016). There are entrenched reasons that teachers have no incentive to change their ways – particularly as many are civil servants first and educators second; and the capacity of teachers, in terms of their knowledge base and pedagogical capabilities, is limited. Fourth, environmental education cannot do the job alone. In many ways, it can be seen as a "safe" option, delaying or shifting responsibility for major structural changes that will only come about with political action. As Jucker said,

The highly idealistic notion – which assumes that we just need to change the way we educate our kids and students in order to make sustainability fall into our lap – is both horribly naïve *and* utterly unfair to the younger generation.

(Jucker, 2002, p. 9, emphasis in original)

It is important not to set up an oppositional dichotomy of young people versus the state, and/or versus a rapacious economic system. Young people too

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contribute to the consumption of material goods and hence natural resources, and young people in Indonesia are routine litterers. While many people in Global North countries would find it almost physically impossible to drop an empty plastic water bottle on the ground in the street, and would either cast about for a rubbish bin or carry it home, most young people in Indonesia would drop it without thought. This is all part of the low level of environmental awareness that characterises Indonesian society.

But this is not to demonise Indonesia and valorise the Global North. The model of economic development that has come to represent the desired goal of the post-colonial nation-state since the Second World War, derives from the Industrial Revolution of Euro-America and the Age of Empire (Escobar, 1995). This development model and its capitalist economic system is to blame for much of the world's environmental woes. And yet, not unreasonably, many post-colonial countries aspire to reach the same levels of prosperity and security that characterise the Global North. This introduces the Gordian knot of the global predicament today: disparate levels of responsibility for climate change and biodiversity loss; different levels of ability to pay for clean-up and switch to more sustainable economies; heightened concerns with national sovereignty as transnational companies and institutions extend and deepen their hold over the global economy; and undiminished commitments to economic growth and heightened prosperity. There is no prospect that a swash-buckling Alexander-like hero can slice through this knot. We must seek slower, wiser solutions.

The environment

Of course, everybody lives in an environment, and it affects their daily life in all sorts of ways: city dwellers may only have to decide whether or not to wear a coat or take an umbrella as they leave the house, but people in hunting and gathering societies rely for their survival on their successful utilisation of the natural environment in which they live. In the richer countries of the world, and in contemporary global discourse, “the environment” is externalised – as something apart from humans, as a bank of natural resources, sometimes as a threat (in the form of cyclones or earthquakes) and as something that can be manipulated and should be managed – hence climate change conventions, the declaration of national parks, etc. While most people in such countries assume that humans depend on the environment, opinions vary as to the extent to which humans can make “withdrawals” from that bank without thought for future generations; the extent to which continuing economic growth is desired over care for the sustainability of the environment; and the extent to which humans are perceived as an intrinsic part of nature (an eco-centric worldview), versus the anthro-centric view that humans, as superior beings, are meant to have mastery (or stewardship) over nature, or indeed must “conquer” nature (see, for example, Schultz & Zelezny, 1999; Thompson & Barton, 1994).

The idea of a split between eco- and anthro-centric worldviews, of nature versus human society, of the natural sciences on the one hand and the

humanities/social sciences on the other, has some validity because in some contexts it has real purchase. Many biologists would, for instance, favour the establishment of large, people-free protected areas such as national parks and wilderness areas, in both Global North and Global South contexts. On the other hand, many social scientists point out the “rich country” blindness of such actions and look for ways to simultaneously address the social justice issues that erupt with attempts to save or conserve people-less wilderness (see, for example, Guha, 1989; Nixon, 2011). In many real-world contexts, we find ourselves in quandaries over whether to prioritise the environment or society-driven demands (e.g. whether to go by public transport and take longer to commute, or spend the time more efficiently by taking the car). But the split is not necessarily that clear-cut. If public transport systems were adequate and efficient, there would be less of a quandary. If public policy and budgets prioritised the environment, individuals could sensibly take public transport. We have scientific and technical solutions to many of the world’s “environmental” problems – which have been caused by humans – but lack the social understanding and political will to implement them. What is needed is a humanity-in-environment approach.

