

THE VILLAGE LANDSCAPE THROUGH A LENS:  
UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF BALI, INDONESIA

By

JOCELYN MARIE WIDMER

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2010

© 2010 Jocelyn Marie Widmer

For all those who have taught me to remember the pleasure of working, the  
improvement of talent and the joy of originating

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My time at the University of Florida has been nurtured by a number of people whom I owe special thanks. My advisory committee has dedicated an immense amount of time toward developing my deficiencies and building on my strengths. As my advisor and mentor, Christopher Silver has so graciously pushed me in new directions in his own particular way that is both professional and personal. In sharing his affection for the Indonesian culture over the past few years, he has helped focus and refine my interests in international development with greater purpose and clarity than what I came to him with. Kevin Thompson's research experience in Bali enabled this study to come to life in a place that he has so kindly shared along the way. As the Director of the 2009 Bali Field School, I owe a special thanks to his coordination of the program that made this study possible. Bill Tilson has pivoted around the world with me in our provocative discussions of cultural landscapes and has guided me toward greater clarity in understanding the challenges that landscapes face in many different cultural contexts. Finally, Marilyn "Mickie" Swisher has helped me question the rigor and overall contribution of my research. In doing so, she has committed me to facing the challenges that persist for those who engage participation. Collectively, I would like to thank my committee for their commitment to interdisciplinarily questioning development pressures on cultural landscapes, and thereby supporting my interdisciplinary exploration through both coursework and research approach.

This interdisciplinary approach has been greatly supported by my exchanges with many faculty members within the College of Design, Construction, and Planning. I owe a special thanks to Morris "Marty" Hylton for absorbing my ideas and interests into the Preservation Institute: Nantucket. My involvement with PI:N has challenged my

approach to studying cultural landscapes in a different context and at a different scale. I truly appreciate Marty's commitment to my own research interests nested into PI:N's future.

In addition to the many faculty whom I have had the pleasure of working with among the five academic units of the College, I would also like to thank those faculty in the Tropical Conservation and Development Certificate program and the Masters in Public Health program who have devoted countless hours to advising me toward fully understanding what it means to be a student of international development.

I owe a special thanks to the 2009 Bali Field School participants who collectively made this research study possible. To the University of Florida student participants, Sarah Andrews, Cristina Barrone, Stephanie Grey, Meredith Leigh, Matthew Meyer, Hannah Plate, and Logan Templeton, thank you for your month-long commitment to this project and embracing the participatory research approach that is not always clear at its onset. I would also like to thank the contributing faculty and students from Udayana University in Denpasar, Bali who enthusiastically engaged in the project and provided a critical linguistic and cultural link between the US students and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students in Ubud surpassed my expectations in terms of their enthusiasm, interest, and overall dedication to the landscape film process. My heart-felt thanks to this group of thirteen and fourteen year-olds who shared their culture and committed their creativity toward the success of this research. In addition to these three groups responsible for the landscape film project, I would also like to individually thank Ridwan Sutriadi for his ability to tune into the cultural rhythm of the project and ensure that all of the project logistics were properly

accounted for. Many thanks to Arya Adiartha of Udayana University for his charismatic leadership style that served to facilitate the project from its beginning to end. Finally, I extend my appreciation to Sarah Andrews for the many hours we spent thinking about the development pressures in Ubud through her undergraduate capstone project and for the maps she contributed to this dissertation, which she adapted for my use.

Lastly, my sincere gratitude is extended to my many friends and family members who have supported and encouraged me in this journey. Thank you to Michele Hughes for keeping me grounded and at heart a Texan throughout the latter part of this process. Many thanks to Kathy Barrie for her day-to-day cheer that she has provided; and without her kitchen table, this dissertation would remain a blinking cursor on page one. Finally, my deepest thanks to my family, whose support I lean on, whose competition I thrive on, and whose perspective will always remind me from where I come.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | <u>page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....   | 4           |
| LIST OF TABLES.....  | 11          |
| LIST OF FIGURES.....   | 12          |
| ABSTRACT .....   | 14          |
| CHAPTER  |             |
| 1 INTRODUCTION .....   | 16          |
| Cultural Landscape Conservation and Development through Participatory<br>Processes: Research Statement ..... | 16          |
| Cultural Landscapes .....  | 21          |
| Assumptions.....   | 22          |
| Western Ideology Derived From Preservation Movement .....  | 22          |
| Cultural and Natural Values.....   | 24          |
| Current Trends in Development .....  | 24          |
| Participation and Development.....   | 27          |
| Bali, Indonesia .....  | 29          |
| Bali and Development .....   | 30          |
| The Balinese Landscape .....   | 32          |
| The Relationship between Participation and Context .....   | 33          |
| Methods.....   | 35          |
| Participatory Video as a Development Technique.....  | 36          |
| Participation by a Particular Group.....   | 37          |
| Project Sequence .....   | 39          |
| Outcomes .....   | 40          |
| Implications for Research .....  | 41          |
| 2 CONTEXTUALIZATION.....   | 45          |
| A Framework for Participation.....   | 45          |
| The Application of Participation in Development .....  | 46          |
| Participation Applied as a Process .....   | 47          |
| Situating Participation in Context.....  | 49          |
| Applying Participation as a Spatial Investigation .....  | 50          |
| Toward a Spatially-Situated Participatory Process.....   | 52          |
| Introduction to Bali as the Research Context.....  | 54          |
| Relevant History of Bali.....  | 59          |
| Contributing History of Tourism in Bali .....  | 60          |
| The Rice Culture of Bali.....  | 62          |
| Balinese Culture .....   | 63          |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Cultural Assimilation and Additive Approach .....                          | 64        |
| Image Making Process .....   | 65        |
| Tourism in Bali .....  | 68        |
| Tourism in Ubud .....  | 72        |
| Enduring Host Mentality .....  | 74        |
| Land Tenure in Ubud .....  | 75        |
| History of Traditional Land Tenure in Ubud .....                           | 77        |
| The Onset of Colonial Taxation .....                                       | 79        |
| Contemporary Pressures on Land Uses .....                                  | 80        |
| The Current Land Crisis in Bali.....                                       | 81        |
| Locally Articulated Pressures on Land Use .....                            | 82        |
| A Spatially-Oriented Society .....   | 84        |
| From Local to UNESCO .....   | 85        |
| Culture as Agent, Landscape as Medium.....                                 | 86        |
| The Landscape Experience .....   | 87        |
| Different Readings and Interpretations of the Landscape .....              | 88        |
| Landscape Change as the only Constant.....                                 | 89        |
| Evolution of Landscape Narrative through Experiences .....                 | 89        |
| Traditional Documentary Film Making Methods .....                          | 90        |
| Participatory Video .....  | 91        |
| Capturing Forces of Impact on Continuing Cultural Landscapes .....         | 93        |
| Coupling Participation with an Emerging Technology .....                   | 93        |
| Building a Narrative .....   | 94        |
| <b>3 METHODS .....</b>   | <b>97</b> |
| General Research Approach .....  | 98        |
| Introduction to Bali Field School's ISLE Structure.....                    | 99        |
| Organizational Structure for Developing Landscape Films .....              | 101       |
| Groups Involved in the Bali Field School Project.....                      | 102       |
| Community Youth.....   | 102       |
| Ubud Community Members.....  | 103       |
| Project Facilitators.....  | 104       |
| Project Coordinators.....  | 105       |
| Assimilation of Project Coordination, Facilitation and Participation ..... | 105       |
| Identified Challenges to Participation .....                               | 107       |
| Study Context .....  | 109       |
| Definitions of Scale in a Spatially-Oriented Society.....                  | 109       |
| Diversity of Scales.....   | 110       |
| Landscape Focus throughout Project Sequence.....                           | 113       |
| Project Materials and Project Deliverables .....                           | 114       |
| Project Sequence .....   | 115       |
| Resulting Collection of Landscape Films.....                               | 116       |
| Introduction to Research Methods .....                                     | 116       |
| Method I: Participant Observations .....                                   | 117       |
| Method II: Development and Delivery of Follow Up Questions.....            | 118       |
| Discussion following screening of landscape films.....                     | 119       |

|          |   |     |
|----------|---|-----|
|          | Follow up discussion with US students .....                                     | 119 |
|          | Follow up discussion with Sekolah Menengah Pertama students .....               | 120 |
|          | Method III: Emergent Themes (Retrospective) .....                               | 121 |
|          | Data Processing .....   | 121 |
| 4        | OUTCOMES .....  | 129 |
|          | Emergent Themes .....   | 129 |
|          | Tracing Video Content Back Through Storyboards .....                            | 130 |
|          | Relationships to Broader Themes at Different Scales .....                       | 131 |
|          | Sophisticated Understanding of Local Pressures Connected to Global Trends ..... | 133 |
|          | Visibility and Communication among the Broader Community .....                  | 135 |
|          | Evolution of Ownership in the Product .....                                     | 136 |
|          | Articulation of a Particular Voice.....   | 137 |
|          | Analysis of Follow Up Discussions .....   | 138 |
|          | Follow Up Discussion with Attendees of the Film Screening .....                 | 140 |
|          | Follow Up Discussion with US Students.....                                      | 148 |
|          | Follow Up Discussion with Sekolah Menengah Pertama Students .....               | 155 |
|          | Interpretations .....   | 163 |
|          | Limitations.....  | 164 |
|          | Participation by an Identified Group .....                                      | 165 |
|          | Time .....  | 166 |
|          | Challenges with Replication .....   | 168 |
|          | Additional Considerations for Undertaking Participatory Research.....           | 169 |
|          | Role of the Researcher.....   | 169 |
|          | The Related Disciplines.....  | 170 |
| 5        | IMPLICATIONS .....  | 180 |
|          | Diversifying Participation.....   | 181 |
|          | Relevance of Scale in Articulating Development Pressures .....                  | 185 |
|          | Communication Competency and Scale .....  | 187 |
|          | Using Frames to Communicate Scale .....   | 189 |
|          | Framing the Project sequence toward Collaboration .....                         | 191 |
|          | Culture and Development .....   | 196 |
|          | Aligning Culture and Planning.....  | 199 |
|          | Connective Powers of Planning and Culture .....                                 | 200 |
|          | Challenges of Mainstreamed Participation .....                                  | 201 |
|          | Dissemination Opportunities .....   | 202 |
|          | Final Thoughts.....   | 203 |
| APPENDIX |   |     |
| A        | DETAILED EXPLANATION OF BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT SEQUENCE..                    | 207 |
|          | (1) Community Map .....   | 207 |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| (2) Story Mapping .....  | 207        |
| (3) Places I Like, Places I Dislike .....  | 208        |
| (4) Identification of Landscape Themes .....   | 209        |
| (5) Constructing the Narrative .....   | 210        |
| (6) Storyboarding .....  | 211        |
| (7) Film Production .....  | 211        |
| <b>B QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH RESIDENTS<br/>OF UBUD (AFTER FILM SCREENED).....</b> | <b>221</b> |
| <b>C QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH US<br/>STUDENTS .....</b>                            | <b>223</b> |
| <b>D QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH SEKOLAH<br/>MENENGAH PERTAMA STUDENTS.....</b>       | <b>224</b> |
| <b>LIST OF REFERENCES .....</b>  | <b>226</b> |
| <b>BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....</b>  | <b>234</b> |

## LIST OF TABLES

| <u>Table</u>  | <u>page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| 3-1 Timetable of Project Activities.....              | 123         |
| 3-2 Directing Content through Use of Examples.....    | 124         |
| 3-3 Summary of Project Structure and Sequence.....    | 124         |
| A-1 Pairing of Groups Based on Student Proximity..... | 213         |
| A-2 Landscape Film Themes .....                       | 214         |

## LIST OF FIGURES

| <u>Figure</u>   | <u>page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| 1-1 Organizational Structure of Participating Groups in the Execution of the Bali Field School Project.....             | 43          |
| 1-2 Organizational Structure of Participating Groups in the Follow Up Discussions of the Bali Field School Project..... | 43          |
| 1-3 Map of Bali, Indonesia with relative Location of Ubud within the Island's Context .....                             | 44          |
| 2-1 Rice-Terraced Landscapes of Ubud .....  | 96          |
| 3-1 Group Involvement with Stages of the Bali Field School Project. ....  | 125         |
| 3-2 Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages .....  | 126         |
| 3-3 Comprehensive Conceptual Summary of Research Method .....   | 127         |
| 3-4 Conceptual Summary of Research Method I (Participant Observations).....   | 127         |
| 3-5 Conceptual Summary of Research Method II (Follow Up Discussions).....   | 128         |
| 3-6 Conceptual Summary of Research Method III (Retrospection).....  | 128         |
| 4-1 Content from <i>Nasi Goreng</i> Group.....  | 172         |
| 4-2 Screen Capture from <i>Cycles</i> Film.....   | 173         |
| 4-3 Screen Capture from <i>Cycles</i> Film.....   | 174         |
| 4-4 Screen Capture from <i>Duckman</i> Film .....   | 175         |
| 4-5 Screen Capture from <i>Harvest</i> Film .....   | 176         |
| 4-6 Screen Capture from <i>Harvest</i> Film .....   | 177         |
| 4-7 Harvest Production Team .....   | 178         |
| 4-8 Screen Capture from <i>Duckman</i> Film .....   | 179         |
| A-1 Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages with Sekolah Menengah Pertama Students' Houses Identified .....                | 215         |
| A-2 Refined Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages.....   | 216         |
| A-3 Typical Lead by Example Approach .....  | 217         |

|     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
| A-4 | Community Map with Narrative Vignettes Activity and Places I Like, Places I Dislike Activity..... | 218 |
| A-5 | Example of Guiding the Narrative Development Activity .....                                       | 219 |
| A-6 | Example of Guiding the Storyboarding Activity.....  | 220 |

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE VILLAGE LANDSCAPE THROUGH A LENS:  
UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF BALI, INDONESIA

By

Jocelyn Marie Widmer

December 2010

Chair: Christopher Silver

Major: Design, Construction and Planning

Contemporary development pressures in Bali, Indonesia can be attributed to factors associated with the growth of tourism, increased population densities, and the emergence of a middle class. Yet the highly engineered and ordered landscapes of southern Bali resonate with more practical challenges facing culturally-significant landscapes throughout the developing world. Balinese culture thus serves as an appropriate entry point into understanding the dynamic relationship between a cultural heritage ingrained in the landscape for centuries and how this heritage reconciles the collision of internal values and external interests today.

This study evaluates a spatially-situated participatory process that uses digital video to create films about the village landscape of Ubud, Bali. The project sequence evaluated in this research was implemented during May 2009 as part of the Bali Field School. The films capture ten different but related narratives of the *sawah* (rice-terraced landscape) by using traditional community mapping methods that evolved into narratives exploring the spatial and temporal significance of the *sawah* held by the group of community youth participants from Ubud. Weaving the oral traditions that

these youth recalled being passed down to them by their elders with their contemporary uses of the *sawah* as a playground and meeting place, the films conclude by addressing the eminent threats that face the village landscape of Ubud in the future.

An analysis of the effectiveness of the participatory video technique is derived from observations made about participation throughout the sequence of a project, while also discerning how the project sequence encouraged participants to articulate their particular landscape perceptions (specifically about development pressures). This participatory process created a learning environment that enhanced understandings of local pressures connected to global trends among the youth participants, as the project sequence situated the dialogue among a group of community members who are not typically involved in village development decisions.

This research argues that the participatory video technique is an effective mechanism to explore concepts related to development pressures at a certain scale (the village landscape), among a particular group of participants (the community youth). The participatory process was instrumental in reframing the dialogue surrounding cultural and natural resources, these resources as systems, and then the threat of development pressures on the village landscape that holds significance to the community's youth.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### **Cultural Landscape Conservation and Development through Participatory Processes: Research Statement**

This dissertation examines and assesses a participatory process that utilizes digital video to document perceptions of development pressures on the *sawah* landscapes surrounding Ubud, Bali (Thompson & Widmer, 2010)<sup>1</sup>. The participatory process was part of a project sequence under the broader framework of the Bali Field School, an international service learning exchange program offered through the College of Design, Construction, and Planning at the University of Florida. The project spanned the course of twenty-one days during May 2009 and involved collaboration between undergraduate and graduate landscape architecture, planning, and social science students from the United States and undergraduate architecture students from Udayana University in Denpasar, Bali as project facilitators. The project facilitators were under the coordination of University of Florida Department of Landscape Architecture Professor Kevin Thompson with assistance from University of Florida urban and regional planning doctoral students Jocelyn Widmer and Ridwan Sutriadi. Project participants included twenty, thirteen and fourteen year-old students under the coordination of Pak Dewa Nyoman Suprpta from Sekolah Menengah Pertama in Ubud, Bali. Figure 1-1 illustrates the organizational structure of the project coordinators, project facilitators, project participants, and resulting production teams that were part of the project's execution.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This research was shaped and informed by the project framework of the Bali Field School (2009), under the

<sup>2</sup> From this point forward, project coordinators, project facilitators, project participants, and resulting production teams will be refer to according to the group configurations presented in Figure 1-1.

The activities in the project sequence leading up to the production of the landscape films was informed by activities that were spatially techniques (such as community mapping) and culturally-oriented. The Bali Field School project sequence contained seven increments: (1) Community Map, (2) Story Mapping, (3) Identification of Landscape Themes, (4) Narrative Development, (5) Storyboarding, (6) Film Production, and (7) Film Screening. Through the project sequence, the *sawah* emerged as a common theme among the different groups, as it resonated with the community youth's understanding of place and culture. The films loosely follow a seven-scene format where participants (1) introduce themselves; (2) describe the area in Ubud where they live in relationship to the surrounding landscape; (3) showcase their individual homes as well as introduce family members present; (4) introduce the overarching landscape theme "Our *Sawah*" or the community rice paddy; (5) further explore the theme "Our *Sawah*" from the vantage point of a particular subtheme which emerged from steps two (Story Mapping) and three (Identification of Landscape Themes) in the project sequence; (6) present the issues and concerns that participants identified framed through the theme "Our *Sawah*" and specifically illustrated through the individual subthemes; (7) and finally conclude the films by communicating the future of the *sawah* as a valuable natural and cultural resource.

While the framework for the project sequence was pre-determined, a post-project evaluation of the sequence reveals how it was delivered and what activities are critical or fall by the way-side as participants increasingly understand the landscape filming process through the project sequence intervals that relate to place and culture. Three key questions form the basis of this evaluation: (1) How does participation work

throughout the sequence of a project aimed at producing films about landscape? (2) How does the project sequence encourage participants to articulate their particular landscape perceptions (specifically about development pressures)? (3) How do others not directly involved in the project sequence, but associated with the same landscape, respond to these perceptions?

To answer these questions, this study evaluates the project sequence using participant observations, a series of follow up questions among groups directly and indirectly involved with the project sequence (see Figure 1-2), and a reflective period that occurred away from the project context. This critical reflection also explores the impacts of participation by a younger group than what is typically included in development projects (Mitchell, 2004; Warren, 2005). This younger age group is important in evaluating the exchange between the project facilitators and the project participants, and also the unanticipated level of engagement between participants and others not included in the formal project structure. By involving the community youth, this project engaged a population not typically included in participatory processes. What is of particular importance about this group of participants is their ability to effectively collaborate with the project facilitators and to engage the interest of their family and friends who became directly or indirectly associated with the production or content of the landscape films. Informal participation by family and friends significantly contributed to different increments in the project sequence and increased its visibility throughout Ubud as more individuals became aware of and engaged in the process. In the end, many people in Ubud beyond the participating community youth became

engaged for a brief period with the same development issues that the community youth did directly throughout the project sequence and the production of the landscape films.

What this research reveals is that the group of adolescent participants continues to question what the Dutch did in the 1900s, scholars and artists did in the 1930s, the New Order government did in the 1960s, and development experts today continue to question: Can Bali's cultural landscape survive development pressures that evolve with the times? While both the project sequence and the loose structure for each landscape film may have provided the foundation for these concerns, each team articulated its concerns related to the *sawah* through the lens of subthemes that resonated both with the project participants and the broader community audience who attended the public screening of the films.

The need still exists to critically reflect on the increments of participatory methods that are both spatially situated and that use a particular technology, video. Ensuing questions are: How does participation work with regards to top-down prescription versus bottom-up facilitation? And how does the participatory process encourage participants to communicate their perception of scale of resources, scale of a system of resources, and speculate on the scale of a hypothetical or unknown—all of this about development from the vantage point of a particular group of participants assembled based on their age? While there is a contemporary trend to paint broad-sweeping generalizations and assumptions about participation, understanding processes that engage certain groups avoids the tendency to take on the sentiments of the most vocal group in a community, or what is otherwise deemed “popular agency” (Cleaver, 2004, p. 272). Popular agency exists in Ubud, and can be confused as the norm because of habit (as a result of ritual)

in defining individual actions. While routine may be important in reinforcing everyday cultural and social practices, this routine should not be mistaken in Ubud as a collective sentiment toward the resources and the forces that threaten these resources.

Based on everyday encounters during the duration of this field research, residents of Ubud are highly interested and involved in communicating development pressures that affect the main village structure and surrounding areas. However, it is important to note that there is also an active and significant portion of Ubud's population employed by the tourism sector. Thus, what is revealed in both the film content and the commentary from the follow up discussions is that the material basis for identity cannot be ignored or even separated from the larger challenge of confronting these development pressures. The residents of Ubud are not unlike residents of tourist-centric communities throughout the developing world, who are "committed to making a living in increasingly global times," which is through the tourism sector in Ubud (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p. 17). How these different interests come to reconcile heritage in a place that has never been static is a challenge for a participatory process that only seeks to engage what in many cases becomes the offspring or the children of these conflicting interests. Still, there is an "immense transformative power of kids" (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p. 13). In support of this, many families were involved in the various activities throughout the project sequence. This support is not only characteristic of the Balinese, but throughout much of Indonesia where participation is commonplace among many different social classes of society (Beard 2005; Hadiz, 2004). While Indonesia has a social tradition supportive of participation (Beard, 2005; Das, 2010; Devas, 2004; Hadiwinata, 2003), many other developing countries do not necessarily follow the same

traditions (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). Thus, in Indonesia, it is difficult to separate participation from the cultural and social structures in which it is carried out, since participation has become part of these cultural and social structures (Antlöv, 2003).

### **Cultural Landscapes**

The idea of cultural landscapes has been popularized over the past twenty years to characterize place-based identity entrenched in a specific natural setting. Officially recognizing cultural landscapes as a distinct category on the World Heritage List in 1992 formalized landscape as the relationship between a culture and its surrounding environment. The World Heritage Committee's definition maintains that cultural landscapes are "distinct geographical areas or properties uniquely representing the combined works of nature and man" (UNESCO, 2008). There continues to be a need to understand the nuanced relationships to the land (and sea) that are tangibly and intangibly manifested in their interconnectedness (Matthews & Selman, 2006).

The concept of cultural landscapes is an intricate, systemic understanding of many sub-layers. Celebrating the patterns and processes at play in cultural landscapes, shaped at once by natural and cultural systems, shifts the focus away from a fragmented approach toward understanding the spatial organizations and land uses that are as much made possible by the human capacity to create, inhabit and maintain these as the natural systems at work. Thus, by their very nature, cultural landscapes are not a model of stasis but a dynamic system in constant flux. This system produces layers of significance that call for ongoing interpretation in an effort to maintain cultural heritage. Often this interpretation is through the conscious and subconscious levels of community attachment. However, these layers of significance hold different meanings for different members of a community. Cultural landscapes are a collection of shared expressions,

but not necessarily consistently held from one inhabitant to the next. Yet none of these layers is more or less significant than the others, and it is the totality of these that give meaning and ascribe significance to cultural landscapes. Thus, there is no “unit of analysis” for cultural landscapes (Groth & Bressi, 1997, p. 143). The patterns and processes, community attachment, and collection of shared expressions cannot be understood at anything less than a systemic level.

### **Assumptions**

The emphasis on patterns and processes of the landscape—often shaped by an area’s natural systems—has recently helped move the “decision-making analysis from a focus primarily on the historic features and materials to spatial organization, land patterns, and physical landscapes themselves; thus including the human capacity that created, inhabits, and maintains these spatial organizations” (Mason, 1996, p. 184). This view challenges the traditional approaches of preservation and acknowledges the concept of cultural landscape as a process revolving around the human relationship to the landscape. If we consider cultural landscapes in the way that Richard Longstreth does in his text *Cultural Landscapes*, archaeological, architectural and historical significance are layers that support what is more fundamental to cultural landscapes: the attachment of communities to these places of significance rather than “primary determinants of significance” (Buggey & Mitchell, 2008, p. 165).

### **Western Ideology Derived From Preservation Movement**

The 1990s was a monumental decade for landscapes, as this was the formidable beginning to recognizing the value in places associated with a group of people. This shift in preservation ideology was incremental, first from archeological resources and material culture analyses then toward ethno-archaeology—and finally to the idea of

cultural landscapes appropriately defined by broader human relationships to place. In looking at this ideological progression, we can see that the concept of cultural landscape encompasses the “nuances of human relationships to the land (and sea) that are among others—religious, artistic, spiritual, economic, and cultural—and do not necessarily manifest themselves in material evidence” (Buggey & Mitchell, 2008, p. 165). Whether articulated or not, landscapes have always been perceived in terms of their connectedness. Landscapes cannot be defined solely on their economic uses, social ideals, or psychological values. It is the interconnectedness of the economic, social and psychological—among other characteristics ascribed to a landscape, that give it meaning.

This newly-articulated relatedness of landscapes was largely a result of momentum the preservation movement gained during the 1990s. Consideration of cultural landscapes led to the inclusion of “more diverse worldviews, cultural traditions, and natural resources as yet another realm of determinants of heritage values and management objectives”—particularly at the World Heritage level (Mason, 2008, p. 184). Establishing itself in the academic and professional arenas over the past two decades, the true value in this concept of cultural landscape lies in its ability to engage the people who live and work in these places. Despite the formalization of cultural landscapes, there still is a tendency to consider the cultural and natural heritage of a place in isolation of each other. This division between environmental and cultural heritage is “conceptual, historical, institutional and professional” (Fleming & Campbell, 2007, p. 7) and fails to recognize a community’s continuous and evolving interaction with their surrounding environment that shapes their way of life.

## **Cultural and Natural Values**

There is a call to break free of Western preservation ideologies that separate natural and cultural resources, when in fact local heritage derives from the complete system (Mason, 2008). In time, these resources assimilate into traditions and a local heritage emerges (Sharma, 2008). Development strategies that recognize an existing system of cultural and natural values that, while likely to be engrained in the problem, still prove instrumental in the problem's solution. In fact, culturally-based development strategies that build upon the nuances of existing cultural and natural values form the basis for the most reliable and useful data to date in support of cultural diversity through development (Sen, 2000).

## **Current Trends in Development**

Institutional commitment to the United Nations Millennium Development Goals has set the tone and the metrics for development projects over the past decade. These commitments have built upon and consolidated the outcomes of many world summits of the 1990s that focused on the environment, human rights, population, social development, and gender (Collier, 2007; Handelman, 2006; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Sachs, 2005). Nearly a decade into the Millennium Development Goals, it is appropriate to question when and how these goals will be achieved. What cannot be measured or quantified through the Millennium Development Goals, but what is no less significant to development, is how cultural heritage weaves its way into the many themes that the world summits of the 1990s deemed important. The subtleties that come from develop projects vested in cultural heritage and the consensus among project participants to protect heritage in the context of development pressures is integral to the more visible themes of development, including the environment, human

rights, population, social development, and gender. Furthermore, a spatial approach to studying and understanding heritage gets us closer to understanding the relationship of cultural and natural heritage in landscapes that face these development pressures. The following excerpt provides a summary of the film produced by the Planting Group<sup>3</sup>, which embraces this spatial approach to studying and understanding heritage, and what it means when development causes space to collapse in on the landscape with traditional cultural and natural significance.

Rumah saya dikelilingi *sawah* yg luas tempat saya bermain layang-layang dan bersenang-senang. Tetapi sekarang sudah di jadikan tempat bangunan dan proyek-proyek. Ada juga untuk tempat art shop ada juga tempat perumahan. Saya berharap agar film pendek ini mengingatkan pada pentingnya peran *sawah* bagi lingkungan kehidupan kita.

My house is surrounded by the wide paddy field where I used to play kite and having fun there. However, the paddy field are replaced by buildings and building projects. Some of them are used as art shops or housing complexes. I hope that this short film will remind us about the importance of the role of paddy field in our surrounding area.

- Member of The Planting Group

While physical change to the landscape occurs in a local context, often the impetus of landscape change and development stems from much larger, or global forces at work. In turn, there is a general lack of clarity on how best to address these various and inter-related development challenges. Ubud, a foothill village in the southern portion of Bali, Indonesia, has never really resisted the global development forces, instead assimilating change into the local traditions, infrastructure, and society. While this assimilation is characteristic of the Balinese, and local traditions in Bali absorb global pressures so that the distinction is blurred to the unknowing eye, at what point do local

---

<sup>3</sup> The Planting Group was one of ten production teams assembled through the landscape filming process. Each group produced one landscape film that were then assembled together into the collection. The process and significance for doing so will be described throughout this dissertation.

traditions and customs become compromised, irrevocably changed, or even lost forever through this assimilation?

The tendency to deal simultaneously with global and local challenges is in part a result of the common experiences of development at any societal level. Transparency, decentralization, and plurality of voice are imperative at any scale and often their absence stagnates development (Beard, 2008; Chambers, 2005; Mitchell, 1994). Globally, development can be thwarted by the bureaucracy that promotes top-down approaches. This theme pervades at the national or regional level when those at the top of the top-down approach are not transparent in their administration of power and resources. Finally, it is difficult to reconcile development locally when decentralization of power does not support a plurality of participation. Development theorists make assumptions at both ends of the spectrum, but those more problematic are those at the local end, where the assumption is that place is static, cultural values are cohesive, and traditional ways of life prevail (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Underlying this all is the idea that participation is an authentic and collective behavior (Cooke & Kothari, 2001). The broad-sweeping premise is that local knowledge is homogeneous and participation by one group is a reflection of the extended community. Thus, development predicated on participation cannot be theoretically abstract and generally applied.

Moving beyond the assumption that participation will reflect the realities of what occurs in a community, participatory inquiry needs to address the cultural and natural systems in tandem by embedding into the “intersections between private and public livelihood activities [where] many negotiations about resource allocation, sharing, compromising, conflict resolution and appropriate representation actually take place”

(Cleaver, 2004, p. 275). As participatory research increasingly accepts the “vibrant associational life in a community,” the responsibility lies with the researcher to integrate “more diverse livelihoods and the inter-meshing of cultures” so that participation is not longer assumed to “manifests through one channel” (Cleaver, 2004, p. 275).

While recent efforts by analysts to deconstruct participation to focus on the values of a particular group participating has yet to become the dominant trend in development globally, this particular participatory approach is not uncommon throughout Indonesia (Beard, 2005), and especially Bali where researchers have engaged strategically-assembled groups for a number of decades. Traditions drawing on natural and cultural values specific to the Balinese have been used in anthropological and sociological research that has been conducted on the island over the past eighty years. Therefore, Bali as the research context is embedded in the research. However, one of the ensuing questions posed in retrospect is what about the process of making landscape films was context specific to the village landscape of Ubud and what about the process could be generalized to comment on engaging participation of a particular group in any context? While this study cannot wholly answer this question, understanding participation in the context of Indonesia suggests that Indonesia (and Bali more specifically) is a context that serves as an enabling environment because participation has evolved into a mainstreamed civic activity.

### **Participation and Development**

Decentralization, democratization, and good governance initiatives have created spaces and institutional arrangements for participatory development (Beard, 2008), all of which are emerging as hallmarks of Indonesian society over the past decade. Participatory development is certainly not uncontroversial (Cooke and Kothari, 2001), as

will be explored further in Chapter Two. Part of the controversy surrounding participation and development is that generalizing participation beyond the context it is embedded in does not have a theoretically sound system of metrics to draw such generalizations (Adcock & Collier, 2001; Nelson et al., 2009). It follows that “predicting outcomes in participatory development projects is often difficult due to the uniqueness of development contexts and limited empirical evidence from comparative research” (Das, 2010, p. 1). Further compounding the relationship between participation and context is the dominance of knowledge, power, and voice in any participation setting (Healy, 2009). The spaces where participation occurs are not neutral; nor are the parties initiating the participatory process (usually outside parties) or the group of participants themselves.

The theoretical underpinnings that have supported or denied the validity of participation in development are vast and complex. Such theories address issues of space or the physical context where participation occurs (Zube et al., 1982), place or the social dimension given to the physical context (Kaplan, 1987; Maton, 2008), behavioral and attitudinal characteristics of participants (Cleaver, 2004; Cornwall, 2004), and finally the relationship between the participants and the facilitators of participation (Cambell & Vainio-Mattila, 2003; A Girami, 2009). All of these theories have been consulted and considered through both the development and the reflective stages of this research.<sup>4</sup> However, in considering the relationship between context and participation, it is also important to draw upon the realities of the context and the history

---

<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that this is not an exhaustive list of participatory theories that have influenced the evaluation of a participatory process as will be revealed in Chapters Three and Four. However, Chapter Two will introduce a working framework for participation that is a summary of these theories to arrive at an approach to participation that is both spatially and context derived.

and current momentum behind participation in that context. Therefore in Indonesia, participation is not only critical to development, as much of the participatory theory and many participatory practitioners would argue today (Beard, 2005; Das, 2010). In Indonesia, there is no alternative to development that is not participatory (Devas 2004; Hadiwinata 2003). Participation has become legally mandated and must be a component of Indonesian development projects. In placing participation in a context, and then acknowledging the history, culture, and current development pressures that exist in that context which may influence participation are important to declare in any research study that evaluates participation. Admitting the relationship between participation and culture in the evaluation of a participation process demonstrates that the metrics of participation are still fluid, and the community of scholars and practitioners that explain the use and utility of participatory processes continue to grapple with the challenge of universalizing participation while also understanding what attributes of a specific context create an enabling environment for participation. (Beard, 2002; Booth, 2003). Bali is one such context that falls under Indonesia's auspices for participatory development while also possessing a unique set of development challenges that derive from its rich cultural heritage.

### **Bali, Indonesia**

Bali lies eight degrees below the equator as one of the few significantly populated islands of the vast Indonesian archipelago, and one of thirty-three of the nation's provinces. Bali is situated between the island of Java to the east (see Figure 1-3), and the island of Lombok to the west. Between the islands of Bali and Lombok runs the Wallace Line, which is the ecological boundary that separates Asian and Australian flora

and fauna, with Bali being the most easterly landscape supporting Asian flora and fauna before the landscape transitions into Australian flora and fauna on the island of Lombok.

While the physical landscape of Bali marks the end of a gradient that begins in the most western portion of the archipelago, the cultural heritage of the island stands in stark contrast to the rest of the island nation. Balinese Hinduism serves as the foundation for much of the island's heritage, with Ubud often being credited as the center of the island's cultural and artistic traditions. Ubud is south-centrally located in the foothills of Bali (see Figure 1-1) and is distinct in that the landscape is much more lush than the arid northern part of the island, and slightly cooler than the southern shores.

With its distinct cultural traditions supported by a fertile landscape, Bali and its villages such as Ubud have lured researchers from many disciplines over the past century. Some of the great ethnographic and anthropological research pioneers have selected Bali to execute studies related to social dynamics, familial lineage, artistic creation, and ceremonious culture (Lansing, 1995). Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead, Clifford Geertz and more recently Stephen Lansing all have observed and interpreted Balinese heritage within their rigorous social research frameworks—particularly utilizing film and other forms of cultural inquiry. Each assuming a more traditional anthropological approach where the researcher's observations and interpretations are removed from community activity, these researchers have captured the cultural treatment of the Balinese landscape since the 1930s.

### **Bali and Development**

External development forces have the tendency to divide the relationship between Bali's cultural and natural systems, thereby challenging the Balinese world view that has

been bound by the mountains and the sea for two thousand years. Exploring Bali in the context of varying scales—from the island to the *banjar/desa* (neighborhood/village) level—reveals the relationship between natural and cultural systems that give equal meaning to the cultural landscape of Bali. Throughout the island there are different iterations of the cultural landscape of Bali, with various natural and cultural features aligning together to form unique landscapes. One such example is the cultural landscape of Ubud, which is articulated through the *sawah*, or wet-rice terraced landscapes that the central foothill region of the island supports. The cultural landscape of south-central quarter of Bali (which encompasses Ubud) is a landscape “divided by traditional Balinese thinking into two primary categories: (1) wild forests and (2) land that has been brought into human cultivation and ritual order” (MacRae, 1997, p. 84). The gorges that extend from the central mountainous region of the island create the boundaries for smaller ridges or flatter areas that have been given the form and function of a terraced landscape surrounding Ubud. Through this extensive history of human settlement and land cultivation in the region, “the forest is cut, social and spatial institutions are established, and ritual processes initiated to maintain harmony between the human and the spiritual world” (MacRae, 1997, p. 84). The extent of this south-central portion of the island cannot be exactly measured, but over time has become a utilitarian product of human occupation, spatial orientation, function, and use that varies as communities adapt and evolve from external forces at work. In contemporary Ubud, the extent and meaning associated with the cultural landscape is a spatial and cultural construct (but no less systemic) that closely aligns with traditional distributions of land and meanings associated with the landscape.

## The Balinese Landscape

In Bali, the landscape becomes an “amphitheater” as Clifford Geertz writes in the 1960s:

The earth is represented by the well-drained, gradually sloping, enclosed-plain relief formed by the basins of these intermountain rivers which creates a series of well-defined natural amphitheatres eminently situated to traditional gravity-feed irrigation techniques (Geertz, 1963, p. 39)

While the Balinese landscape may often serve as the backdrop for the cultural traditions, its primacy in these cultural traditions cannot be relegated. Artist Miguel Covarrubias observed in the 1930s that “no other race gives the impression of living in such close touch with nature, creates such complete feeling of harmony between the people and the surroundings” (Covarrubias, 1946, p. 9).

Today, the highly engineered and ordered landscapes of southern Bali (Lansing, 1991) resonate with more practical and even mundane challenges facing culturally-significant landscapes throughout the developing world. One issue of particular relevance to the island landscape today is the balance between development pressures brought on by the global narrative and cultural heritage management instrumental in maintaining the local narrative. The myth and mysticism of the Balinese landscapes are becoming increasingly juxtaposed with contemporary management practices, and the encroachment of tourism and development is the omnipresent threat to historically significant landscapes (Lansing, 1991). Balinese culture thus serves as an appropriate entry point into understanding the dynamic relationship between a culture that has been inextricably tied to their landscape for centuries and how this heritage reconciles the collision of local and global today.

## **The Relationship between Participation and Context**

The relationship between participation and Bali as the research context will be established in Chapter Two. The chapter begins by exploring the application of participation in development over the past eighty years. Doing so considers the evolving nature of participation, so that today participation can be understood within a development process. While development is context specific, so too become some of the characteristics of participation when it is engaged in development processes. While Bali was the context this study was carried out in, it is also important to explore the history of Bali to best understand the relationship between participation and the context in which it was engaged for this study.