After all, we are in the Anthropocene Age. As Philips has written:

Planet Earth is more than 4.5 billion years old; life has existed on it for more than 3.5 billion years, with humans on it for 2–3 million years, living with other life forms. But the Anthropocene Age is named for us. As its namers, Crutzen and Stoermer, put it: “It seems to us more than appropriate to emphasize the central role of mankind [sic] in geology and ecology by proposing to use the term ‘anthropocene’ for the current geological epoch.”

There has been overwhelming agreement with the thesis of this original scientific paper.

(Philips, 2014, p. 978)²

As the draft Islamic Declaration on Climate Change states, “We have now become a force of nature.”³

The environment is an empirical reality, which can be studied scientifically, but it is also a social construct. Different societies, different regimes and different organisations have their own perceptions of the environment and of environmental issues. Insofar as it has one, Indonesia’s national discourse of the environment, as mentioned above, is one of abundant natural resources, such as forests, ripe for exploitation to enrich its people. Increasingly, there is a parallel but more muted discourse of global and local environmental issues, and Indonesia’s international representatives sign commitments on behalf of the country to limit carbon emissions.⁴ At the same time, wet-rice farmers in Java are primarily interested in their small environment of paddy field, water supply and weather; city dwellers mostly identify rubbish as the nation’s number one environmental issue; and indigenous peoples are often engaged in site-specific fights to save their own enviro-economy, the forest. It is necessary to understand different people’s different understandings of nature and the environment.

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Environmental issues are almost by definition social issues, not least because “the environment” is a social construct. These different perceptions of the environment have real-world policy and on-the ground ramifications, as noted above. Environmental problems are mainly caused by human societies. “The environment” knows no political boundaries or jurisdictions: smoke from forest fires in Sumatra and Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) not only closes airports and schools in Sumatra and Kalimantan, sometimes for months at a time, but also damages the health of people in Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei and Thailand. However, responsibility for much of the burning can be sheeted home to business tycoons in Malaysia and Singapore, who invest in the palm oil industry – as well as to the government officials and politicians who should be controlling it but often stand to gain financially by not (Varkkey, 2015). Environmental problems have no time limits or statute of limitations – the ramifications of the Industrial Revolution that occurred first in Western Europe are still being felt in the rapid industrialisation of India and China and drastic global climate change, and international conventions struggle to deal with that legacy. The “past of slow violence is never past” (Nixon, 2011, p. 8).

The environment we have in mind in this book is the earth’s life-support system. Following Griggs *et al.* (2013, p. 306), we can visualise this as shown in Figure 1.1.

This is the environment that is the subject of global concern, not only to environmental activists and those who are trying to live in more environmentally sensitive ways, but also to scientists and academics, policy-makers, public servants and the like: an environment that is degrading in quality because of human actions that are causing shrinking biodiversity and the deterioration of conditions that support life on earth. Nixon describes the “slow violence” of “[c]limate change, the thawing cryosphere, toxic drift, biomagnification,

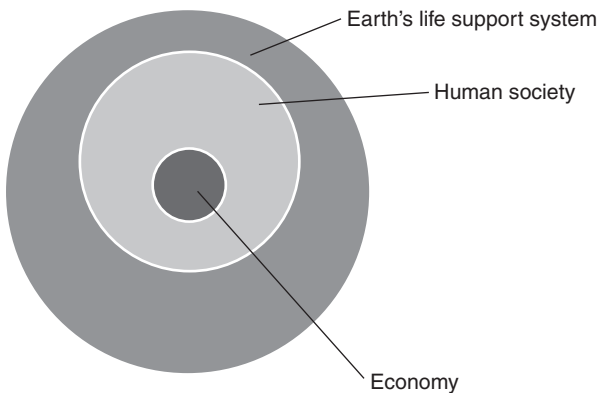


Figure 1.1 The relationships between the environment, human society and the economy.

Source: Griggs *et al.* (2013).

deforestation, the radioactive aftermath of wars, acidifying oceans, and a host of other slowly unfolding environmental catastrophes” (Nixon, 2011, p. 2). This violence is typically not perceived as violence at all, not least because those who are the most vulnerable to its ravages are the poor and marginal. These “long dyings” are largely invisible and uncounted.⁵

In the Global South, “the environment” is often disguised. Environmentalism often arises around a single issue, such as the building of a highway or a large dam, and is therefore local and often ephemeral (Kalland & Persoon, 1998). It might be labelled an issue of dispossession or social injustice. Sometimes a social conflict disguises the environmental issue at its heart, or, more precisely, conflict occurs over control of a natural resource, but may be fought in the name of religion, race or ethnicity. There is indeed an “environmentalism of the poor” (Erb, 2012; Martinez-Alier, 2002), but “the poor” lack access to big business media, so their protests often go unnoticed. For now, it is enough to emphasise that the environment is a social construct, and that social injustice is often environmental injustice. In Indonesia, many local environmental issues are also issues of social justice, and, when reported in the media, it is the social conflict, rather than the environmental damage, that is reported, e.g. when large dams, highways or ecotourism resorts displace local farmers in the name of Development (Colombijn, 1998). It is very rare for observers to link common local events, such as the closure of schools or airports due to smoke haze, to their real cause: deforestation of huge swathes of rainforests for the sake of a monoculture of palm oil and, ultimately, profit. This obfuscation not only inhibits holistic thinking and understanding of human–nature interactions, but also hides the identity of perpetrators and the systemic nature of social and environmental injustices.

Environmental responsibility

In the context of Indonesia, the phrase “social justice” has a great deal more pulling power than “environment” or “sustainability”. Social justice is the fifth pillar of Pancasila, and justice (*keadilan*) is an Arabic-derived term that has many referents in the Qur’an. For these and other reasons described in the next chapter, this book borrows one of its philosophical foundations from the social justice theory of the feminist philosopher, Iris Marion Young (2006). In her paper of 2006, “Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model”, she posits that obligations of justice and responsibility derive from social connections.⁶ This conceptualisation is useful because it explains why human beings are responsible to, and have obligations to, others beyond their family, community or even nation-state, but, at the same time, share responsibility, albeit unequally, to act collectively to restore justice. It is a theory that separates responsibility from blame (liability), looks forward rather than backward, and is concerned with action for global social justice.

Here we outline the theory, showing its relevance to environmental responsibility.

The social connection model of responsibility says that all people who contribute to structural social processes that produce injustice have responsibilities to remedy the injustice. This is not just about equal and universal human rights: it is about structural injustice brought about by transnational, institutional and personal relationships that are liable to cause conflict and inequalities of power. Young uses the transnational clothing industry as her example. The consumer who buys clothes in the Global North is, through her everyday act of purchase, engaging in a social process. Thereby, she is connected to and has responsibilities towards the exploited women who work long hours, in unhealthy and unsafe conditions, for below-minimum-wage pay in the Global South. This is an example of a transnational social structure that produces injustice and therefore obligations beyond the known local context and indeed beyond political borders. Similarly, we could posit a home-owner in a prosperous country buying a new wooden dining suite. By virtue of this social act of consumption, that person is involved in a global structure that does harm: it does violence not only to the rainforest and rainforest dwellers in, say, Borneo, but also to the ecosystems that have been disrupted to produce the oil to fuel the chainsaws, trucks and ships used to transport the timber; it exploits cheap labour in the furniture factory in the town in, say, north coast Java; or it involves the better-paid cabinet-maker in the rich country where the furniture is made or finished, the wholesalers and the retailers and finally the consumer. Thus, the social act of consumption entails a structural social process that does both social injustice and environmental harm. We would argue then, that it necessitates social, economic and environmental obligations and responsibilities beyond the national border of the country of consumption.