The cultural heritage that informs this study considers Bali from the influences of the Majapahit Dynasty beginning with the fifteenth century when the Tide of Islam swept through what is now the Indonesian Archipelago. At this time, aristocrats from Java fled to Bali where the cultural traditions and belief systems remained relatively intact until the beginning of the twentieth century when the Dutch seized control of the island. What remains of the cultural traditions that evolved from the fifteenth to the early twentieth century is a heritage heavily steeped in the island's rice culture. It has been the rice culture that not only has contributed to many of the rites and rituals that connect the natural world to the spiritual world through cultural traditions, but also that have contributed to the image of Bali as the garden island. Picturesque images of Bali that became particularly popular during the 1930s as international tourism began to thrive do not effectively communicate the underpinnings of heritage. An intricate system determined first by its spatial orientation, and then by land use and land ownership that has ultimately resulted in these landscapes amassing great monetary value, while still

supporting the cultural value that is intrinsic to the people who live throughout southern Bali. All of this at play justifies these rice terraced landscapes of southern Bali and particularly around the village of Ubud to be considered for their many tangible and intangible values, or as a cultural landscape. This landscape means many things to many different people—to those who have a monetary stake in its productivity, or to those who sell or lease their lands and instead run smaller shops on densely-populated land closer to Ubud's urban center. Regardless, these values produce multiple experiences and interpretations of the landscape. These interpretations are important to this research as they question through a historical and cultural lens, can one particular group have a certain interpretation of their commonly-held landscape, and can this interpretation hold meaning to those beyond who produced the meaning?

The relationship between participation and the research context is important to establish why Bali, and even more specifically Ubud, was selected as the setting for the research; and then how participation by a group of community youth contributes to the rationale for selecting Ubud as the research context—all the while continuing to question conventional assumptions about participation in a village setting. Doing so suggests how the project sequence that engaged community youth can be used in alternative contexts. The project sequence is firmly rooted in Balinese cultural heritage and particularly that of Ubud. While the participatory process does draw upon the context-specific scale and development pressures in Ubud, the process does so by

using a series of techniques that are both culturally and spatially-derived<sup>5</sup> to better understand development.

### **Methods**

The methods employed in this study are outlined in Chapter Three.<sup>6</sup> This research approach is committed to looking across disciplines and through careful empirical research without suggesting a template for participatory development strategies. The disciplines that have been aligned for this study include landscape architecture and urban and regional planning, while also drawing from the theory and practice that participation and development has been derived.

The research evaluates the project sequence using participant observations made throughout the sequence of the project and a series of questions delivered through three follow up discussions with (1) those community members of Ubud who screened the landscape films, (2) the US university students who functioned as facilitators for the project sequence, and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students who participated in the project. In addition to formally addressing how participation works throughout the project sequence, how the project sequence encourages the articulation of development pressures, and how these sentiments are received by others who view the films; the

---

<sup>5</sup> The series of techniques are a combination of spatially-derived activities (community mapping exercises to orient project participants in the community the project was executed in) and culturally-derived activities (storytelling as a way to communicate the significance that the village landscape holds to the community youth)

<sup>6</sup> By way of introducing the research methods utilized in this study, it is important to disclose the Institutional Review Board (IRB) process and as well as my involvement in the research. The implications of my role as a participant-observer are discussed in Chapter Three. Participants' images may appear throughout this dissertation, but I have kept their identities anonymous wherever possible, instead referring to individuals as members of particular groups from the project rather than using names. Project facilitators are identified by their affiliation with either university and project participants refers to the collection of twenty students from Sekolah Menengah Pertama. The IRB informed consent forms signed by each group of participants indicated that names would be withheld in this document. The names of smaller areas around Ubud, Bali are the real names of those communities.

research methods were also designed to consider participatory video more generally as a development technique, the group of community youth as project participants, and the trajectory of the project sequence and corresponding activities.

### **Participatory Video as a Development Technique**

Participatory video is one among many participatory techniques that have the potential to engage a variety of participants through an unscripted and candid response. Furthermore, participatory video is just one among many participatory techniques that have been implemented in development research to understand social and spatial phenomena occurring in an area. While participatory video has been utilized in diverse locations since the 1970s when more widely used participatory methods began to emerge (including participatory rural appraisals, community mapping, participatory GIS, and participatory public art projects), the application of the method has been contextually defined and seeks immediate, local change (Hall, 1991). Since these projects have been undertaken in various contexts and are “irregularly documented, it is difficult to identify trends” in the development of participatory video as a research method in development projects (Ferreira, 2006, p. 35), whereas other participatory methods are more frequently documented. Participatory community mapping activities have been prevalently used for decades in development work (Mikkelsen, 2005)—especially in Bali (Warren, 2005); and more dimensional participatory mapping activities are also beginning to emerge, including GIS and artistic mediums (Abrams & Hall, 2009; Hopkins & Zapata, 2007). Further limiting the methodological rigor of participatory video is the lack of a procedural structure that enables participatory video strategies across contexts (Shaw & Robertson, 1997). While many argue that a flexible and context-specific “approach like participatory video precludes standardization” (Ferreira, 2006, p.

35), it remains important to understand how the process works in a given context, given that the process of making films is really the mobilizing agent for larger conversations about content the films explore. The very nature of participatory video is a fluid process used to address a broad range of issues spanning the social, cultural, ecological, economic, and political realms of site-specific contexts. Since participants discern and prioritize their own problem, participatory video is a method wherein people themselves come to understand the filming process and control the content of the video productions simultaneously<sup>7</sup> (Shaw & Robertson, 1997). This approach provides groups with tools to articulate their experiences and intentions around community-specific issues. In the case explored in this study, these experiences and intentions revolve around the village landscape of Ubud. Films about landscape that utilize video as the participatory method hand over the camera, and a voice (Lunch & Lunch, 2006), to a specific group of contributors in tune with the demands and challenges that face the village landscape.

### **Participation by a Particular Group**

A particularly underutilized voice that does not often participate in the choices - surrounding development is that of adolescents. Based on observations of this age-group throughout the developed and developing world, adolescents share a keen sense of place-based identity that is often not channeled into development decisions. More general social mapping projects do regularly utilize different age-groups (including children) and participatory video frequently targets the under-represented voice of women in regions such as India and east Africa where they have been marginalized

---

<sup>7</sup> In the case of the Bali Field School project sequence, the community youth participating in the filming process through directing and acting in the scenes but did not hold the camera (this was done by students from Udayana University). The community youth did control the content of the video production through the activities initiated in the project sequence.

members of society (Lunch, 2007; Lunch & Lunch, 2006; Satheesh, 1999). Rarely however, does the target audience utilize video technology as a lens through which to capture place-based identity.

To better understand the development pressures in Bali at increments more closely approximating the rate of change in one village (Ubud), this research comments on engaging one group of participants (the community youth of Ubud)<sup>8</sup> who have a distinct attachment to the village landscape<sup>9</sup> to communicate their perceived rate of change, weaving the familiar practice of oral traditions and storytelling into the method.

The project sequence engages a group of community youth to understand what their community landscape means to them, already having been aware of what development pressures mean for the ecosystem and the tourism industry based on a review of the literature. Using the project sequence to produce a collection of participatory landscape films, this research draws upon two separate traditions: the graphic and illustrative pedagogical traditions of landscape architecture (Halprin & Burns, 1974; Murphy, 2005), as well as the social mapping and participatory dynamics of planning (Checkoway, 1994; Davidoff, 1965; Peattie, 1987). Integrating the theory and practice of these two interrelated disciplines allows participants to express development pressures spatially and temporally across a cultural landscape that holds particular importance to the group of community youth participating in the project.

---

<sup>8</sup> The rationale for selecting a group of youth participants was at once practical and hypothetical. Practically speaking, school children in Bali have cultural enrichment activities incorporated into the daily curriculum. Students take music, dance, and art lessons that are traditional to the Balinese culture. In the Sekolah Menengah Pertama, five hours of each afternoon is devoted to these cultural activities. Consequently, the project working sessions were able to fit within this pre-existing cultural structure.

<sup>9</sup> Community youth hold a distinct attachment to the village landscape, as this is a communal place to recreate, as well as a common corridor to travel between destinations.

## **Project Sequence**

The Bali Field School project sequence is a method of delivery that is spatially situated within the context of the village landscape of Ubud. While the spatial component of the project was always integral to its design and execution, how this spatial component was delivered and subsequently understood by project facilitators and participants evolved within the project sequence as participants adapted to more vividly communicating their understanding of development pressures on the village landscape of Ubud.

The project sequence evolved through a sequence of social mapping, narrative, and combination graphic and narrative activities that oriented participants spatially and temporally in the village landscape of Ubud. Each increment in the project sequence took into account the general understanding of scale, while moving the process forward to ultimately communicate development pressures affecting this village landscape. Considering evolutionarily the project sequence and at what moments the process evolved (and at what moments the process devolved), this study examines the project sequence which ultimately reveals themes related to the local cultural landscape through the collection of films produced. These themes were reinforced and given further explanation when they were explored within a series of three follow up discussions that were held with the three distinct groups involved in the project. The emergent themes and the reflection resulting from the follow up discussions shed significant insight into the nature of participation, as it was designed and facilitated through the Bali Field School project sequence. While the project sequence was designed to consider participation from one particular group (community youth), the research is capable of commenting on how this participation functioned by those

involved in the project (the participants) and those external to the project sequence (but still very committed to the cultural heritage and social structure of Ubud).

### **Outcomes**

Evaluation of the project sequence reveals a number of themes that emerged from the project, including: the ability to trace video content back through storyboards; the relationships established between broader themes related to development at different scales relative to Bali; a sophisticated understanding of local pressures connected to global trends; visibility and communication among the broader community; evolution of ownership in the product; and the articulation of a particular voice through the development of the landscape filming process. These themes were identified by considering the film content in relation to the materials produced throughout the project sequence activities, as well as in comparison to the dialogue that the process and the product generated among three groups involved with the project: the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, the US students, and the community members of Ubud who screened the films. This analysis also reveals limitations of the research process, as well as the methodological limitations associated with engaging participation with an identified group and thus research replication beyond the project context (which includes the group of participants). Despite these limitations, there is credible reason to consider the broader impacts of this research as they derive from a participatory method that uses a specific technology (video) to engage the participatory process. Finally, this research identifies a series of implications for participation by a specific group within a community by suggesting the collaborative potential for participation toward further understanding and disseminating interpretations of development pressures at a particular scale of landscape—the village landscape.

## **Implications for Research**

The implications for this research are thoroughly examined in Chapter Five by looking at how effectively communicating scale through a spatially-influenced process guided the participatory process toward three particular moments of collaboration. This research reveals that to develop this capacity necessitates following a participatory trajectory by which the concepts of development pressures and community consciousness evolve simultaneously through the introduction of multiple scales and multiple levels of participation. The implications suggest that the landscape filming process moves beyond participation to suggest that the process itself encouraged a degree of engagement, as participation on behalf of the community youth advanced toward collaboration among production teams, and between production teams and the project facilitators. This segue from traditional top-down to an emerging bottom-up phenomenon is significant to development activities that can validate participation for what it is, without generalizing the effects of participation beyond those groups that actually contributed. The process became a collaborative exchange that evolved rather than a prescriptive set of activities that expected a final product of specific quality.

The implications for this collaborative exchange in understanding the importance of culture in development and then integrating cultural traditions into the planning process for development is important. By grounding the participatory approach in culture, differences between formal planning and local culture can be bridged (Young, 2008). This is critical to understanding how participation can be integrated into development activities, given that participation works differently in varying cultures and political contexts.

Ultimately, the project sequence presented a more explicit explanation of concepts related to development pressures at a certain scale, the village landscape, and these pressures were then articulated in terms of island-wide and even global issues. The process never intended to initiate new development policy for the community of Ubud, but it was instrumental in reframing the dialogue surrounding particular cultural and natural resources, these resources as systems, and then the perceived threat of development pressures on the village landscape that holds a particular significance to Ubud's youth.

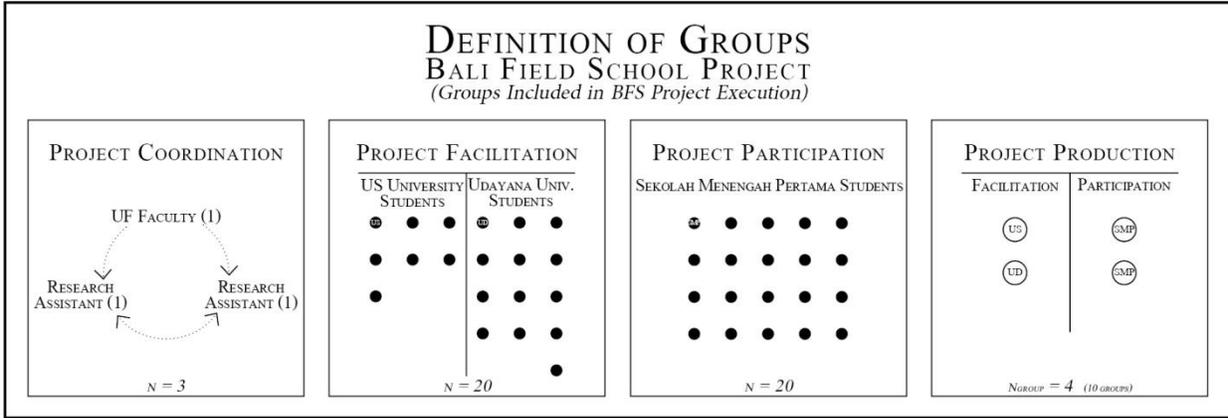


Figure 1-1. Organizational Structure of Participating Groups in the Execution of the Bali Field School Project. A) Project Coordination. B) Project Facilitation. C) Project Participation. D) Project Production.

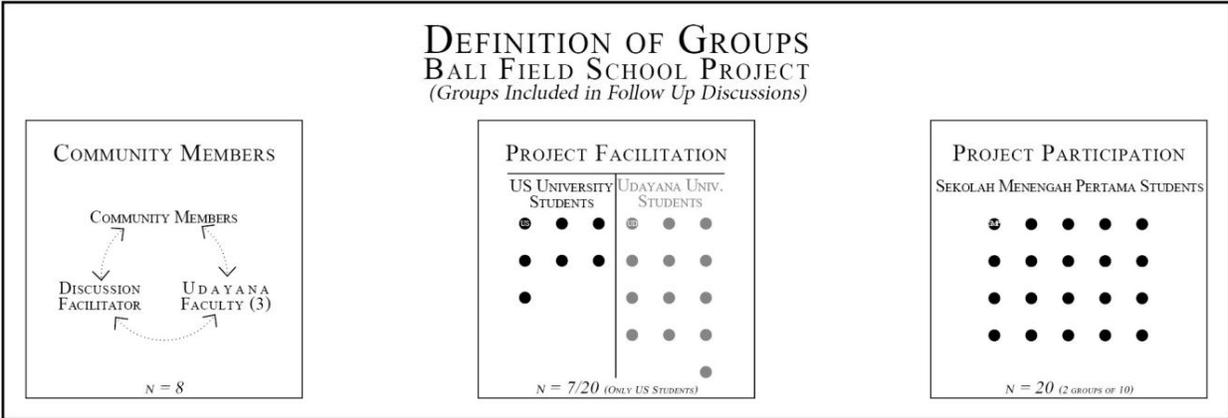


Figure 1-2. Organizational Structure of Participating Groups in the Follow Up Discussions of the Bali Field School Project. A) Community Members. B) Project Facilitation (including only the US University Students). C) Project Participation (divided into two groups of ten students each).

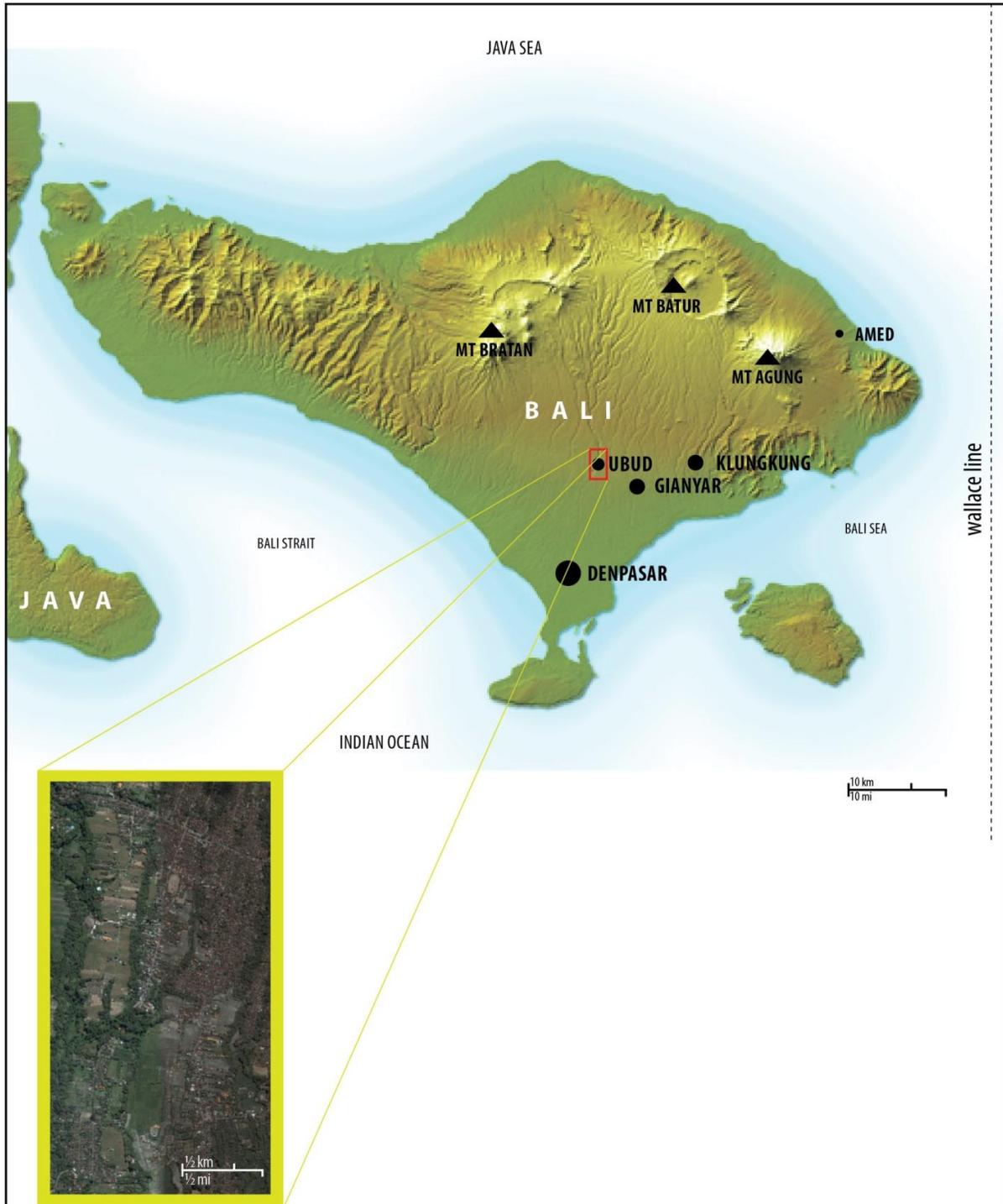


Figure 1-3. Map of Bali, Indonesia. A) Map of the island with major cities and landforms. B) Ariel image (Google Maps, 2010) with relative location of Ubud within the island's context. [Map prepared with assistance from Andrews, Sarah 2010. Tukad Dawa Stream Course Enhancement. Modification of Landscape Architecture Capstone Project. University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.]

## CHAPTER 2 CONTEXTUALIZATION

### **A Framework for Participation**

To attempt to understand participation beyond a specific context it is useful to consider participation today as a construct of many regenerative movements. Participation has been coupled with development theory and practice for more than eighty years (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). While the genesis of its critique is when most of the literature pins to its actual inception, participation has a much longer and dynamic history in development theory and practice than what is represented in the literature (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Participation morphed from an obligation of citizenship during the 1940s through the 1950s as colonialism waned in the developing world, to participatory citizenship as a means of challenging marginalization and subordination in the 1960s. The 1970s began a shift in thinking toward alternative development, as participation became a key objective of development projects and not just broad-sweeping political objectives. As participation in development began to take hold in the 1980s and as social capital became a cornerstone of such development initiatives, participation began to emerge not only as an obligation of citizenship, but now it was increasingly seen as a right. Thus, beginning in the 1990s and continuing on today, participatory citizenship is beginning to take hold not only within the framework of development projects, but as a commonly-held sentiment across the developing world.