However, Young's social connections theory of global social justice cannot do all the work. Our extension of it to environmental justice and our co-mingling of harms to humans and harms to the environment presumes the absolute value of natural ecosystems. We think we need to accept the absolute value of the environment and its complex systems and assign it rights to exist *per se*. However, to pre-empt the findings of our fieldwork and analysis of the discourse in Indonesia, an eco-centric worldview is not prevalent in Indonesia. At base, the Indonesian national discourse states that the environment is the creation of God: God is the Creator. We can borrow from this religious discourse its sense that humans should act as the stewards of God, with the responsibility to preserve God's Creation. Probably at this point we will have raised some hackles: many secular readers would find it problematic to base an environmental programme on a religious, and further, creationist, base. But we would argue that in searching for culturally appropriate ways to bring Indonesians to environmental responsibility, and in order to minimise cognitive dissonance, we can deploy this religious discourse to motivate environmental action – and indeed we find that many environmentalists and activists engaged in EE in Indonesia feel that their work is a religious vocation.⁷

In introducing this element of religion to the Introduction we are alluding to the fact that the research on which this book is based is ethnographic, real

world, field work. While there is some fine academic work on notions such as environmental citizenship and responsibility, this academic work is mainly theoretical and philosophical. Here we take an anthropological approach, which means we start with the fieldwork and work up from there. We echo MacGregor, who writes on feminist ecological citizenship, that

empirical research [is] both necessary to the development of theoretical ideas and frustrating for the desire to arrive at pat conclusions. I [choose] to include the first-hand accounts [...] of women activists in my research because of a dissatisfaction with the absence of “the empirical” in the writings of green theorists of citizenship and the over-reliance on women’s experiences (as incontestable truth) in ecofeminist scholarship. While my effort to synthesize theory and practice makes for a much messier narrative than the ones now on offer, it is my hope that it will also provide a much more useful one.

(MacGregor, 2009, pp. 292–293)

The theoretical framework of the book and concepts such as environmental awareness, responsibility and citizenship will be elaborated in Chapter 2.

The research

The first author, Lyn Parker, is a social and cultural anthropologist who has conducted fieldwork in Indonesia since conducting doctoral fieldwork in east Bali in 1980–1981.⁸ The environment has rarely been the main subject of her research but has been ever-present, beginning with her Honours project on the effects of the then-new High-Yielding Varieties of rice and the Green Revolution in Indonesia. At the time of PhD fieldwork in Bali, beginning in 1980, villagers where she was studying most wanted the provision of electricity. (She thought that a clean water supply would have been more advantageous, given the high rates of gastro-intestinal diseases, dysentery, and so on.) She knew that they could use a combination of small hydro-power and solar-powered photovoltaic cells, but her efforts to advocate for this were stymied by a complex array of apathy, feelings that “it’s the government’s job”, doubts over her capacity and ability, and fear of the new.

Over the decades, the dire state of the environment in Indonesia triggered questions for her about local environmental knowledge, attitudes towards the environment and environmental values among the populace. She wanted to foster environmental consciousness and pro-environment action in Indonesia. In 2011 she invited several researchers to a large team research project which aimed to identify how various types of education and environmentalism in different contexts in Indonesia could contribute to creating environmentally aware citizens in Indonesia. The team members were Indonesian and Australian scholars – anthropologists and sociologists – working in different parts of Indonesia: Central Kalimantan, Yogyakarta in Central Java, Surabaya in East Java, rural Indramayu in West Java, rural East Lombok, and so on. The team members

have been researching in different educational contexts: senior high schools, universities, wet-rice and mixed farming communities, and protected areas such as national parks.⁹ One of the members of the team was the co-author, Kelsie Prabawa-Sear. She was a PhD student on the team, and conducted long-term immersion fieldwork in Yogyakarta and Surabaya. It is her fieldwork that forms the basis of the four ethnographic chapters in this book, Chapters 7–10.

The research on which this book is based is anthropological research. As anthropologists, we are committed to entering the world of the “Other” and, coming out of that world, to making sense of it to outsiders, to explain it as meaningful in accord with its own logic, values and system of meaning. In this sense, we are dealing with multiple understandings of “the environment” – the global environment that we perceive needs protection and restoration, the national Indonesian context as well as local understandings of the environment. Of course, in such a large and complex nation-state as Indonesia, the latter is not a single thing, and ranges from the shared understandings of the global discourse (e.g. among some scientists and activists in Indonesia) to uncaring and apathetic attitudes coupled with rapacious and avaricious material consumption, to the parochial worldviews of small communities. In the middle are a plethora of interpretations and meanings, often contradictory and ambivalent. But the aim of the book is not just to “translate” Indonesian understandings of the environment to an English-speaking academic audience. It is also to establish some ways forward, some culturally appropriate approaches to educating student citizens in the interdependent relationships of humankind and the environment. As we see it, environmental awareness and knowledge are important but not sufficient precursors to changing environmental behaviours. If we are to change the sensibilities and everyday practices of millions of young people, creating a collective environmental subjectivity, it will be necessary to engage the larger context and its influential institutions – national- and district-level government ministries, religious authorities, policies and curricula, the media and schools. The aim is transformation in the direction of appreciation of the urgent need to protect the conditions that support the diversity of life on earth, manifest in everyday care of the environment.

Outline of the book

Chapter 2 explores the key concepts and theories used in the book. After discussing understandings of “responsibility”, it outlines some of the major approaches to environmental responsibility. After consideration of liberal views of environmental responsibility, the chapter introduces the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, and its derivative, environmentality, and the term responsibilisation, as these terms are potentially relevant for one Indonesia context, the city of Surabaya, where environmentalism is to some extent compulsory. Then the chapter elaborates on Young’s approach to “responsibility for justice”, which is basically a moral approach to environmental responsibility, and shows how it is appropriate in the Indonesia context.

In Indonesia, an enduring aim of education is to create loyal citizens. Given the strength of citizenship education in schools in Indonesia since 1945, the wave of Islamisation in Indonesia since around 1990, and the strength of the discourse around morality (and especially character education) in Indonesia today, the book argues that environmentally responsible citizenship could resonate as a culturally appropriate discourse in Indonesia. The chapter therefore traces some of the major theories of environmental citizenship, as this is the frame that we propose will best get traction in the context of the Indonesian education system.

Chapter 3, “Introducing environmental education”, distils the most relevant themes and issues that have characterised the sub-discipline of “environmental education” (EE) since the Tbilisi Declaration in 1977. It introduces the academic literature on EE and identifies some of the salient issues in EE, such as the choice of terms (EE, Education for Sustainable Development and Education for Sustainability) and the location of EE in schools. This book uses the term EE because it is known in Indonesia and because the term “sustainable development” often leads to the neglect of the sustainability of the environment in favour of sustained development. One issue of great significance is that, as schools are part of the system that created the world’s environmental problems, we cannot expect them to deliver education that will critique and transform the larger structures of capitalism, inequality and injustice that produce environmental destruction. The question is: can schools produce responsible environmental citizens? Our response is simply that they must, because the problems are so urgent. The chapter then turns to the issue of pedagogy in EE, first looking at best practice in the Global North then at four problematic aspects of pedagogy in Indonesia and many other developing countries:

- 1 The continuing dominance of rote learning.
- 2 The focus on the transmission of facts.
- 3 The gap between environmental awareness and knowledge on the one hand and pro-environmental behaviour on the other.
- 4 The effect of learned helplessness and apathy.

Finally, the chapter proposes “critical ecopedagogy” as an ideal. In summary, the chapter echoes the call “for education to accept full responsibility in addressing global survival issues” (Pinar *et al.*, 1995, p. 841).

Chapter 4 introduces Indonesia. It surveys the demography of Indonesia, the economy and the broad socioeconomic context in which our study is embedded, politics and government, religion and culture, and the environment. Indonesia is the fourth largest country in the world in terms of population, and has a young, growing population. It is a developing country, with growing prosperity and a declining incidence of poverty, but with most people still vulnerable, and a shockingly high, and rising, level of inequality. Two salient trends are the growth of the middle class and a rapid rate of urbanisation. Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world and, since the 1980s, has experienced

massive Islamisation, with rising religious intolerance and growing fundamentalism. The chapter shows how the demographic shifts and economic development have had a deleterious effect on the environment, and how democratisation and decentralisation have also not produced expected gains for the environment.

The second half of the chapter presents what is known about environmental awareness in Indonesia, underlining the observation that the populace, the public service and the government have very little knowledge, understanding, or even awareness of the dire environmental problems that Indonesia faces – let alone what to do about them. Finally, the chapter examines government attitudes and capacity for responsible environmental management, and environmental non-government organisations (ENGOS) and the role they have played thus far in plugging that hole, trying to spread environmental concern and enthusiasm among the populace.