From the varied trajectories and agendas that participation has taken over the past eighty years, what stands to unify participation in development are the many moments of regeneration over this time-period. Arguably we are amidst the latest moment of regeneration, as participation sits at the unsteady crossroads between a movement that

has moved from the margins to the mainstream in the past three decades and has undergone thorough scrutiny and has come to be referred to as the “Tyranny” critique. This movement has been led by Cooke and Kothari in their edited volume entitled *Participation: The New Tyranny* (2001) which widely criticizes many of the assumptions made about participation since the 1980s. Where the “Tyranny” critique leaves off, as does much of the literature critiquing participation, is by assuming that the practice of participation in “unilinear and cumulative” (Cleaver, 2004, p. 275), when in fact to make sense of the current situation of participation and development is to consider the many moments of regeneration. The Tyranny critique (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) marks one critical moment of regeneration for participation insofar as this moment recognizes that participation has moved from the margins to the mainstream of development theory and practice, as nearly all development projects since 2000 have incorporated participation into them (Chambers, 2005). Thus, when a movement advances from the margins to the mainstream, it is important to critique a practice that is broadly and widely applied, but also to consider the advantages to this wide-spread application. Such is the case with participation and development. In fact, one contemporary approach to participation is to ask if its mainstreaming can be a mark of success (Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

### **The Application of Participation in Development**

In contemporary development theory and practice where participation is very much becoming the norm rather than the exception, participation has two main applications. The first approach situates participation within development as a specific form of intervention. The second application uses participation as an agent of social change. In considering these two competing approaches to development, it is important to consider where the misappropriation of participation lies. In the former instance,

participation is used as a specific tool that indirectly intends to achieve the latter. In the latter, however, participation as a process is aligned with grander intentions of change that the participatory process is meant to excite. This research looks at the process within which the tools of participation can be used, rather than focusing exclusively on the participatory process as a tool, or as a terminal agent of change. In doing so, this research adapts to the participants' understanding of the participatory video process rather than running the participants through a process. These tools of participation are especially characterized by trust, power, knowledge, communication, and agency. While participation literature points to the difficulty in identifying and applying the key features of best practices in participation; trust, power, knowledge, communication, and agency are difficult to investigate if implemented as constants, all of which the "tool-kit approach" assumes can be done (Reed, 2008, p. 2419). The end result is that the process within which participation is used as a tool can have more context-specific implications rather than solely contributing to the ambiguous and controversial body of knowledge about the tools of participation. Thus, the outcome of a participatory process can be far more sensitive to the manner in which it is conducted rather than the tools that are used (Reed, 2008). A theme running through contemporary participation literature, then, is the need to replace the "tool-kit approach to participation" (Reed, 2008, p. 2421) which places an emphasis on matching the relevant and necessary tools to the desired intervention, with an approach that instead views participation as a process.

### **Participation Applied as a Process**

A tension emerges between applying participation as a process and the research methods by which that application is made. In the project sequence evaluated in this

research, the changing dynamic of the participatory process was able to accommodate and unleash participants' creativity through methods (social mapping) that are often "so derided by the proponents of the 'Tyranny' critique" (Cornwall, 2004, p. 86). These same methods actually lend themselves to keeping the participatory process fluid by giving participants who had previously not been engaged, a space to participate and contribute to transformative development. Maintaining the distinction between participation as a pre-conceived end of project implementation and a means intending to initiate a participatory process can be accomplished by avoiding the tendencies of the participatory process to become an opportunity to "talk shop that creates ambiguities and delays decisive action" (Reed, 2008, p. 2420). Doing so will increase the likelihood that the participatory process is perceived to be both fair and valid by those inside and outside the process. This validity to insiders is especially important and a demarcation between the broad-sweeping application of participation as a tool and participation as a process. This iterative and collaborative potential of participation as a process enables the process to remain in motion long after the prescribed outsiders are removed.

In avoiding the tendencies to apply participation as a tool and in arresting the tensions that exist between the participation theories and the broader application of the participatory process, it is important to note that the application of participation as a practice is a slow and uncertain process (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). In fact, considering the temporal dimension of participation in its application stands as the hallmark of participation as a process. It is these temporal dynamics of participation that are important in understanding the potential for transformation in development. However, as with the broader trajectory of participation in development theory and

practice, the application of the participatory process is not unilinear and cumulative, but marred with the possibility of stoppages and even reversals as its application strives toward transformative development (Cleaver, 2004). Anticipating the possibility and likelihood of these stoppages and reversals in its transformative direction, participatory methods must be adapted not only to the relevant stage in the participatory process, but also to the changing contexts in which the participatory process is applied.

### **Situating Participation in Context**

These changing contexts in many contemporary societies are supporting public involvement. Who has both the right and capacity to be publically involved is often what the participatory process attempts to unveil. Popular agency is neither constant nor uniform, and is significantly influenced by knowledge and power. Those with knowledge and power manifest the agency and the term “popular” is often misappropriated to a larger group than actually exists. Children are among the many groups, including women, the elderly, the migratory, and the impoverished, who are noticeably absent from popular agency in a developing context (Hill & Woodland, 2006). Yet if development is to be inclusive in its transformation, including children in the participatory process (along with the many other groups who are often absent), is critical. There are a great variety of rhythms that are set in motion in any given place for the different people linked to that place. Situating the participatory process to take a cross section of these rhythms, rather than a sketchy vignette lends itself to appreciating the different meanings associated with a particular context. Then to be honest about which cross-section the research captures arrests the tendency to generalize, but also to document what is most likely a longer history of participation in a given context. Thus, considering how the temporal dynamic influences groups of

participants is critical to understanding their history, but also the overlapping temporalities among other groups not included in the participatory process but embedded in the context in which the process plays out.

Children by their very nature are part of the overlapping temporalities of their parents, siblings, extended family, and peers; and children are almost always organized and accessed via some overarching structure (usually school) (Bernard, 2000; Patton, 2002). Furthermore, these overlapping temporalities may radiate from different origins. Place-based identities, then, are not necessarily derivative of one context where the participatory process is embedded, yet may be shaped by forces originating from elsewhere (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Thus, the term 'local' is itself a construct, a way to hone in and distinguish larger spatial areas, but no less influenced by an unbounded scale. While development practitioners and scholars have used the idea of the "local" comparatively so that some sort of replicability may be established for the application of the participatory process in development, individual and group dynamics are context-specific rather than universally definable (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). Because participatory processes grow out of a specific situation, their applicability and replication to another region is problematic, as they encounter various and complex problems (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000). One of the most significant of these complex problems lies in the fact that the locus of change that the participatory processes seek to engage are almost always context specific.

### **Applying Participation as a Spatial Investigation**

One of the more widely-made assumptions about participation is to elide the context in which the participatory process is embedded with the locus of change, all the while disengaging the spaces where both the process and the change is situated. A

number of authors are beginning to identify the implications of a spatialized take on participation by understanding space equally as a social and theoretical construct as it is a lived experience (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000; Hickey & Mohan, 2004; Reed, 2008). Within the contemporary approaches to participation, not only should the temporal and spatial be engaged in order to revitalize participation as a legitimate application within development, but how the participatory process represents and embodies the temporal and spatial realities stands to legitimize the participatory process. Space is not simply there, “a neutral container waiting to be filled,” but space is dynamic and above all else, humanly-constructed (Cornwall, 2004, p. 80). In spaces where the participatory process is embedded, space is created by internal forces, or originating within the space, and externally, or imposed by those administering the participatory process. To not thoroughly consider these two forces at work is to deny the spatially-situated nature of participation.

The internal forces at work in creating spaces are a complex web of the social and experiential. The local, then, is not a bounded entity, nor does it stand in binary opposition to larger global forces. Similarly, there is an overriding tendency to posit localities as sites of resistance to global forces and particularly to ignore the larger forces influencing place-based identity (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). Doing so can ignore the material basis for identity, which is as legitimate as any historical and cultural basis. Instead of seeing place (or what is broadly deemed “the local” as sites of resistance), there is a need to see them in more complex terms involving production and reproduction—thereby being committed to the “making” component of place-making. Nevertheless, the stratified and heterogeneous nature of communities is a delicate

obstacle in promoting participatory development. Strategies are needed within the participatory process to allow participants to articulate their own experiences and perspectives, thereby recognizing people's lived experience as a construction of their own realities (Cornwall, 2004).

However, the external forces often misappropriate the social and experiential by assembling participants to represent their "realities," and spaces ultimately come to be defined by those who are invited into them (Cornwall, 2004). Participants are invited into their very own spaces, which are re-created and never neutral. Just as the spaces lose their neutrality, the ways in which participants are assembled by others, and how they perceive themselves to be constructed within any given space for participation, means they too are not neutral. These newly-created (albeit embedded) spaces are filled with expectations, relationships and meanings that are imported from elsewhere, and ultimately impinge upon how that space comes to be experienced (Cornwall, 2004). The impetus on development practitioners and researchers who employ participation as a process must engage participation in such a way that it locates spaces for participation in the places in which the social and experiential actually occur. In doing so, "framing their possibilities with reference to actual political, social, cultural, and historical particularities rather than idealized models of an imposed democratic process" (Cornwall, 2004, p. 87).

### **Toward a Spatially-Situated Participatory Process**

Learning from the mistakes and misappropriations of participation from the past eighty-years, and consulting the increasingly mainstreamed account of participation through the "Tyranny" critique, it is necessary to alter the basis upon which participation is evaluated, and in doing so to change the line of inquiry regarding the application of

the participatory process toward transformative development. The transition in these questions needs to be away from *Are people participating?* to *Why do people participate?* and then *When does participation have an impact, or segue or introduce different forms of engagement?* Development practitioners and researchers need to reach beyond just increasing the incentives for participation to enable participants to influence or alter the questions that are asked and the outputs that are produced. Asking such questions and by whom raises the best practices debate, when best practices in participation are just now beginning to emerge (Reed, 2008). Some of these best practices include altering the norms by which participation is evaluated. This evaluation includes incrementally checking-in (or monitoring) the process and also ensuring that the evaluation is participatory itself. By shifting the evaluative framework away from outcomes of the process toward evaluating the process itself allows for reflective deliberation that can be implemented incrementally and also be participatory. Through creating the space and time in the participatory process, reflective deliberation enables participants to develop more creative solutions and participation thus segues into collaboration (Reed, 2008). Contemporary thinking about participation as a process encourages this reflective deliberation as a way to evaluate whether decisions emerging from the participatory process are perceived to be representative of the concurrent diversity and overlap that is inevitable among any assembled group. From here, contemporary thinking about participation needs to broaden its scope away from the participatory process solely employed through projects and techniques to consider the possibilities of the process withstanding the constructed research context to exist among the realities of a given context.

Through its eighty-year history, participation has been called on to perform a wide range of functions which have almost always been matched to broader trends in development theory at any given time. Because of the breadth of its history, it is natural to ask if participation can possibly re-invent itself for yet another application. In fact what remains to be explored is not only the extent to which the concurrent generation of participatory approaches responds to the critiques raged against participatory development, but also can it reinvigorate itself as a legitimate and genuinely transformative approach to development (Hickey & Mohan, 2004)? What contemporary thinking about participation cannot do is to continue to juxtapose the alleged benefits of “bottom-up, people-centered, alternative approaches with top-down, technocratic, blueprint planning of state modernization” (Hickey & Mohan, 2004, p. 4). What this historical juxtaposition has unveiled is that participation is an embedded practice, and the application of the participatory process in development often instigates the process so that it may become embedded in a particular context. When this embeddedness continues, it can be argued that the application of the participatory process fosters an enabling environment for participation. Great strides remain to be taken in broadly reframing participation as a complex phenomenon situated in a context that is both socially and experientially constructed. In lending credibility to this complexity, participation can emerge as recognizing contexts that are constantly in transformation as well as potential arenas of transformation through development.

### **Introduction to Bali as the Research Context**

Understanding why Bali is an ideal research location to explore development pressures on cultural landscapes begins by considering the island’s strategic location in the Southeast Asian region. Lying geographically south of China, east of India, and

north of Australia, Southeast Asia encompasses the melding of different ecological and cultural influences. From an ecological perspective, the Wallace Line runs through Southeast Asia separating the flora and fauna characteristic of Asia from that of Oceania. The line runs through the Malay Archipelago, between Borneo and Sulawesi, and along the Lombok Strait, putting Bali in the most easterly manifestation of flora and fauna specific to Asia (Covarrubias, 1946). With the rich natural resource base and strategic position between the South China Sea and Indian and Pacific Oceans, the region has lured traders and merchants for centuries. Ten of the eleven Southeast Asian nations have coastal access (excepting Laos). The region's diverse cultural influences derives from its influence by so many overseas connections.

Southeast Asia's cultural diversity has been shaped by the regional influences of all the world's major religions. While this has been a divisive force in the region as a whole, Bali is one of the few places where religion coincides with internal harmony, a notion that will be discussed more fully later on. Although religious disparity compounded with long and intense periods of European and Asian colonization characterize much of the existing tensions in the region, the positive cultural influences of these outsiders distinguish the region. The cultural *mélange* of Southeast Asian art, architecture, music, theater, dance, literature and cuisine make it difficult to typify the region, but at the same time contribute to its rich cultural heritage that thrives today.

Southeast Asia's trade and exchange previously dominated by colonial powers has given way in the post colonial era to more regional control. Southeast Asia is a mixture of developed countries (Singapore and Brunei), emerging developing countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand) and developing countries (Cambodia,

East Timor, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam). The most urbanized countries in the region are island nations (Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia), while those least urbanized are a part of mainland Asia (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam). This illustrates the enormous pressure on and heightened importance of land uses in a region that has been densely populated for centuries.

The island of Bali in many ways stands as a microcosm of the forces at work throughout the Southeast Asian region. In Bali, multiple religious beliefs co-exist, the day-to-day is predicated on cultural expression, and the rich resources defined by the island's boundaries are a valued source of income. Yet what distinguishes the Balinese historically from most other island cultures, and today from other Southeast Asians, is the island's inward perspective. Its sights are not focused on the region's emerging megacity culture. Rather, the Balinese remain devoted to their bound world view defined by the island's landscape. At the provincial level (Bali is one of Indonesia's 33 provinces), urban growth is tempered by the island's extents, with a mounting tension between the traditional rural base and urbanization which is occurring and is at the heart of many cultural landscape preservation quandaries. Bali is part of an emerging developing country (Indonesia) with issues beyond meeting its own basic needs. Yet given that the knowledge system of the Balinese is so intricate, complex and unique, threats from the outside to this knowledge system are comparable to those on indigenous knowledge systems in general. This dualism was evident in the behaviors of the participants in the research project upon which this study is based. The group of community youth participants validated this binary as they arrived to meet with us on motorbikes and called those who were late on cell phones, but who also never faltered

in their daily offerings and who always had a sarong available to be appropriately covered to enter a temple. When asked by an Udayana faculty member who among them aspired to be a rice farmer, none raised their hand. The situation in Bali helps to make evident development pressures facing an ancient cultural heritage when this cultural heritage exists in an emerging developing world. Research is limited on how cultures deal with this dualism and because of its accessibility, Bali offers a way to explore this. The Balinese are not like the aboriginals of Australia or the native Americans of the United States who hold fast to their cultural heritage in a politically-constructed space (Grenier, 1998). The issue lies less at those two extremes and more looking at the potentially dislocative effects in an emerging developing nation whose national motto is 'unity in diversity'. The challenge becomes not whether there is diversity, but whether to resist the urge to unify at the expense of that diversity (Sen, 2000).

Bali has been able to sustain its cultural diversity some sixty-five years after Indonesia gained its independence in part because it is an autonomous island province. The island's social and cultural structure is bound by the island's physical constraints measuring only 5,632 square kilometers. The island's population density has been particularly challenging because there historically has been a strong commitment among the Balinese to remain on the island amidst migration phenomena that have been both voluntary and forced. During the sixteenth century, the chief minister of Bali estimated that his subjects numbered 300,000 "making Bali one of the most densely populated islands in the world at that time, a reputation it was to maintain until the nineteenth century" (Vickers, 1996, p. 52). According to Vickers, the island's density of

over thirty-nine people per square kilometer trumps China's thirty-seven person per kilometer and is almost four times the population density of Europe at this same time (Vickers, 1996). In the past 500 years, the population of Bali increased ten-fold and the challenges associated with accommodating this density have only been exacerbated. As of 2009, the population density of Bali is an enormous six-hundred and thirty people per square kilometer with a total island population exceeding three million (Publikasi Statistik, 2010).

The small urban center of Ubud, where the study centered, is no exception to the island's density. It lies in the north-central portion of the fertile rice-growing landscapes that characterize southern Bali. Ubud has also become an extension of the tourist triangle from the Denpasar-Sanur-Kuta area. Originally defined by the confluences of two rivers thought to be a place of magical and medicinal powers (the Bahasa Bali word *ubad* translates as medicine), Ubud's geographical location distinguishes it from most other inland villages in Bali (Lansing, 1995).

Development literature typically treats the village unit as a single, homogenous entity. Balinese village structure is spatially, politically, and socially much more complex, particularly in Ubud where development has led to one composite village of many *banjars*. The *banjar* is a delineation specific to Bali and translates most closely into 'neighborhood'. Traditionally a *banjar* controlled one *desa* or village, which is considered the inhabited land, while the surrounding agricultural land, or *sawah*, were governed by the *subak* (Geertz 1991). Today, it is not uncommon for more than one *banjar* to occupy the same territory, which is the case in Ubud. The *banjars* are highly respected and they often govern alongside the provincial authority. Thus, decisions for

the *desa* are often made by the *banjar*. This research utilized this structure and production teams were created to closely approximate the *banjar* scale. As a result, there were marked differences among the videos produced by participants from *banjars* near Ubud's interior and those located on the periphery. It is important to note that in a place such as Ubud where more than one *banjar* is present, and with historically-documented tendencies for *banjar*'s to disagree and compete for resources (Covarrubias, 1946; McPhee, 1947), studies that bring multiple *banjars* together to consider conservation of shared resources such as the *sawah* add complexity to the process of discussing cultural viewpoints.

### **Relevant History of Bali**

Over two millennia have crafted cultural and social characteristics of the island of Bali and its people into the *mélange* of values and traditions that it expresses today. The culture that has become quintessentially "Bali" does not credit one historical influence over another, but is instead an amalgamation of characteristics attributable to the island's location in the midst of the Indonesian archipelago.

Bali lies adjacent to the eastern end of Java, with an estimated population of 3,151,000 in 2005. Average population densities in Bali are higher than the average population density of Indonesia as a nation (Mitchell, 1994). Urban expansion and tourism development have encroached upon the land that traditionally supported Bali's agriculturally-based economy. Only in the past few decades has the island's economy that was once rooted in rice cultivation given way to the economic incentives that accompany a tourism-based economy. With tourism now the largest industry, including real estate opportunities associated with tourism development, Bali has become one of Indonesia's wealthiest regions (Baker 2002).

## **Contributing History of Tourism in Bali**

Tourism in Bali began at the turn of the twentieth century after Bali's independence was stymied through a series of wars with the Dutch colonial powers. While bleak images of a worldwide influenza epidemic and the onset of the Great Depression illustrate the turn of the twentieth century, Bali at that time was personified as "the ultimate tourist destination, culturally rich, with smiling people, an island of dances and temples to attract the wealthy of the world" (Yamashita, 2003, p. 28). The Dutch focused their colonial rule through development of infrastructure to support a population of about one-million (Lansing, 1995). They built roads and irrigation dams, but put little effort or resources into education, health, or economic opportunities for the Balinese (Lansing, 1995). It is important to note that the Dutch's attempt to govern alongside the traditional Balinese rulers fostered an environment for a cultural, artistic, and religious "renaissance" (Lansing, 1995, p. 114). Lured by the cultural splendors of the island, Dutch boats brought in roughly one-hundred tourists per month throughout the 1930s. This gave rise to the first Western articulation of a culture that was offered up to tourists, a cultural package that was created at the expense of authenticity.