Chapter 5 sets out the education system in Indonesia. Many of the problems with EE that appear in the ethnographic chapters (7–10), can be traced back to problems with the education system in general. However, to give credit where it's due, Indonesia can be characterised as an education “success story” because it has gone from a basically illiterate colony in 1942 to a country of almost universal literacy for those under 25 years of age. Gendered inequalities in access to schooling are almost gone, although there are still pockets of female disadvantage; there are significant and growing inequalities by socioeconomic status, province and remoteness, with areas in eastern Indonesia consistently disadvantaged and lacking basic infrastructure such as health facilities, roads and schools with adequate teaching staff.

After describing the structure of the system, the chapter outlines the main objectives of education in Indonesia, highlighting the continuing emphasis on nationalism and the objective to create loyal, and pious, citizens, as well as the abiding need to produce effective workers. These days, the attention is on the notoriously poor quality of the education that students receive. Indonesia consistently scores very poorly in international tests (such as PISA, Programme for International Student Assessment). The low level of subject knowledge and poor pedagogical capabilities of teachers are often blamed. There have been wide-ranging efforts to improve the quality of teaching, such as increasing the pay of teachers, and upgrading their professional qualifications, and the management of schools, with a shift to school-based management.

Chapter 6 is titled “Religious environmental education?”. It examines the latest curriculum, Curriculum 2013, for senior high school, to see how “the environment” is taught. It is here that we see the effect of recent Islamisation upon the education system. The chapter first outlines early efforts to introduce EE to schools in Indonesia. It describes the impetus for the new Curriculum, noting that although educators were concerned with Indonesia's poor showing in international tests, the new curriculum actually gutted the curriculum of academic content and substituted that with a new emphasis on character, moral and religious education. The chapter goes through the curriculum in detail, to

discern the way “the environment” is represented. The salient feature of the Science curriculum is the religious framing. Students are to realise and be thankful that God created the universe in such a way that it is suitable for humans to live in, that it is to some extent knowable by humans (e.g. through science), and that so much has been provided for human exploitation. The same framing occurs in Geography, but in Geography there are also messages about caring for the environment, using resources wisely and responsibly, and we get the first and only mention of environmental sustainability and sustainable development. True EE carries very little weight in the new Curriculum.

The chapter takes a detour to discuss how EE as a sub-discipline has regarded religion, and the relation between Islam and science. It then addresses the following themes in Curriculum 2013: creationism; instrumentalism and the way humans are presented as having been created as separate from the environment, which was created as natural resources for humans to exploit; divine and human agency and responsibility; the desired affects and values; environmental nationalism – i.e. the idea that God created Indonesia with rich natural resources for humans to exploit for prosperity; religious resources that are neglected in the Curriculum; and it then discusses some problems with religious EE. Finally it examines how the environment is presented in textbooks.

Chapter 7 asks, “Is anyone responsible for the environment in Yogyakarta?”, and the answer is basically “No”. This is the first of four ethnographic chapters, and the first of two chapters on the Central Javanese city of Yogyakarta. The chapter describes the governmental context of Yogyakarta and argues that it is inimical to the fostering of good EE: the Sultan and Mayor are committed to rampant, unsustainable development; there is a lack of government commitment to the environment, poor coordination between agencies; and government officials ostensibly responsible for the environment lack expertise and interest. The chapter describes the fieldwork and selection of schools. The second half of the chapter describes the Adiwiyata Programme, the government’s flagship national environmental education project: the dubious reasons that schools sign up for it; the forced participation of schools and teachers; and the way the programme is run. Its obsession for documentation and numerical KPIs turns accountability into cheating; and its emphasis on prize-winning hijacks environmental aims, turning the programme into a mechanism for school marketing and status performance.