Bali's tourism industry declined during and after World War II as Bali and the rest of Indonesia struggled for independence. Independence was finally gained from the Dutch in 1949. The nationalist government invigorated Bali's tourism industry in the 1960s by using Japanese war reparations to fund tourism infrastructure projects (Lansing, 1995). Beginning in 1971, with a World Bank-funded master plan tied the island's economic development to the tourism industry. With continued World Bank support, the projections of this master plan became a reality, and the economic ramifications of the modern Balinese tourism industry were finally realized. Villages

along the new roads leading to resorts or attractions “began to market their dances, rituals, woodcarvings, paintings, jewelry, or nearby archaeological sites to tourists” as an authentic reproduction of culture (Lansing, 1995, p. 115). The tourist’s quest for a true Balinese experience challenged the integrity of the island’s traditional culture. At the same time, questions of authenticity and identity began to emerge at the village level.

Balinese traditions maintain that there is an inherent link between the Inner World and the life of the village (Lansing, 1995). Today, the spatial boundaries of the traditional village often align with the boundaries of the official village (Mitchell, 1994). Development pressures, particularly ignited by tourism over the past century, are proving increasingly detrimental at the village level. In addition to the tourist population, local populations continue to grow. Increased demands at the village level are not matched by appropriate infrastructure to manage these demands. Waste accumulation, deteriorating water quality, and destruction of sacred and/or historical sites are only some of the threats brought on by developing Balinese villages. While the solutions to development are complex, fortunately, so too are the timeless relationships between the Balinese and their landscapes. The Balinese believe in world renewal and have formally invoked these beliefs in an attempt “to cope with the transformations set in motion by their encounters with the West” (Lansing, 1995, p. 117). Yet running in parallel to grand notions of world renewal is a very delicate concept the Balinese refer to as “*Desa Kala Patra*” (Mitchell, 1994, p. 193). For the Balinese, “space, time, and condition” should exist in harmony—an elegant pronunciation that lies at the heart of interactions between the cultural and natural worlds (Mitchell, 1994, p. 193).

## The Rice Culture of Bali

Generations of Balinese farmers have altered the island's landscape by clearing forests, digging irrigation canals, and terracing hillsides in support of growing rice. The island's oldest known human settlements are "concentrated in the best rice-growing areas, where it appears that some terraces have been under continuous cultivation for a millennium or more" (Lansing, 1995, p. 87). The elaborate irrigation system has been made possible by an equally historic cooperative system known as *subak*, a Balinese invention that ties together rice cultivation with its water temple system (Lansing, 1991). All farmers whose fields are supplied by the same water source belong to an individual *subak*. There are more than 2,000 *subak* in Bali, with some villages having more than one, depending on local drainage patterns. These cooperatives have provided the organizational framework which has made the Balinese among the most efficient rice growers in the Indonesian archipelago (Geertz, 1963). In part this can be attributed to the characteristically unique exchange between rice agriculture and the ecosystems that support such agricultural practices.

Traditional rice paddies are unique in that they are able to produce large amounts of grain indefinitely, with no diminution in yield. By contrast, all other systems of irrigated agriculture are subject to gradual decline in productivity as a consequence of salinization and loss of soil fertility (Lansing, 1995, p. 87).

To the Balinese, rice is more than a staple crop that has a proclivity to thrive amidst the southern "rice bowl" landscape (Lansing, 1995, p. 10). Rice is an integral part of their culture. The rituals associated with planting, maintaining, irrigating, and harvesting rice on Bali have instilled rhythm to daily life for centuries. In addition to these temporal rhythms, there are also spatial conventions that dominate the physical layout of the *sawah*. Within each section of the rice fields, the corner nearest Mount

Agung contains an offering to *Dewi Sri*, the goddess of rice, from whom the good fortune of productive yields is sought.

With rice production left up to *Dewi Sri*, earthly responsibilities of irrigation and planting are arranged through *subak*. Historical evidence dates the *subak* system to around the eleventh century, and despite its age, the yield per acre has been continuously among the highest in the world (Geertz, 1963). In Bali rice has three names for the three stages of production and use: *padi* is growing rice, *beras* is harvested, uncooked rice and *nasi* is cooked rice. This tripartite distinction closely aligns with the significance that the number three plays in Balinese culture. Thus, rice assimilates into Balinese traditions at every stage of growth in the life of the rice plant, first as an offering back to the gods, then its addition into ceremonies and festivities, and finally as the main form of sustenance for island's population.

### **Balinese Culture**

The Balinese organize their farming, village structure, and cultural traditions around the life of the community. Aside from a few government responsibilities, the majority of traditional responsibilities rest with the *subak* as well as the *banjar*, with both of these traditional committees having been rooted in Balinese culture for centuries. Between the *subak* and the *banjar*, all aspects of community life, including agriculture practices, village festivals, marriage ceremonies and cremations, are derived from continuing cultural practices dating back to the eleventh century.

During the eleventh century, the island of Bali experienced the first of many waves of influx of Hindu and Javanese cultures individually, and then later the assimilation of these two sets of traditions. During the eleventh century, Airlangga, a Balinese prince, moved to east Java in an attempt to unify the island. With his marked success on Java,

Airlangga sent his brother Anak Wungsu, to rule over the island of Bali. With two brothers presiding over the adjacent islands, there was a reciprocation of political and artistic ideas between the island cultures (Covarrubias, 1946). However, when Islam arrived in Java during the fifteenth century, many wealthy aristocratic artists, musicians and craftsmen fled to Bali to preserve their cultural traditions, as they were similarly practiced on Bali. As Islam began to spread throughout much of the Indonesian archipelago during the sixteenth century, the ruling Majapahit Empire began to collapse and a second mass exodus of the aristocracy, priest, artists, and artisans sought refuge in the cultural haven of Bali. While much of the rest of the archipelago's cultural traditions gave way to Islam, the Hindu-dominated island of Bali flourished, while maintaining its cultural autonomy. The ensuing centuries have thus been considered to be by many scholars as the "Golden Age" of Bali's cultural heritage (Covarrubias, 1946; Vickers, 1996).

### **Cultural Assimilation and Additive Approach**

Balinese culture is an accumulation of external influence and internal adaptation that spans the past two-thousand years. Bali in "one era did not simply die out, but new images were added" to it (Vickers, 1996, p. 39). In turn, each generation sees itself as a continuation of the existing culture "while at the same time transforming it" (Vickers, 1996, p. 39). This holds true even today as the Balinese absorb the evolving industry and image of tourism that has been present on the island for the past one-hundred years. Historically for the Balinese, when beliefs and rituals were not adequate in explaining a particular force at work, new layers of culture were created to explain such phenomena. Scholars devoted to the Balinese image argue that the new layers of culture created since the onset of tourism early in the twentieth century have covered

up, or eroded away, the 'real' or 'authentic' Bali (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Vickers, 1996; Yamashita, 2003). While the advent of tourism to Bali has coincided with an infatuation with the image of Bali (what it is or is not, what it was and what it will be), this image had been in production long before Dutch ships arrived with tourists from the Netherlands. With the exception of the Majapahit Empire establishing a Balinese colony in 1343, the last four-hundred years have been influential in defining the image of Balinese culture into how it is perceived today. Understanding the evolution of this image as a manifestation of Western construction oftentimes jars against the introspection of a culture deemed "finely tuned" by artist Miguel Covarrubias as early as the 1930s (Covarrubias, 1946).

### **Image Making Process**

The pre-colonial illustrations of Bali stand in contrast to the image that lures tourists today. To sum up the pre-colonial period of modern Bali in a series of vivid, yet seemingly atypical images, Bali was "the empire, the island of warring kingdoms, the locale of family competitions, and the island of commoners" (Vickers, 1996, p. 76). But with each moment of internal strife there was an equal moment of introspection and cultural refinement as the Balinese became more conscious of their culture. The eventual image of harmony is "one born out of conflict and out of balancing constant and strongly felt social tensions" (Vickers, 1996, p. 145). Yet, the image of pre-colonial Bali was not overwhelmingly positive or exotic to Europeans living within the region or abroad. Only on two occasions was the island of Bali cast in a positive light—first in the sixteenth century as a civilized albeit exotic society and second during the nineteenth century when Sir Thomas Raffles initially turned to Bali as the "museum of Javanese

culture” but eventually came to appreciate the island for its “capacity for development” (Vickers, 1996, p. 23).

Besides these few literary interludes from an otherwise Java-centric Dutch occupation in the archipelago, the little that is written about Bali suggests a vague and hostile image of the island and its people prior to colonization. The Balinese were considered much less culturally refined than other traditional populations throughout the archipelago. Most of what is said and thought about Bali assumes a genesis with Dutch colonization and official Dutch occupancy that dates from 1908. In reality, the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by the Dutch and the Balinese coexisting on the island, but allowing the landscape to mark their separation. For the Balinese in the central and southern rice-growing, autonomous, village-based societies where the island’s population was most dense, the division of the mountains created the illusion that the Dutch were not there (Vickers, 1996). The Dutch intellectuals (and to some extent the military) congregated in the northern port city of Singaraja. During the Dutch colonial era that would soon ensue, this amassed scholarly knowledge of Bali interestingly was neither “pro-Balinese nor anti-colonial” (Vickers, 1996, p. 95). Yet by the turn of the twentieth century these scholars gave in to imperial temptation, claiming to know more about Bali than the Balinese; and thereby granting these Dutch intellectuals the authority to put the finishing touches on Bali as a construct before the image was offered up to the world as a tourism destination (Yamashita 2003).

What is important to note is that the savage image of Bali prior to colonization and then the rapidly-transformed exotic image that began to lure European tourists in the twentieth century was in each case an extreme view taken at face value and rarely

contested. In a culture that has been in a consistently evolving “steady state” (Covarrubias, 1946, p. 41) for the past two-thousand years, the early twentieth-century image should serve as a warning to those studying the Balinese as a pivotal moment of cultural definition by external forces, as there had been few (if any) internal forces in the preceding history of Bali that had abruptly changed the course of the culture. At the moment that the image became useful as a marketing device, it was tidied up, fantasized, and romanticized from its early twentieth-century construct. What is arguably more interesting however, is at the same moment when the image of Bali was determined to be important to outsiders, it was also deemed important that the Balinese have an understanding of their own self-image—and these two images were not to be in conflict. Prior to this, “European images of Bali from ferocious to exotic, tell us little about the images of their own society” (Vickers, 1996, p. 38). The onset of tourism created a new role for the Balinese, that of host, and for the first time they were expected to be advocates of their own culture as a tourism product.

What is important to emphasize about the tourist image of Bali is that it was largely created and popularized by an educated, artistic, elite (and mostly American) population of the 1920s and 1930s. This cast of characters projected an image to the world that was based in scholarship, art, and film. Bali’s image-making process stands in contrast to images of islands (most notably the Pacific Islands) that were initially illustrated by navigation teams of cartographers, scientists, captains and crew. Despite being unconventional, the scholars and artists working in Bali’s during the 1920s and 1930s repeatedly argued in favor of the island’s interconnectedness between the people and their landscape. Some eighty years later, while the authenticity of this

interconnectedness remains in question, the interconnectedness itself largely informs my research.

### **Tourism in Bali**

Tourism in Bali early in the twentieth century after Bali's independence was thwarted by a series of wars with the Dutch colonial powers that wreaked havoc on the ruling kingdoms. Lured by the culture and traditions of the island, Dutch boats brought in roughly one-hundred tourists per month in the 1930s. The Balinese image was perpetuated during the 1920s and 1930s mostly by American artists and scholars. Artists Walter Spies and Miguel Covarrubias, musician Colin McPhee, and anthropologists Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson and later Clifford Geertz became part of a troupe of individuals, schooled and trained in the production of culture, who were instrumental in refining the image of Bali. The arrival of these artists and scholars coincided with the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris where gamelan players and Balinese dancers from the *banjar* of Paliatan (near Ubud) displayed their unique music and dance. The promotion provided the artistic and academic elite, coupled with the overwhelming popularity of the Balinese at the Colonial Exposition in 1931 lured great numbers of privileged tourists from Europe and the US prior to World War II (McPhee, 1947).

World War II proved to be a tumultuous time for both the Balinese and these resident artists and scholar of the island. The artists and scholars suffered from poor health, personal strife, and ill-fated excursions from the island during a time of war. For the Balinese, the Japanese occupation was at first a welcome reprieve from colonial Dutch rule, but their militaristic rule was no improvement over the Dutch. With independence from the Dutch finally secured won in 1949. Bali's tourism remained

depressed after World War II as Bali and the rest of Indonesia struggled for independence.

The history of Bali and its development as a tourist destination took an interesting turn of events when Sukarno assumed the role of President over the newly-independent Republic of Indonesia. President Sukarno's mother was Balinese so he had a particular affinity for its people and their culture. In Sukarno's attempt to create a national "Theatre State," he valorized the Balinese and sought to "Balinize Indonesia rather than Indonesionize Bali" (Wall, 1998, p. 60). Sukarno saw the culture of Bali as part of the nation's "rich reserve" but at the same time (and arguably because of his Balinese heritage), he valued the "essence" of the culture to the point where he did not want it to be "disturbed in the process" (Vickers, 1996, p. 177). Nevertheless, Bali's economic potential trumped any hopes of gradual tourism development as the nationalist government invigorated the island's tourism industry in the 1960s by using Japanese war reparations to fund tourism infrastructure projects (Lansing, 1995; Silver, 2007). Sukarno was very instrumental in the image-making of Bali as he oscillated between cultural preservation and economic gain by promoting national tourism, exemplifying the culture as a national standard, and yet still not isolating the island as a Special Region where traditional royal leadership could be maintained (Vickers, 1996, p. 163). Had Bali become a Special Region in the 1950s like Yogyakarta and Aceh rather than its own province, the image and its development would undoubtedly have succumbed to the tourist playground that Yogyakarta in central Java is today (Warren, 1993).

President Suharto cashed in on the national identity that President Sukarno attempted to nurture by taking advantage of Bali as a cultural currency. Suharto's rule

coincided with the reinvigorated tourism boom on Bali. However, tourism in Bali during the 1960s and 1970s was not the economic windfall that the Indonesian government had anticipated. In reality, Bali was the last stop on the “Asian Highway” that offered a “cheap stop for hippies” who lived most of the time on “goodwill and good vibes” (Vickers, 1996, p. 186). However, it was the tendencies of this particular group of tourists from the 1960s and early 1970s that in part influenced the tourism master planning that followed.

Questions about Bali’s ability to survive tourism have been asked since the late 1920s and these questions, Vickers (1996) argues, contribute to the image-making process where Bali is seen as a paradise (albeit on the verge of loss). From the educated elite of the 1930s to the bargain-seeking “hippies” of the 1960s and 1970s, the Indonesian government began to grapple with the idea of losing Bali to waves of tourism that would undoubtedly continue from the 1970s onward. The fragile image of Bali, coupled with tourism trends that began to draw distinct groups of visitors to the island influenced the tourism master planning that was created in the 1970s. A tourism circle, or *mandala wisata*, began to develop in the southern part of the island to cater separately to the elite, the extended-stayers, the “hippies”/artists, and the surfers (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). The Denpasar-Sanur-Kuta area (and to some extent Ubud) concentrated tourism and the necessary infrastructure so that the rest of the island was accessed by day-trip excursion routes only (Wall, 1998). Physically locating tourists in the southern part of the island near the Ngurah Rai International Airport may have spatially segregated tourists from the day-to-day lives of villagers throughout the rest of the island (Wall, 1998), but it also created increased internal strife with the emergence

of a new middle class, or those Balinese who have access to the tourism market. “Poverty in Bali is associated with lack of access to tourist income” (Vickers, 1996, p. 200). Bali’s tourism, and thus the island’s economy, declined dramatically after the terrorist bombings of 2002 and 2005. Only since 2008 have tourism statistics exceeded what they were prior to the bombings. This can in part be attributed to the American government lifting its travel warnings in 2008, although the nearby Australian government continues to rate Bali at a four (out of five) level of danger.

Bali today loosely adheres to the spatial planning of the 1970s, but what was not anticipated was that development would follow a linear trajectory along the day-excursion routes planned so that the rice-terraced landscape once commanding the view from outside of Denpasar toward the mountains is now relegated as the backdrop to the tourism development. Similarly for many tourists today, the image of Bali stands apart and in the foreground of Indonesia as a county and even as a province within a developing nation. Vickers goes so far as to argue that the tourism industry has ascended the autonomous Indonesian province to the ranks of “international property” (Vickers, 1996, p. 3). Undeniably Bali’s image has evolved over the past one-hundred years. While there is ongoing debate as to the legitimacy or authenticity of the image we are left with today, what remains without question is the ongoing importance of this image to the island’s cultural heritage. What remains in question is how to sustain not only this image but what underlies this image: the cultural and natural forces at work within this place.

*Pariwisata budaya*, or cultural tourism, is the official tourism policy of Bali. Since the early twentieth century, the aim of the Dutch and then the Indonesian government

has been to maintain the cultural integrity of Bali for the sake of tourism. The assumption has been that the landscape is more resilient than the culture. Even the World Bank experts who crafted the 1971 tourism master plan predicted that by 1983 the Balinese culture would succumb to tourism but the image of Bali would remain as “a green and sumptuous garden” (Vickers, 1996, p. 196). In severing the ties between nature and culture, the World Bank experts failed to consider the inherent link and “complete feeling of harmony between the people [of Bali] and their surrounding” (Covarrubias, 1946, p. 9).

Three decades ago when the World Bank was crafting the island’s tourism master plan, the Balinese economy was largely agriculture-based. Today, tourism is now the island’s largest single industry; and as a result, Bali is one of Indonesia’s wealthiest regions, with approximately 80% of Bali’s economy depending on tourism (Baker, 2002). The Balinese have learned that a tourism-based economy, much like their agriculturally-based economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, is not immune to downfalls. The economy suffered significantly as a result of the terrorist bombings 2002 and 2005. The tourism industry is slowly recovering once again, especially in the island’s popular inland destination of Ubud. Residents in Ubud are especially taking advantage of the reinstated demand for tourism development at the expense of the area’s dwindling supply of available land to support this development (MacRae, 2003)

### **Tourism in Ubud**

Derived from its image developed in the 1920s and 1930s, Ubud’s tourism industry profits from the area’s cultural and natural resources. While often relegated as a ‘backdrop’ to the Balinese culture, the rice-terraced landscapes of Ubud (see Figure 2-1) offer a much more compelling setting than the banal white sand beaches that support

the tourism demands in southern Bali (Wall, 1998). However, Ubud's tourism industry has not gone unaffected by those seeking the real and authentic Bali that Spies and his crew experienced in eighty years ago. Once just a stop for the day-trip excursion tourists catching the island's highlights, Ubud is now a destination (Wall, 1998). As a destination, the demands change and the area's system (both cultural and environmental) must absorb the flux and arrest decay.

Ubud is doing so by loosely integrating its overall tourism scheme into the existing *kaja-kelod*<sup>10</sup> arrangement of the area. *Kaja* Ubud is oriented toward the mountain and anchors the most sacred end of the village, while the monkey forest lies at the *kelod* end toward the sea and that which is least sacred. Between these two orientations is *bhuwah*, or the human world (Lansing, 2006). While Ubud's development is linear along the *kaja-kelod* orientation, with no planning it will also develop *kangin-kauh* or east and west. There seems to be a tendency for development density in Ubud, as residents understand the trade-offs associated with their most finite resource: developing up will maintain the *sawah* while develop out will destroy the *sawah*. Yet with a national tourism policy championing culture (over the environment), this lack of consistency in resource management at the national level leaves little for the people of Ubud to draw from.

As a foothill urban center, the topography dictates the extent of development in the area. While Ubud defies traditional notions of an island urban center in that it is not on the coast, this does not lessen its development potential. Much of what characterizes

---

<sup>10</sup> In Indonesia, *kaja* is the sacred direction toward Gunung Agung. *Kelod* is the impure direction toward the sea. Houses, temples, and entire villages are oriented along this axis. Since Gunung Agung is located in the eastern part of the island, in central and southern Bali the *kaja* direction actually points northeast (Wijaya, 2002).

Ubud's tourists today is their quest to find the 'real' or 'authentic' Bali that is thought to lie just beyond the *mandala wisata* of the Denpasar-Sanur-Kuta area. Tourism planners from the 1970s assumed that excursion routes would be enough to satisfy this urge, but many of the same reasons that drew tourists to Ubud in the 1920s and 1930s likewise lure them today. Ubud is not the isolated enclave that it was for the artists and scholars eighty years ago, even as it maintains its identity as a foothill urban center. Ubud lies near the island's center, a highly productive portion of the island uniquely characterized by its artistic and agricultural innovation.

### **Enduring Host Mentality**

Covarrubias and many others who contributed to the image-making of Bali during the 1920s and 1930s prophesized a bleak future for the Balinese and their landscape. With all that the image-makers did to create Bali, what they failed to do was credit the culture's resilience and heritage that carried the culture through internal strife and external duress into the 1920s and 1930s—and now beyond. An argument of this early research pointed to a "frank decline of culture" (Covarrubias, 1946, p. 12), what they failed to recognize was the Balinese tendency to avoid conflict, instead to absorb the point of contingency as a natural extension of their existing culture. Even today a generation tempted by information technology and material possessions does not compromise cultural identity in the face of these temptations. The community youth demonstrated a determination to share their world view, but to do so in a controlling, refined manner that has been characteristic of the Balinese' relationship with tourists since the 1930s. By sharing their culture they also control its image. The image of Bali today is in part due to this calculated command that is itself a hallmark of the Balinese culture.

The Dutch feared how the Balinese would play host to the first tourists a century ago. Today, the Balinese in Uud are not merely obedient hosts, but as evidence in the widespread commitment to the landscape filming process, are stewards and advocates of their own cultural heritage. Development literature warns researchers and practitioners of the challenges and burdens that can ensue when culture is used as a “vector” in development (Sen, 2000). The Balinese recognize the development pressures facing their cultural heritage and its management, yet they also vocalize that international and national agendas are not yet an effective strategy to deal with their finely-tuned world view. Tourism does pose a threat, but so too do the national recommendations from the Dutch and the Indonesians that have been put in place to manage tourism over the past century. For much of the past century, tourism planning on Bali has been consistent with the most innovative international practices. The Balinese are “persistent when we do not expect it, and changing where we do” (Yamashita, 2003, p. 11).

### **Land Tenure in Ubud**

The southern portion of Bali has been characterized by rice-terraced landscapes for centuries. This part of the island has had a long and conflicting tradition of intensive agricultural land-use coupled with high population densities. The picturesque qualities of southern Bali’s landscape have trumped the productive capabilities as land owners are “able to make a better income by selling or even leasing their land, investing the proceeds and living on the interest, than by growing rice” (MacRae, 2003, p. 174). This is all compounded by the “soaring international real estate market” (MacRae, 2003, p. 186) that has been a “de facto step toward facilitating the systematic transfer of land from *adat* control to formal tenureship” (MacRae, 2003, p. 189).

Loosely translated, *adat* is the customary law that governs how individuals interact with the land. *Adat* has evolved in rural communities throughout the Indonesian archipelago as a local response to the variability in the resultant supporting environments (Hirsh & Warren, 1998). In its general application, *adat* is characteristic of environmental management. However, under the nation's second President, Suharto (1967-1998) and his New Order government, Indonesia became, as one critic notes, a nation "dedicated to the obliteration of local places, local land and resource rights, and local knowledge" (Tsing, 2005, p. 68). Thus, as land uses change and customary land tenure gives way to market pressures, development remains a central Balinese concern. Prior to Suharto's "anti-local regionality" (Tsing, 2005, p. 68), Bali flourished under a traditional land tenure system, albeit complex, that was held relatively intact even after Dutch colonization in 1908. Varying to some degree across the island, the traditional tenure system in Bali is an intricate agreement between the visible and invisible, the social and political, and the ecological and economic that is typical of the Balinese relationship with any systemic organization. To understand these relationships it is important to explore two intertwined narratives specific to the island of Bali. The first narrative tells the story of local forces that have shaped the land tenure system over the past one-hundred years. The second narrative is the elaborate tale of the external or global forces that have shaped the image of Bali during roughly this same 100-year time period. Aligning these two narratives reveals the surprising intersections when the narratives collide in contemporary Bali where both the local tenure system and the global process at work in Bali have contributed to the development pressures on the island's landscapes.

Beginning with Dutch colonization in 1908, at each historically-significant intersection of local and global forces at work thereafter, the image of Bali has been cast in relief against a fragile landscape. Deconstructing how this image of Bali was created and how this landscape has come to be conceived as fragile is best understood by layering the economic, ecological, social, and religious functions protected and promoted by the *adat* tenure system with the economic, ecological, social, and religious meanings associated with this landscape. In Ubud, this progression toward land as capital derives precisely from the function of and meaning toward the same cultural landscape. The composite footprint of Ubud today approximates the ritual and political geography of the nineteenth-century kingdom of Sukawati. Characterized by diverse ecosystems and control over most of an irrigation watershed, the last traditional ruler of this kingdom capitalized on the landscape to create a land tenure system that has repercussions even today amidst the area's immense development pressures.

### **History of Traditional Land Tenure in Ubud**

Balinese village structure is spatially, politically, and socially much more complex than any homogenous generalization, particularly in Ubud where development has led to one composite village of many *banjars*. Thus, it is important to understand the administrative divisions of land and power at a local scale in Bali. As previously noted, the *banjar* is a delineation specific to Bali and translates into 'neighborhood'. The *banjar* is the primary secular social unit, whereas *desa* is the primary spatial and ritual unit (commonly, but somewhat misleadingly, translated as 'village') that binds a local community to the local landscape through collective responsibility to local deities (MacRae, 1997). In the case of Bali, the village or *desa* level is not necessarily a natural unit of analysis, even though it is the accepted unit under the Indonesian

governance system. Treating it as such is done at the expense of recognizing modes of organization beyond and between villages that are especially characteristic of southern Bali. Spatially, the *desa* are bounded laterally (north and south or *kaja-ke lod*) by the untamed space of the parallel river gorges and in the uphill-downhill direction by a neutral zone of cultivated land.

Historically, land in Bali was understood to be the property of the gods. Worldly tenure was never achieved outright. Often the exchange of labor and obligation to kings and local authorities who acted as brokers for the gods could grant one access to land (MacRae, 2003). Locals could occupy and use land on what may best be understood as a leasehold basis that is hierarchical nevertheless. In general, productive land is privately owned, a right established initially by clearing and cultivation, later by capture and redistribution by local rulers, and currently by sale and purchase (MacRae, 1997). Originally, land was made available to farmers for their subsistence in exchange for certain services to the *puri*<sup>11</sup>, not for a portion of the crop yield. This mimicked a system of forced labor. Similarly, residential land was occupied subject to ritual obligations to the gods via the *desa*.

Traditional land tenure in Bali is not consistent throughout the island. The foothill village of Ubud has an interesting history of land tenure and subsequent development, beginning with the charismatic late nineteenth-century ruler Cokora Sukawati. Through warfare, diplomacy and the exercise of personal charm, Cokora Sukawati steered the development of Ubud from the status of a small and peripheral village to the center of a vast strip of land from the sea to the lower edge of the mountain plateau (MacRae,

---

<sup>11</sup> *Puri* refers to princely houses with zones of political control, which were thought to be a direct connection to the Balinese gods (Geertz, 1991).

1997). The death of Cokora Sukawati in 1919 marked the end of an extraordinary era during which Ubud moved from a local world of “seasonal rhythms and the ebb and flow of kingdoms” of a few square kilometers in size, to absorption into a vast colonial empire which brought it in contact with even wider forces of influence and processes of change (Warren, 1993, p. 67).

### **The Onset of Colonial Taxation**

The Dutch took control of Bali in 1908 to further consolidate their imperial hold on what is today the Indonesian archipelago. Ruling alongside the Balinese kingdoms for the most part, Cokora Sukawati was able to continue his tenancy/sharecropping arrangements with regards to land, as land continued to be granted to farmers in exchange for various services to Cokora Sukawati and the *puri*. A direct consequence of this system of labor management was that farmers during his rule did not establish any rights to the land they were working. As a result today, few people own land in Ubud (Hendriatiningsih et al., 2009). Thus, Cokora Sukawati’s legacy and the prosperity of Ubud during his reign was grounded in his ability to mobilize labor as well as control the resources, which included the productive, human, and ritual resources so integral to the culture of Ubud (MacRae, 2003). What distinguishes Ubud today remains characterized by the abundance and geographical expanse of land held directly under the *puri*; the subsequent sense of loyalty to *Puri Ubud* throughout this area and the landlessness of many Ubud residents coupled with their distaste for manual labor—yet their talent for ritual and cultural production (MacRae, 1997; Vickers, 1996). However, by the time of Cokora Sukawati’s death in 1919, the Dutch increasingly imposed their rule, particularly with the customary land tenure system established in 1922 when a colonial taxation system was introduced. This system was especially

burdensome on landowners in Ubud who were forced to pay in Dutch currency. This created a hardship even on those few who held land privately, and as a result land began to be transferred from smaller to larger landowners. Cokora Sukawati's tenancy/sharecropping arrangement did work to protect those farmers in compliance because the *puri* served as a collective buffer against the direct affects of taxation to individual farmers (MacRae, 2003). Nevertheless, the people of Ubud lived in constant fear of taxation, especially with the onset of The Great Depression when the world-wide demand for crops—particularly rice—declined. During this time possession of a land title was more of a liability than a subsistence asset (Hendriatiningsih et al., 2009). Thus, an increasing amount of land was given back to the *puri* so that its landholding grew under the male heirs to Sukawati's legacy. The death of Cokora Sukawati spurred many attempts by his predecessors trying to hold fast to the momentum he had established locally. At the same time Ubud was developing from an external momentum fueled by international tourism.

### **Contemporary Pressures on Land Uses**

The contemporary pressures on land use in Ubud are a product of these global and local forces working against each other. This process began in the 1960s with the institutional intervention by the national government as yet another layer injecting its bias and jurisdiction over Ubud's landscape. Leading up to this intervention by Jakarta, the waning agriculturally-based economy of southern Bali did little to support upholding customary land tenure arrangements (Geertz, 1963). As the 1950s progressed, there were several steep rises in the price of rice, yet productive agricultural land was the only guarantee of food and income. Furthermore, the population of Bali (and especially Ubud) had increased, although average landholdings were a fraction of what they had

been based on farmers' avoidance of the Dutch taxation scheme in the earlier part of the twentieth century. As a result, the Balinese placed immense pressure on the provincial and national governments for a more equitable distribution of land. By 1960, the national government was persuaded to initiate a program of land distribution, or *Landreform* as it was commonly known.

*Landreform* was designed to reduce all large landholdings to a scale enabling landholders to support their families while transferring legal title of the surplus to those, sharecroppers or tenants, who actually worked the land (Hendriatiningsih et al., 2009). Like many of the national initiatives, this system was marked by corruption and a lack of transparency. As a result, many of the largest landowners were able to circumvent the system, thereby retaining a high percentage—in some cases all—of their original landholdings. It is believed that approximately 75% of true landholdings in Ubud were reported under *Landreform* (Basiago, 1995). While the allowable limit was seven hectare of *sawah* (irrigated fields) and 9 hectare of *tegal* (dry fields), the majority of *sawah* plots range from .2 to .4 hectare which is just sufficient to feed a small family (Hendriatiningsih et al. 2009). This system ensured that most farmers had access to land of their own, but never achieved real equality of landholdings. *Landreform* only exacerbated pressures on land, as Ubud's local population continued to rise and tourism began to replace agriculture as the most lucrative production sector.

### **The Current Land Crisis in Bali**

The current land crisis in Bali can be attributed to confounding factors associated with the growth of tourism, increased population densities, and the emergence of a middle class. The 1980s was characterized by the development of tourism in conjunction with a growing resident expatriate community. Since then, this growth and

development has had both direct and indirect effects on land use, land value, and land tenure in Ubud. The growth of the tourism sector led to a shift of both land and labor from agriculture subsistence to tourism-based commerce (MacRae, 2003). In turn, this created a demand for street-frontage land to enable restaurants and shops to have the most direct access to tourists along main thoroughfares. While dominant land uses have transformed over the past century, so too have relative valuations of different categories of land been drastically transformed. Not only is this evident in the street-frontage property, but also the market for secluded residential sites along sloping river gorges—traditionally undesirable land for agriculture. Landowners now stand to make a profit from land strategically located, rather than historically productive lands.

Despite efforts at the national level over the past fifty years, a unified land tenure system seems unlikely for Indonesia's traditional and formal structures. In spite of shifting to decentralized governance, land tenure remains characterized by its centrality. This is attributed to continuing effects of *Landreform* and subsequent national laws where the State has jurisdiction over lands traditionally belonging to the *puri* (Basiago, 1995). Not only does this pose an imminent threat to the security of these lands, but also to the sustainability of a Balinese culture linked to these lands.

### **Locally Articulated Pressures on Land Use**

The history of land tenure in Ubud brings into focus the development pressures Ubud currently faces and those internal and external influences that have given rise to such pressures. Nevertheless, the current collision of global and local has been anticipated. The traditional land tenure system and the external forces that have transformed Ubud into a tourism commodity collide as more of the *sawah* is consumed by the expanding tourism footprint. What this collision unexpectedly reveals is the

potential layering of the global and local narratives of land tenure in Ubud, the scalar increments that coincide, and the moments of community identification that emanate from these concurrences.

In the case of Ubud, the layers of significance tell a unique story of land ownership, use, value, and meaning that have shaped the rice-terraced landscapes of southern Bali—over the past century through two distinct narratives, one global and one local. The history of land tenure in Ubud almost precisely overlaps the changing function and meaning associated with the landscape over this same period in history. In the local narrative, the Balinese believe that land is ultimately the property of the gods. The global narrative tells a tale of a highly engineered and cultivated landscape. This narrative depicts local access to the productive lands, which is a highly engineered and ordered landscape, with spatial organization supporting the complex irrigation system. Despite locals' access to land, the productive (and later monetary) yields from this landscape do not belong to those who cultivate the land. Instead, this privilege is held by the *puri* of Ubud, who still today own most of the productive land in the composite village of Ubud (inherited first from Cokorda Sukawati's entrepreneurial prowess, and later by systems of colonial taxation and national reform). Yet no matter how productive or financially viable these landscapes are, they are ultimately determined to be the property of the gods. Even today as these landscapes diminish and worldly good fortune is bestowed upon those who sell land outright to foreign investors<sup>12</sup>, the Balinese harbor a cultural and spiritual obligation to keep this system in motion. While

---

<sup>12</sup> Recent changes to the 1960 *Landreform* have modified the extent to which foreigners can own land in Indonesia, thereby allowing "foreign individuals to purchase titles over State-owned land or enter into long-term leases for residential purposes" (Simangunsong, 2008, p. 4). Furthermore, recent regulatory changes permit foreign individuals to purchase one residence (Simangunsong, 2008).

there is no set scale at which this development can be offset, Ubud's community interests lie in maintaining the cultural and natural heritage rooted in these landscapes.

### **A Spatially-Oriented Society**

Today, Ubud is not unique in that it has become a global village, where people, ideas and money from all over the world come together as outside forces meet a local village community. The development of this global village has for over a century been inseparable from links with foreign people and distant places. Ubud's contemporary economy is based upon the infiltration of foreign currency through tourism and handicraft exports (MacRae, 1997). However, the global Ubud and the local Ubud are not mere inversions of each other. Cultural influences scale so that scale is not "just a neutral frame for viewing the world" (Tsing, 2005, p. 58). Rather, scale is at once inherited, influenced and informed by all of the competing forces to whom this scale matters. In critically considering a place such as Ubud where these competing forces have been at work for over a century, it is tempting to dichotomize the local and global scale where "distinctions between local reactions and global forces, local consumption and global circulation, local resistance and global structures of capitalism, and local translations and the global imagination" have clearly morphed Ubud into what it is today (Tsing, 2005, p. 58). Yet in the end, Ubud is one place, albeit influenced by many players and events that have crafted the composite village into its contemporary disposition. How the residents of Ubud reconcile this layered history in the face of development pressures that threatens its cultural and natural heritage will narrate the tale of how this landscape fares.

There is an inherent difficulty in spatially dealing with cultural landscapes in the developing world. Among traditional cultures, space is valued because of its tangible

and intangible heritage. While a place's tangible heritage may delimit the boundaries of a cultural landscape, the intangible heritage deconstructs the limits of place. As with the case of Bali and many other cultures that possess a distinct world view, scale considers both the tangible and intangible characteristics of its heritage. It is the people who have a human relationship to this landscape that become anchored to it by their religious, artistic, spiritual, cultural, productive or ecological connections (Buggey & Mitchell, 2008). In turn, these landscapes become "mnemonic devices for recalling the narratives that instruct the people from generation to generation in knowing and living with these landscapes" (Buggey & Mitchell, 2008, p. 169). To spatially define these landscapes when not familiar with the narrative is to deconstruct the tangible and intangible heritage associated with this place.

### **From Local to UNESCO**

The World Heritage Convention's definition of cultural landscapes insists that we increasingly seek out the universal value in a place as a prerequisite for significance. At this scale, "too global an analysis ignores the local differences and examples" at play in a place like Bali. But without looking toward the universal applicability of this research, "too local an analysis ignores the wider global forces" and lessons that can be learned from this type of research (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 302). Understanding the interconnectedness of nature and culture at different scales we gain access to more diverse world views, cultural traditions, and natural resources that shape a more comprehensive approach to heritage values and management objectives (Buggey & Mitchell, 2008). The Balinese are no exception. The reality is that cultural landscapes are an increasingly popular destination type for tourists who travel to the developing

world. This reality is supported by the increasing number of cultural landscapes being nominated to the World Heritage List each year since 1992.

### **Culture as Agent, Landscape as Medium**

While cultural landscapes have gained institutional notoriety since the 1990s, the concept goes back much further to early twentieth-century cultural geographer Carl Sauer. Sauer is given credit for the term “cultural landscape” as he was one of the first to consider the relationship between human beings and their environments, arguing that “people had as great an effect on the physical environment as it had upon them” (Riesenweber, 2008, p. 23). From Sauer’s early writings, cultural landscapes became generally thought of as the impact of human activity on a natural environment. Such interpretations of cultural landscapes “treat the landscape as a material thing and stress the impact of culture on nature” (Riesenweber, 2008, p. 23). We see this concept of nature as a product of culture for much of the twentieth century as a result of Sauer’s calculated explanation of culture landscape, whereby “culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the culture landscape the result” (Riesenweber, 2008, p. 24). Today, nature and culture are no longer considered in such dichotomous terms, but rather as involved in a systemic relationship that exists within the cultural landscape. In this sense, landscape has moved away from being just a tract of land, to existing as an idea. Landscape as an idea means accepting the ambiguity that exists between and among its many layered meanings. It is through these layers of landscape meaning as ways of seeing the world that we “discover its links to broader historical structures and processes” (Riesenweber, 2008, p. 26), and are thus able to understand different landscape interpretations nested within a given society and culture.

Different landscape experiences will influence different interpretations of the landscape. Recognizing what influences this difference is part of getting at the complete narrative of place. Variance among these interpretations may include interpretations that are static, interpretations that are steeped in history and tradition, or interpretations that are evolving, as we discovered to be the case with the interpretations of the community youth in Ubud.