Chapter 8 is the second chapter on Yogyakarta and uses classic educational ethnography to show what is happening in schools in Yogyakarta – both in classes where teachers are using the Curriculum, and in and around schools, where students are doing Adiwiyata activities. We examine three classes which show the hollowness of EE in schools, and the critical importance of high-quality teachers. An abysmal craft lesson, the Mushroom Fiasco, shows that when teachers stray from the traditional pedagogy, they run into problems – mainly because of their own lack of knowledge. The Biology class is an example of a more confident teacher following the curriculum to allow students to leave the classroom and explore the natural world. The third class is the best lesson

we saw during fieldwork: it shows a smart, knowledgeable Geography teacher encouraging students to ask questions that go way beyond the textbook topics. The second half of the chapter reports on a student-led environmental event, Rubbish Day, at one of the schools. We use that example to examine the (limited) possibilities for the amplification of “student voice” in EE in Indonesia. We discuss the discursive impact of the fact that many teachers are public servants first, and teachers second; and the power of the social value of *sungkan* (respectful politeness) among students. These combine to work against teachers innovating and investing time and energy in the improvement of their knowledge base and pedagogy, and against students exercising initiative, suggesting innovations or critiquing their lessons or teachers.

Chapter 9 describes “A coordinated approach to environmental education in Surabaya”. After introducing the fieldwork, this chapter describes the “forced volunteering” (*paksarela*) approach to EE in Surabaya, beginning with the vital role played by the Mayor of Surabaya, Ibu Risma. Then we examine the cooperation among government agencies, an environmental NGO (hereafter TENGO) and schools in enforcing a city-wide approach to EE. On the face of it, this coordinated approach looks very much like Agrawal’s “environmentality” in practice. While acknowledging that Surabaya is indeed becoming “clean and green”, partly through the environmental actions of students, the chapter questions the effectiveness of this approach to EE in enabling young people to solve environmental problems and understand the complex interactions between socio-econo-political systems and the natural world. Finally, the chapter examines the free labour of children to gauge if the deployment of school children in environmental services should be seen as exploitation, the exacerbation of inequalities or as “responsibilising” children towards environmental citizenship.

Chapter 10 examines various EE projects and events in Surabaya to see how students are involved, what they learn from participation in competitive events, the variable involvement and expectations of teachers and TENGO staff, how some approaches fail, and how an EE trip to Perth failed to educate participants. Even in Surabaya there is evidence of meaningless performance of environmentalism without understanding, with ritualistic compliance with rules and commitment to competition but no commitment to solving real-world environmental problems. Finally, the chapter revisits the question of whether this forced volunteering of environmental work can be considered an effective form of environmentality.

Chapter 11 is titled “Young people as environmental subjects? Identity, behaviour and responsibility”. The team of researchers in this project designed a survey that was administered to 1000 senior high school students in our target schools. All of the students had been exposed to some form of EE. Our survey showed that almost 82 per cent of students self-identified as environmentalists. However, when we asked about their perceptions of environmental problems in the world, their responses were not well-informed. Further, when asked about their pro-environmental behaviours, it became clear that, while theoretically

students are happy to identify as “green”, in practice they are not behaving as environmentally responsible citizens. Finally, when asked who they thought is responsible for caring for and cleaning up the environment, students overwhelmingly answered “society”, showing no indication that they expected their government or industries to contribute, nor was there any sense that overweening consumption or development was to blame. Thus, young people have absorbed the neoliberal message of small government and have assigned responsibility to “society”, i.e. those who are least aware, most ignorant, and most poorly equipped to meet the challenges of environmental destruction.

Chapter 12 proposes some ways forward for EE in Indonesia, taking into account findings from fieldwork and consideration of the literature. The authors make recommendations for the way forward in Indonesia. This chapter also considers the ramifications of the study’s findings for other Global South countries, with a view to the practical exigencies of weak education systems and the imperialism entailed in the globalisation of EE. The authors advocate the development of culturally sensitive, locally relevant, environmental education programmes that lead young people to become environmentally responsible citizens.