### **The Landscape Experience**

Fundamental to landscape experience for any relevant group is how these experiences are communicated and by whom stories of place are told? Thus, the value in communicating the meaning and significance of such landscapes is that this process serves to frame attitudes and guide local actions. Whose interpretation of the memories and meaning of place and what influences these interpretations are questions that guide this research. The human connection to the landscape creates a human experience, and it is through this experience that is told that narrates stories of place. However, whose story is told rarely comes into question, but we cast this into relief as we consider community youth as participants in documenting the village landscape of Ubud.

All too often we treat place as a static entity, where one set of cultural values exists and they are cohesively believed across the breadth of community members. Furthermore, and of particular relevance to this research is the assumption that traditional ways of life have not adapted to global pressures, when in fact in Bali, as part of an emerging developing nation, assumptions about local scales and global scales collide and elide. As such, the knowledge held at the local level about history, culture, and the environment is not necessarily homogeneous. Because this knowledge is so varied and diverse, it thus cannot be assumed that participation by people at a local

increment is a collective or authentic behavior representative of the entire community. The tendency to generalize or conflate the nuances of scale, community composition, values, and behaviors can be refuted by considering the different methods traditionally used to communicate meanings of landscape and place.

### **Different Readings and Interpretations of the Landscape**

Reading the landscape is the initial step toward understanding how landscape experiences differ among different groups. It is through this process of reading the landscape that reveals deeper meaning of the places people inhabit. However, it is the vantage-point from which such landscapes are read that is critical and thereby serves as an entry point into this research. There are internal readings of the landscape that have been passed down from generation to generation by esteemed elders through oral traditions and there are less formal readings that surface on the periphery of these narratives that challenge and/or contribute to the authenticity of such landscape stories. Then there are the external colonial readings that compound the majesty of place with the realities of power and control, as have occurred in Bali. From these stories emanate stories of struggle, destruction, and loss in periods of post-colonization from those who suffer from struggle, who lament the destruction, or who chronicle the loss. These post-colonial stories suggest that landscape narratives can be an internal and external articulation, whereby both vantage points are relative. Nevertheless, reading the landscape clues and piecing together the narrative is a give-and-take between those most intimately familiar with its details and those spatially trained to analyze and synthesize these details. It is the resulting narrative that will realize the potential of place while also capturing the heritage of its evolutionary past. The question becomes, then, how will this narrative be communicated? The tension that exists between internal

and external stories of place cannot be reconciled in one comprehensive narrative, instead, participatory methods provide the best avenue by which to interpret varying landscape experiences.

### **Landscape Change as the only Constant**

Pre-Socratic Greek philosopher Heraclitus wrote that “nothing endures but change” (Ridley, 2009, p. 251). For the landscape, change is inevitable and is perhaps the only constant when considering landscapes through time and across space. Landscapes are not static and are always in a state of flux, but how we embrace, anticipate and ultimately manage the natural progression of landscape change while keeping the threats at bay is not as evident as the fact that landscape change is a constant. Further compounding challenges associated with managing landscape change is the fact that while landscape change is not static, at times people’s interpretations can be. Teasing out people’s perceptions of landscape change necessitates a participatory process that hones in on the nuances of place through people’s experiences in that place. Doing so encourages temporal and spatial scales to become the metrics for the tangible and intangible changes people experience through time and across place (Potteiger and Purinton, 1998).

### **Evolution of Landscape Narrative through Experiences**

Landscape narratives are how we come to understand the tangible and intangible changes to the landscape. Just as the landscape experience has evolved to accommodate tourists, different agricultural practices, or greater or less density depending on rural to urban migration, so too have the methods for telling stories. Traditional methods in the evolution of landscape narratives have been documentary and dimensionally flat in nature, whereby such methods as social mapping or

documentary film-making have focused on production. Emerging technologies are becoming increasingly participatory and process-oriented, thus giving the landscape experience more dimension.

### **Traditional Documentary Film Making Methods**

Traditional documentary methods have been owned almost exclusively by the discipline of visual and cultural anthropology. Historically, documentary filmmaking assumed many different forms that portrayed the realities of its subjects' lives, but documentary films have always remained the authored products of the filmmaker (Hall, 1992). In documentary filmmaking, the subjects rarely have any say if they have a say at all in how they will be represented. Instead the films are centered around a single or select point of view, interpreted and presented by an individual filmmaker. Furthermore, documentary films are often expected to meet stringent aesthetic standards and are usually made with a large audience in mind (Ferriera, 2006; Hall, 1992). Additional characteristics of documentary films include that a director or filmmaker shoots and produced the film; scripts are typically written by the filmmaker, who also decides on the film content; audiences are not usually determined and are instead intended for a critical (interested) mass, who then are not necessarily targeted with the intention of producing actual feedback on the film; and finally documentary films are most often product oriented, where the process of filming is only committed to a terminal objective—the film itself.

In contrast, the participatory video process is “less concerned with appearance than with content, and the films are usually made with particular audiences and objectives in mind” (Ferriera, 2006, p. 45). Participatory video enables the subjects to make their own film in which they can shape issues according to their own sense of

what is important, and control how they will be represented. Landscape films are one method of participatory video that is focused on guiding or facilitating a process that is centered around a contributing voice pre-determined to be significance to the process and the context in which the process is implemented.

### **Participatory Video**

Participatory video is an avenue for participants to rapidly learn how to use video equipment through games and activities. This process is largely encouraged through the use of facilitators who help participating groups identify and analyze important issues in their community through a project sequence. Historically, participatory video has placed particular emphasis on process, frequently at the expense of product. Yet participatory video has been executed by different individuals who usually adapt the method to their particular needs and situations. As a result, the literature on participatory video technology is sparse and growing increasingly dated. Nevertheless, participatory video has become more widely used with the increasing accessibility and affordability of digital video equipment (Ferreira, 2006).

There are generally eight different approaches to participatory video. The landscape filming process in this research integrates five of these eight approaches into the project sequence: (1) celebrating achievements and oral histories, (2) exploration and raising awareness, (3) developing group identity, (4) exploring an issue, and (5) getting a message across (Shaw & Robertson, 1997). In addition to the social and cultural characteristics of the method logistically, “digital video allows for computerized editing, making editing simpler, more flexible and less linear” (Ferreira, 2006, p. 33), which was supported throughout the project sequence leading up to the landscape films. Furthermore, the affordability of digital video technologies allows for the

production of high quality sound and images, as well as immediate editing using software available on the average computer (Burnett, 1991). In editing digital video in general, “sequences can be exchanged and copied without loss, sound and picture can easily be separated and exchanged and copied without quality degradation, and subtitles can be easily added” without a great deal of editing expertise by those whom participate in the video process (Ferreira, 2006, p. 33-4). More specific to participatory video, participants always have full editorial control and thus the message and meaning of the films is theirs. The overall process produces short videos and messages that are directed and filmed by participants. This footage is then shared with the wider community at a screening. These screenings may happen once, as in the case of the project in Bali, or may be more incremental throughout the project process. Finally, participatory video’s “low budget aesthetic” helps contribute to the perceived legitimacy of the video content by those who view the content, as well as those who produce it (Shaw & Robertson, 1997, p. 67).

Participatory video also facilitates exchange and learning as a result of participation in the actual process. While digital video is not as analytical as other forms of media or as objective as other documentary techniques, it:

creates vivid, strong, and often lasting impressions. It conveys a powerful sense of intimacy and of immediacy. It forces us to make comparisons and to question values that we may previously have taken for granted or considered as unchallengeable. It often asks us to consider who and what we are, and why we do what we do. It encourages us to examine more closely the forces that control our lives and determine our livelihoods” (Hall, 1991, p. 188).

Thus, to make video effective, it has to be placed in the context from which the project sequence is derived. Participatory video can be a powerful means of documenting local people’s experiences, needs and hopes from their own perspectives. Participatory

video also plays a significant role in community heritage preservation and conservation in its documentary capacity (Lunch & Lunch, 2006). In such instances, facilitators as well as community members must learn how to use the medium to clearly articulate a set of problems while at the same time deepening their collective understanding around the issue.

### **Capturing Forces of Impact on Continuing Cultural Landscapes**

The forces of impact are tangibly and intangibly manifested and neither is any more or less important, yet traditional participatory approaches fall short insofar as they capture only the tangible, as these generally hold meaning to a popular mass in a community setting. Because the idea of landscape not only serves as a backdrop setting for stories, but it itself a changing, eventful figure, processes that engage the stories of landscape and incorporate the character of landscape are necessary to capture the changing nature of these places through time and across space. This study evaluates the project sequence leading up to the landscape films that couples video technology with very deliberate participation strategies to build a narrative that is reflective of how the community youth perceive the forces of impact on a cultural landscape that very much is in continual use in their daily lives.

### **Coupling Participation with an Emerging Technology**

If for Carl Sauer “culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the culture landscape the result” (Riesenweber, 2008, p. 24), then for participatory video we can invoke Marshall McLuhan’s popularly misquoted<sup>13</sup> phrase, “the medium is the

---

<sup>13</sup> The actual title of McLuhan’s book is *The Medium is the Massage*, but has been widely quoted as *The Medium is the Message* since he first published the book in 1967 (although the first used the phrase in *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* published in 1965).

message” (McLuhan, 1965), whereby video as a medium received credit for communicating the message of the landscape narrative, but it is really the process, or agent that acts through and by the medium that holds real significance. Furthermore, McLuhan’s popularly-quoted title suggests that it is not the technology itself that matters in the case of participatory video, but who creates that message and subsequently what we do with that message that holds meaning. Video technology can be easily integrated into a participatory process because it is accessible and immediate, as well as easily recognizable to potential participants. Participatory video validates the different vantage points from which the experience of place is communicated, as well as the authority of this narrative based on different landscape experiences.

### **Building a Narrative**

Landscape narratives become both a story with content as well as the telling of this story, or the expression of those whose story is being told (Potteiger & Purinton, 1998). Yet if these narratives are communicated by a group other than what is the norm for oral traditions in a culture, what do others make of this particular story? While the project sequence does disrupt oral traditions by invoking a group other than village elders, so too does the project sequence present an alternative method by which to communicate the narrative.

There is a tendency to think of narratives primarily as a “temporal art” and “landscape as something visual, spatial, an unchanging background and therefore non-narrative” (Potteiger & Purinton, 1998, p. 7). However, “narratives combine two dimensions, one a temporal sequence of events and the other a nonchronological configuration that organizes narratives into spatial patterns (Potteiger & Purinton, 1998, p. 7). Narratives are already implicit to landscapes, inscribed by natural processes and

cultural practices. Constantly in process of being made and unmade, “landscapes become open narratives without the closure and clear plot structure of conventional stories” (Potteiger & Purinton, 1998, p. 19). Therefore, understanding narratives on this level requires more than reading a historic inventory or visual survey; it involves special attention to methods and enough time to engage the rhythms and dimension of a place. Using participatory video to document the village landscape of Ubud suggests a method to build new narratives about the village landscape that weaves traditional conventions of Balinese cultural heritage with what threatens this heritage. Furthermore, these narratives are assimilated by a method that engages participation and a particular technology to work in tandem through a process that is spatially and culturally situated.



Figure 2-1. Image of the sawah surrounding Ubud, Bali. Image representative of rice-terraced landscapes of Ubud. [Image taken by Jocelyn Widmer on May 16, 2009]

## CHAPTER 3 METHODS

This research evaluates the process of building a narrative about cultural landscapes by engaging a group of participants in the Bali Field School project sequence. While the film product is the deliverable of the project sequence, the process itself needs to be considered since it influenced and created the product—the landscape films. At different stages, the project sequence produced hand-drafted community maps, narrative accounts, storyboards, and films. The data analysis phase will explore the content developed at these different increments in the project sequence in an attempt to validate the overall process that went into creating the collection of landscape films.

This chapter will introduce the progression of the project sequence in conjunction with those materials that were instrumental in guiding the research process.<sup>14</sup> The materials vary from more didactic introductions to abstract concepts of landscape, but then give way to more graphic and narrative materials that were instrumental in evolving an understanding of landscape at a particular scale—the village landscape. This chapter will also explore the deliverables that resulted from the process by way of introducing some of the emergent themes that can be interpreted from the process of making landscape films. With these emergent themes, it will also be important to understand what we learned about the process from talking directly with three different groups involved: a voluntary assembly of people from the community of Ubud who screened the films, the US students who worked as project facilitators throughout the process, and Sekolah Menengah Pertama students who were the project participants.

---

<sup>14</sup> A thorough explanation of the Bali Field School project sequence can be found in Appendix A.

This triage of participant insights unveils some shared views of these different groups, but also the discrepancies in interpretations of what the process meant between and among those involved in the study. This collection of internal and external observations reveal what it means to solicit the participation of one particular group in a community to articulate development pressures on a landscape that they all share, yet which holds very different meanings to different groups of people within Ubud.

### **General Research Approach**

Paulo Freire<sup>15</sup> and his early twentieth-century predecessors considered participatory action learning a conduit for the researcher, it has evolved into a method that allows the participants themselves to address specific issues (Sillitoe et al., 2002; Stringer, 2007). Because of this, outcomes are difficult to predict, and thus, causation is hard to pin down. This study addresses the process of facilitated participation using video in local communities facing pressures associated with development. This study seeks to answer how the process of facilitated participation using video encourages a landscape perception that is locally situated and culturally informed among a particular group in a community. The research questions will address three specific issues within the context of this study: (1) How does participation work throughout the sequence of a project aimed at producing films about landscape? (2) How does the project sequence encourage participants to articulate their particular landscape perceptions (specifically about development pressures)? (3) How do others not directly involved in the project sequence, but associated with the same landscape, respond to these perceptions?

---

<sup>15</sup> Paulo Freire was an educator in the early to mid-twentieth century who first promoted the idea of learning as an act of culture and freedom (Sillitoe et al., 2002). Participatory action research, where the research action is situated in a specific context, derives from Freire's early theoretical and pedagogical development in participatory learning techniques .

These research questions are derived from the 2009 Bali Field School project sequence that produced a collection of landscape films in the Balinese village of Ubud.

### **Introduction to Bali Field School's ISLE Structure**

The 2009 Bali Field School is a program run through the University of Florida and draws upon field school participants. The Bali Field School is an International Service Learning Exchange (ISLE) program through by the University of Florida's College of Design, Construction, and Planning that explores the integration of international experiences, service learning, and knowledge exchange. The program draws from faculty research involvement in international development and planning, especially through the School of Landscape Architecture and Urban and Regional Planning.

Within the structure of ISLE, the international component is intended to offer students experiences outside of their own familiar contexts. The ISLE program is designed to provide US students with an understanding of a variety of contexts within both the cultural and landscape realm, that might resonate in their future careers as landscape architects and planners. At its core, this approach is intended to throw cultural biases into relief as students explore context-specific issues and challenges that necessitate solutions that are equally context-specific.

The service learning component expands upon traditional classroom learning in the disciplines of landscape architecture and planning to incorporate how and why ideas have real, applicable, and integrated relevance. In doing so, some of the deficiencies that exist in a studio environment can be compensated for through field experience. An intended consequence of the service learning component of ISLE is that the thinking and effort devoted to exploring these ideas might have some benefit to the communities that program participants work with.

Finally, the exchange is based on collaboration between students and faculty. The program recognizes the importance of sharing ideas and exchanging world views. Thus, the exchange under the ISLE structure occurs on multiple levels (formally and informally) between students, faculty, and community members.

The pedagogy of the 2009 Bali Field School program was designed in a four-part sequence that culminates with the production of landscape films. The program structure included (1) regional and methodological contextualization through a series of preparatory seminars, (2) a trial run of the project sequence through a workshop setting with students from the University of Florida and Udayana University, (3) implementation of the landscape film sequence within an identified village in Bali, and (4) dissemination of the landscape films through a community-wide film screening that was intended to increase awareness of some of the development pressures that are identified in the films.

The research undertaken for this dissertation derives from observations made as a participant in the four-part sequence of the Bali Field School. This research follows the trajectory of the landscape filming process by reflecting on the project sequence leading up to the production of the landscape films, the participatory exchanges that were fostered by this process, and then how this process was interpreted by those who viewed the landscape films, but who did not participate directly in the activities associated with the project sequence.

It is necessary to begin with an explanation of the organizing structure and project sequence for developing the landscape films, including who was involved in the process, the basic landscape focus of the project, and how project coordination,

facilitation, and participation were implemented. The distinction between the Bali Field School and this dissertation research is that the former ceases with the public screening of the film, *Our Sawah*. This research follows up on the production of the landscape films through three distinct follow up discussions based on the process of creating the landscape films. The data processing and analysis phase for this dissertation, then, couples the collection of landscape films and the themes that emerged from the follow up discussions to understand the implications of the participatory process used to produce the landscape films about Ubud's village landscapes.

### **Organizational Structure for Developing Landscape Films**

The organizational structure for developing the collection of landscape films revolved around project participants and project location. While decisions about the context in which the landscape films would be produced ultimately affected who participated, it is important to outline the general characteristics of the participant groups. There are two primary characteristics of interest in the groups who came together to participate in the landscape filming process: (1) inclusion of community youth in the process and (2) how inclusion of this particular group affected other groups' reception of their interpretations and values associated with the village landscape. Juxtaposing these two characteristics of interest poses a more incremental understanding of group participation than what the literature typically assumes. The project coordination and facilitation groups (an external group structure) evolved to work within the framework set forth by these different internal group dynamics, as well as to understand how these dynamics ultimately affected how the landscape films were received by community members of Ubud.

## **Groups Involved in the Bali Field School Project**

The broad study population consisted of two groups of contributors: (1) community youth ages thirteen to fourteen years from the Sekolah Menengah Pertama in Ubud and (2) Ubud community members. A third group involved in the project was student facilitators who facilitated the responses from the two groups of local contributors. The Bali Field School participants from the University of Florida and the Udayana University students made up the facilitation team.

## **Community Youth**

Rural to urban migration is a common trend in the developing world. Cities entice many individuals to abandon the more traditional rural lifestyles. The urban appeal is no exception to traditional rural communities in Bali, Indonesia as more and more individuals seek an improved quality of life than what their traditional rural livelihoods can support and sustain. Among those most eager to seek opportunities in urban environments are younger generations who search for employment in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy in urban areas. As young people face these decisions, their perception of the place in which they live may play into this decision to leave. What individuals understand about their home environment can be a window into the complex and variegated cultural landscapes of a community.

Twenty community youth ages thirteen to fourteen years-old from the Sekolah Menengah Pertama in Ubud agreed to participate in producing the landscape films. This group of participants were still in school (therefore easily organized), thus making these students available and accessible to contribute to the project from a single sampling source (Bernard, 2000; Patton, 2002). Students at this age were likely to be increasingly aware of the opportunities, choices, and technologies that lay available to

them in the future and in places other than Ubud, yet were also representative of the local values, customs, and traditions associated with the communities residing in Ubud and surrounding villages.

It is important to note that this age-group was selected also based on its historically under-represented status in community decisions and actions in the developing world. There is insufficient evidence that this age-group of contributors have been included in participatory development activities.<sup>16</sup> While many project implications point toward more inclusionary sample populations—including youth and women—only recently have participatory projects begun to explore different combinations of contributors (and these have primarily been women) (Hickey & Mohan, 2004).

### **Ubud Community Members**

Balinese customary institutions overlap and interact in complex ways that ultimately form basic units of local social organization (Geertz, 1991). Local institutions contain a “fusion of traditional principles of popular participation and local leadership with modern concepts of democracy” (Geertz, 1991, p. 213). The Indonesian state relies heavily upon participatory structures for carrying out its rural development program and promotes a national ideology celebrating the continuity of values of consensus, mutual assistance, and self-help (Geertz, 1991). The exaggerated stereotype of the homogenous and unchanging village community conveys an unrealistic portrait of the possibilities as well as the limitations of village institutions in a changing social and economic environment. Balinese villages are neither homogeneous nor closed and tightly integrated; rather, villages in Bali are “socially and

---

<sup>16</sup> The community youth were asked during the follow up discussion whether they had ever participated in a similar project, and the answer was overwhelmingly no from all twenty community youth.

economically stratified and organizationally de-centered” (Geertz, 1991, p. 214). The major customary corporate institutions at the village level in Bali are the (1) customary village (2) hamlet (3) irrigation association (4) voluntary work group (5) temple congregation and (6) patrilinear descent group. Covarrubias noted that “every village [is a] closely unified organism in which the communal policy is harmony and cooperation” (Covarubias 1946, p. 12). Ubud’s community members continue to be a voluntary amalgam of these different traditional customs and institutions. Today, the harmony and cooperation is not just an agreement among the adult members of society, but pronounced among the youth who continue to “have a strong sense of pride” as observed by Covarrubias (Covarubias, 1946, p. 11). This study’s success hinged on the pride that the youth participants, also members of this unified organism, were willing to share.