Notes

- 1 In this book, the tricky terminology of First versus Third World, the West versus the Rest, developing versus developed, advanced versus emerging economies, Global South and Global North, is mainly dealt with by using the last set of terms. However, for the Australian authors – citizens of a rich, “Western” country, economically a member of the Global North but geographically situated in the southern hemisphere – that particular binary feels decidedly odd. The advantage of this set is that it does not predetermine that the goal of “developing” countries is to become like the already-“developed” countries, or that the latter stand as some sort of model or ideal. Of course there are many problems with using such blanket terms, not least of which are their homogenising effect – as though countries as different as Indonesia and, say, Chad were somehow similar – and the static and ahistorical images they conjure.
- 2 The footnote in the extract (5) reads:

This is considered the first naming of the Anthropocene Age; see Paul Crutzen and E. F. Stoermer, “The ‘Anthropocene,’” *Global Change Newsletter* 41 (2000): 17–18. In a historically specific paragraph, Crutzen and Stoermer date the Anthropocene to the industrial era:

We propose the latter part of the 18th century, ... [although] some may even want to include the entire holocene.... We choose this date because, during the past two centuries, the global effects of human activities have become clearly noticeable. This is the period when data retrieved from glacial ice cores show the beginning of a growth in the atmospheric concentrations of several “greenhouse gases”, in particular CO₂ and CH₄. Such a starting date also coincides with James Watt’s invention of the steam engine in 1784.

(Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000, pp. 17–18)

- 3 Interestingly, the final Declaration rephrased this to: “Moreover, it is human-induced: we have now become a force dominating nature.” (“Islamic Declaration on Global Climate Change”, 2015).
- 4 For instance, in February 2017, Indonesia pledged to the UNEP to cut plastic waste in 25 coastal cities and reduce marine litter by 70 per cent in eight years (UNEP, 2017).

- 5 National accounts figures rarely factor in the costs of erosion or pollution, unless there is an event such as a flood or an oil spill, nor do they count the opportunity cost of species loss or failure to guard against and adapt to climate change. Typically the environment features in economic accounting as the cost of property and of clean-up of (often human-caused) environmental disasters. Attempts to “count” or “economise” the environment, for instance in triple bottom lines or through corporate social responsibility programmes, merely tinker at the edges.
- 6 This chapter is the heart of the book, *Responsibility for Justice* (Young, 2011). Other chapters provide context and later chapters elaborate on certain issues raised in the chapter.
- 7 See Nilan and Wibawanto (2015, pp. 66ff.), especially the story of Romo Yatno.
- 8 This research was eventually published as Parker (2003).
- 9 The project was funded by the Australia Research Council Discovery Grant DP130100051. Some findings of the project can be found in special issues of *Inside Indonesia* (127, 2017) and *Indonesia and the Malay World* (vol. 46, issue 136, 2018) as well as scattered journal articles (e.g. Nilan, 2017; Nilan & Wibawanto, 2015; Parker, 2016).

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2 Theorising responsible environmental citizenship

This chapter explores some of the key concepts and theories used in the book.¹ We begin by outlining some of the major approaches to environmental responsibility in order to show some of the possibilities for analysis, the better to show why Young's approach of "responsibility for justice" is appropriate in the Indonesia context. After consideration of liberal views of "environmental responsibility", we introduce the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and the awful term "responsibilisation", as this may be applicable in one Indonesia context, the city of Surabaya. Then we elaborate upon Young's approach to responsibility for justice. This is basically a moral approach to environmental responsibility.

In Indonesian education, one constant has been that the aim of education is to create loyal citizens.² Given the strength of citizenship education in schools in Indonesia since 1945, the wave of Islamisation in Indonesia since around 1990, and the strength of the discourse around morality (and especially character education) in Indonesia today, we propose that environmentally responsible citizenship could resonate as a culturally appropriate discourse. We therefore trace some of the major theories of environmental citizenship, as this is the frame that we think will best get traction in the context of the Indonesian education system. While not ideal, we consider the environmental conditions in Indonesia so dire, and the absence of other desirable conditions so significant,³ that we propose that responsible environmental citizenship is the way forward for EE in schools in Indonesia.

Environmental responsibility

Responsibility

The word "responsible" has a long history, going back to classical Latin, Anglo-Norman, Old French and Middle French. In legal history, in thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman it had the meaning of being required to answer, of being accountable. This meaning of responsible still holds: that one is answerable or liable to be called to account to another person for something. In the history of the Church, the liturgy required spoken or sung "responses", and therefore being