### **Project Facilitators**

Two groups of university students facilitated the participatory process. The Bali Field School participants were a mix of undergraduate landscape architecture and graduate urban and regional planning students. The US students were supported by three faculty members and thirteen undergraduate students from Udayana University in Denpasar (Bali), Indonesia (approximately one-hour’s drive from the project site and one of the major universities in Bali). Udayana students were pursuing undergraduate degrees in architecture<sup>17</sup>, and the concept of “landscape” was not as familiar to them as it was for the US students.

---

<sup>17</sup> Udyana University has neither a program in Landscape Architecture nor in Urban and Regional Planning. However, the faculty expertise at Udyana University allows these disciplines to be introduced in a basic way into the Architecture curriculum at the undergraduate level.

## **Project Coordinators**

The project was coordinated and led by a Landscape Architecture faculty member from the University of Florida and supported by two doctoral research assistants from the University of Florida's department of Urban and Regional Planning. One of the two research assistants, was an Indonesian, so his familiarity with culture and language augmented the logistics of the project. The project coordination team initiated the project sequence as it was communicated and implemented in a cascading effect beginning with the project coordinators and eventually disseminated to the participating community youth.

## **Assimilation of Project Coordination, Facilitation and Participation**

The project ran throughout the month of May 2009, with a total of twelve working days (see Table 3-1). The structure of the program was based on a cascade of information flow from the faculty and two graduate assistants to the US students, who then communicated with the Udayana University students, who in turn communicated to the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students (see Figure 3-1). This cascade effect was two-fold in purpose. First, this strategy for information dissemination was intended to draw on the research expertise and experience of the faculty advisor and graduate assistants, while at the same time making sure the information was appropriately communicated from group to group. The second purpose of this information cascade was to address language barriers and translation opportunities into the communication structure without isolating groups that had language barriers. This arrangement fostered a seamless environment where English and Bahasa Indonesia were constantly in chorus (and each group was able to hone their language skills at the same time). The overriding effect of communication between the project coordination team to the

project facilitators and finally to the project participants was intended to resemble a cascade. The cascade began with the project coordination team working with the US students each day through context and project orientation. Each day's activities were communicated and often simulated (especially when working graphically in the afternoons). Amidst these working sessions with the US students, a day-long introductory workshop with the Udayana students was held in the exact location where the project would occur. The project sequence was presented in approximately the same format as the project would proceed. The project working sessions became a repetition of the process done with the facilitators (first with the US students and then with the US students and the Udayana students). What is interesting to note is that the US students never seemed to grasp this cascade effect. They were waiting to take control of the project, despite the fact that the project was never supposed to be controlled from the top-down.

More specifically, morning working sessions were held with the faculty advisor, the two graduate assistants and the US students. These sessions introduced the premise of the project in the local and regional context of Bali, Indonesia. They also explored the methods employed by the project, including participatory research, participation and community development, and participatory video as an avenue of documenting landscape legacy. By contextualizing the project, the project increments came to life in terms of their geographic and cultural relevance to the heritage of the area, and also through its relevance to the pressures threatening this heritage in the face of development. The morning working sessions created a dynamic where the faculty

advisor and the two graduate assistants were the facilitators and the US students were the participants.

Afternoon sessions saw these roles shift when the US students became the project facilitators (along with the Udayana University students), and information from the morning working sessions was disseminated as a series of activities to bring the project sequence into fruition. While some interaction did occur among the entire group of facilitators and project participants, most of the interaction occurred in smaller facilitator-participant groups, or production teams. These groups were comprised of one University of Florida student, one Udayana University student, and two Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were grouped in pairs based on the proximity of their houses, which will be explained under the Community Map section to follow. There were a total of ten production teams each contributing to the production of one of the ten landscape films.

### **Identified Challenges to Participation**

There are always challenges associated with participation. Fundamentally, it is realistic to ask “Why do people participation?” and to keep asking this question throughout the course of a project that is participatory in nature. In general, participation is time consuming and potentially costly for participants. Participants can become apathetic to the process or lack commitment when the project evidences little apparent value. It is also important to consider the authentic or genuine nature of participants, as the outcomes can potentially influence (directly or indirectly) the social and political dynamics in a community. In the case of the Bali Field School project, identified participants and their parents had the choice (through the Institutional Review

Board process<sup>18</sup>) of whether or not to participate. It is also important to consider the level of commitment of other project contributors, in this case the University students, and the effect that their level of commitment had on the impact of the project. In this case, it was difficult to sustain their engagement in the project at all times.

While there was a remarkable level of participation among all three groups of participants (US students, Udayana University students, and Sekolah Menengah Pertama students), the project was marked by challenges to the level of participation at different moments throughout the project cycle. It is important to note that attrition levels remained relatively low among all three groups. The only group that changed composition during the process was the students from Udayana University. A few students dropped out of the process after the initial workshop because of the time commitment, but numbers remained consistent for all other groups.

Language also served as a challenge to participation for the Udayana University students. Given the structure of the program, their role as facilitator and mediator between the US students and the community youth (and program coordinators) required substantial energy over and above executing the project. The Udayana University students carried a significant role in the process because the US students did not have the language capabilities to communicate seamlessly with the community youth contributors. This issue was further compounded by individual personalities. A few of the Udayana University students were gregarious, and as a result, the program

---

<sup>18</sup> The Institutional Review Board (IRB) is an independent committee in place at the University of Florida to approve and monitor research involving human subjects. The IRB approved this research involving the community youth participants from Sekolah Menengah Pertama under the condition that their parents grant consent for their involvement. Informed consent forms were handed out to each potential community youth participant so that they could obtain their parents' approval. The project activities commenced once all potential community youth participants had obtained their parents' consent.

coordinators along with the US students tended to depend on these students even more throughout the process. As a result, their absence or tardiness, due to the considerable commute required of all Udayana University students from Denpasar to Ubud significantly delayed a day's activities and progress in several instances.

### **Study Context**

The Bali Field School project was carried out in Ubud, Bali (see Figure 3-2). Ubud was selected based on the documented cultural heritage of the area, access to identified project participants necessary to produce the landscape films, and logistical challenges associated with working with Udayana University students away from their main campus. Even with the commuting challenges, Ubud was selected as the study site because of its rich cultural and artistic traditions dating back centuries and then more recently revived during the 1930s international recognition Bali acquired. Ubud has also been an important destination to the tourism industry since the 1970s.

In addition to Ubud's cultural distinctiveness, its location in the south-central foothills of Bali contributes to the area's diverse natural features. The village is bisected by several stream courses running from north to south. The close proximity of Ubud to the surrounding villages gives the illusion that the area is one village at the pedestrian scaled experience, when in fact Ubud is surrounded by many smaller villages, including Nyuh Kuning, Peliatan and Penestanan (among others), each contributing to the traditional art culture of the Ubud area, as well as maintaining landscapes that simultaneously support urban development and rice paddies.

### **Definitions of Scale in a Spatially-Oriented Society**

This study uses scale as a way to organize the conceptual framework for understanding and communicating culture and development in the context of Ubud.

Most large-scale planning projects to accommodate landscape change at the urban or regional scale has been initiated by external, international agencies (albeit executed at the national level), such as the tourism master plan that took shape in the 1970s (Silver, 2007). However, the Balinese are adept at working at the detail of the garden scale. The project sequence utilizes language and activities geared toward understanding landscape change that lies between these two extremes (regional and detail), and this research study reflects on how spatially situating the project activities at this middle ground scale frames further conversations about scales that radiate from this middle ground or village scale.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the project sequence builds upon activities at the middle ground scale, or that scale of landscape that can best be understood spatially at the village level (Bali Field School, 2009). Furthermore, the change that is occurring to the landscape at the middle ground or village scale is influencing and impacting the traditional way of life throughout Bali, and particularly Ubud. Change that occurs at this middle ground scale affects a community's identity, association to place, and the attachment to that place (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007).

### **Diversity of Scales**

Ubud's changing landscape is influenced by a number of different scales anchored by the village landscape scale. Further complicating the issue of scale is at what scale different resources are perceived to exist and at what scale they are changing. The dominant resource of interest in this research is the *sawah*, rice fields, or existing as patches amidst what is becoming a corridor of urban development in and around Ubud. In its absolute term, the *sawah* as a resource is approached as a constant. However,

---

<sup>19</sup> More detail on the relationship between broader development themes at different scales will be discussed in Chapter 4.

the *sawah* exists as a product of a system that is both cultural and natural. According to Balinese tradition, the scale of this system can be deemed as infinite, an exchange between the physical and the spiritual world, or more finitely defined according to the *kaja-kelod*, north-south orientation toward the mountains and the sea, which will be described in the following section. In either instance, systemic perceptions of the *sawah* affect the scale of the resource and those determining factors that play into keeping the system in motion. Finally, there is a third scale that is even more abstract than the potentially infinite scale of the *sawah* system as it exists between the spiritual and the natural world for the Balinese, and that is the scale and rate of development, which is communicated in hypothetical or future terms. How to move between scales of resources by way of communication and language was an important component of the project sequence that influenced the execution of project activities. Early on, the project coordination team and project facilitators worked together to create a spatial language that would offer some consistency as the project sequence's activities would maneuver between the multiple scales affecting the *sawah*. By doing so, a graphic standard was created to represent and communicate scale in two dimensions, which drew heavily from contemporary landscape architecture studio graphic conventions.<sup>20</sup> Not only were these graphic conventions used to illustrate places as anchor points (such as forests, rice paddies, temples communal areas, homes, and schools), but also captured transects and boundaries to show how people moved through and used spaces.

---

<sup>20</sup> These graphic conventions include plan and sections, where landscape spaces and features are depicted in a conventional set of symbols and styles currently taught in US-based landscape architecture studios (Davis & Walker, 2000; Reid, 2002).

Recognizing the different scales that radiate beyond (regional or island scale) and within (detail scale) the village landscape of Ubud, the project sequence incorporated activities that approach the idea of landscape as working at multiple levels. Three increments of scale were communicated to introduce this general concept of landscape as could be interpreted as a spatially-relevant division of the Balinese ordering system: (1) foreground, (2) middle ground, and (3) background. Landscape is universally understood as an idea at the small or garden scale, or the “foreground.” Landscape scale can also be considered at the middle ground, or local scale. Activities in the project sequence draw upon this scale, as it most closely aligns with the village of Ubud as a whole. Finally much more broadly, the idea of landscape can be regional with consideration toward whole natural and social systems that affect the relationship between humans and place. At this background or regional scale, the landscape might grapple with issues that affect the island of Bali, Indonesia, or Southeast Asia more generally.

In these spatial divisions, it is important to recognize that landscapes and human habitation and settlement patterns within these landscapes are different between cultures and reflect different world views. This was an idea that activities in the project sequence were especially sensitive to. The sequence of project activities were strategically introduced so that they aligned with participants’ growing understanding of landscape and scale. Observations noted throughout the project sequence reveal that participants’ understanding of landscape and scale evolved with the continued use of these same terms and concepts. As a result, the project sequence was greatly

influenced by and evolved from the ebb and flow of the concept of landscape as it was culturally explained and made relevant to the community youth.

### **Landscape Focus throughout Project Sequence**

The project sequence was derived from the aforementioned landscape focus at the village scale of Ubud. A general introduction to the project was made by weaving the proceeding project activities to the concept of landscape and stories of place. This was a particularly challenging component of the project sequence since the group of community youth were observed to be generally unfamiliar with the term and concept of landscape. This was further compounded by the fact that the project facilitators from Udayana University were architecture students. To prepare participants to work with the concept of landscape, production teams exchanged stories of where each individual came from at the neighborhood level. *Banjar* is the social and spatial equivalent to western notions of neighborhood; so using a term consistently recognized between groups, this particular activity was able to engage the scale of interest to the project while also beginning to articulate stories at this relevant scale.

The concept of landscape is difficult to explain to a group of thirteen and fourteen year-olds, but especially in a setting when the vernacular is a highly layered, assembled, and engineered landscape. This was a concept that we had to continually define and re-define as our understanding began to align with that of the participants. The Balinese also have a unique, highly ordered spatial sense that revolves around the concept of *kaja-kelod*, which are cardinal points equivalent of north and south, with north facing Mount Agung and south facing toward the sea. To the Balinese, Bali is the entire world. They are one of the rare island peoples in the world who turn their eyes not outward to the oceans, but upwards to the mountain tops (Covarrubias, 1946).

Initial challenges to spatial orientation arose because the Balinese are very detail-oriented, and the *kaja-kelod* scheme is most accessible at the foreground level, or that within the walls of the family home. Getting participants to think of space beyond those walls was challenging. Also getting them to move beyond the level of detail that is characteristic of the Balinese aesthetic tradition was a challenge. Initial project activities used these more intimate scales as a starting point to establish spatial boundaries and scales within landscapes that were familiar to the participants. A village mapping exercise was the first activity in the process of broadening participants' notion of space.

### **Project Materials and Project Deliverables**

The project sequence maneuvered between activities that were designed to influence the resulting content, and activities that guided the resulting content through examples. The project made use of four different categories of examples related to the landscape focus to guide the process and thus the content of the landscape films: (1) graphic, (2) narrative, (3) template, and (4) technology. These four categories of examples are illustrated in the seven stages of the project sequence described in more detail in Appendix A (see Table 3-2). At each of these four stages, the facilitation team provided a specific example to demonstrate the increment in the project sequence that the participants would then execute. Community mapping was demonstrated with a graphic example; narrative development was explained through a narrative example; the storyboarding exercise was conveyed through a template example; and finally preparations for filming were made through a technological demonstration using Flip video cameras that were used in the field. This method posed a great challenge in creating a process that encouraged creativity and individual expression while also prescribing direction throughout the process. This prescribed direction came mainly in

the form of assigning themes to each of the ten production teams so that each of the ten landscape documentaries explored a particular theme relevant to the history, function, meaning, or sustainability of the wet-rice terraced landscape in Ubud. It is also important to note that the process and subsequent use of examples had to be adaptive throughout the project sequence to accommodate emerging definitions of landscape as landscape became better understood by project participants.

### **Project Sequence**

The project approach built incrementally upon a basic orientation toward and contextualization in Bali, including the accumulating influences of culture, the environment, history, religion, politics, social structures, and tourism. The project sequence was grounded in Bali as a cultural landscape, with the focus being the rice-terraced landscapes of southern Bali at the village scale, or in an urban setting. The project approached the village landscape as an amalgamation of these forces (culture, the environment, history, religion, politics, social structures, and tourism) that are especially expressed in the village-scale community heritage.

The collection of landscape films derive from a project sequence that initiated a series of activities meant to orient participants toward the village landscape in Ubud, what that landscape means to the particular group of participants, and then what they perceive as threatening the integrity of that landscape. What is important about the project sequence is the progression of activities so that each subsequent activity would build upon the product from the previous activity. While the process adapted and evolved, the structure or framework for the process existed from the onset so that participants could have confidence in the project facilitators, as well as understand that the project was always working toward some specific goal, or in this case making films.

The project sequence involved seven activities (see Table 3-3): (1) Community Map; (2) Story Mapping; (3) Places I Like, Places I Dislike; (4) Identification of Landscape Themes; (5) Constructing the Narrative; (6) Storyboarding; and (7) Film Production.

### **Resulting Collection of Landscape Films**

The project sequence produced a collection of ten stand-alone landscape films. The ten individual films were assembled into one file with credits rolling at the end of the last film. In the sense of product deliverables, then, these ten landscape films are the significant yield from the process. It is important to note that this project sequence produced a number of different sets of material, including ten story maps, ten narratives and ten storyboards. This material was digitally documented after the process was completed and has been used in the analysis and interpretation of the project sequence.

### **Introduction to Research Methods**

The project sequence leading up to and including the making of the landscape films is what this study aims to evaluate. The lengthy discussion about project context and cultural landscapes in Bali (and Ubud specifically) preceding the introduction of these research methods is necessary based on one subsequence question that surfaces in the project implications: What about the process of making landscape films was context specific to the village landscape of Ubud and what about the process could be generalized to comment on engaging participation of a particular group in any context? While the project findings do not reveal a simple answer to this question, the multiple points of data collected are in response to the fact that the participatory process was fluid and dynamic and cannot be fairly summarized on a single scale from one point in time. Participant observations; follow up discussions, and reflections that key into the

specific stages of the project sequence were employed to better understand the participatory process at different increments as it was situated in a particular context (see Figure 3-3). The presentation of the research methods that follow will identify at what stage(s) in the Bali Field School project sequence the method was used and what each method intended to identify about the project sequence, participation, and development pressures on the village landscape of Ubud.

### **Method I: Participant Observations**

Participant observations were made throughout course of project.<sup>21</sup> These observations were made at four particular stages in the Bali Field School program development and project execution: (1) program strategy and development (with the US university students), (2) program orientation (with the US and Udayana University students), (3) program initiation (with the facilitation and participation groups), and (4) project operation (with the ten production teams). It is important to note that while the participant observations were made as systematic observations categorized by group within each stage in the project, the participant observations that are most revealing in examining how the participatory process worked are those taken from stage four, project operation (or the seven-step project sequence outlined in Appendix A).

Examining the project sequence incrementally throughout the seven step process as it was unfolding, the participant observations align stages in the process with the community youth's evolving display of landscape and scale in the project sequence activities; the emergence of the community youth's articulation of development

---

<sup>21</sup> It is important to make the point that the researcher was involved in the day-to-day operations of the Bali Field School project as part of the project coordination. As a result, the observations made about the project sequence are done so with a clear understanding (on the research's part) of what the project sequence entailed and the degree to which the project sequence was executed based on its original intent.

pressures on the village landscape of Ubud; and the development in the facilitation-participation dynamic where the community youth's move from working on individual project activities to taking control of the content development in the project activities leading up to and including the landscape films (see Figure 3-4).

## **Method II: Development and Delivery of Follow Up Questions**

This research utilizes the collection of landscape films derived from the project sequence to engage three distinct conversations about the process and the content of the films. While the collection of landscape films do stand alone as a product from the project sequence, it is important to understand how the content of these films is interpreted by those who directly participated in the process (the community youth and the US students), and by those who screened the final collection of films but were not directly involved in the process of producing the films.

Three sets of questions were developed to specifically target three different group's involvement (US university project facilitators and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama participants) or reactions to the project sequence (those who attended the film screening). These three sets of questions evolved from questions that were prepared in advance of the project's implementation. The original set of questions prepared for each of the three groups were done so in anticipating the process, but the questions were adapted based on how the project sequence actually unfolded. The most significant change to the questions, then, were made to the set delivered to those residents of Ubud who attended the film screening. The film content established the line of inquiry, therefore the questions probed the content of the film (as it was about development pressures in Ubud – see Figure 3-5) rather than impose the issue of development pressures in Ubud. Questions developed and delivered to US university

student project facilitators remained similar to the set of questions originally proposed. These questions inquired about their perceptions of the project sequence as project facilitators (see Figure 3-5). The questions to the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were also similar to the original set of questions proposed, and addressed the project sequence in relation to their level of engagement with the project activities, their awareness of ownership and creativity in the material produced throughout the project sequence, and their comfort and willingness to share their village as the project sequence moved to filming (see Figure 3-5).

### **Discussion following screening of landscape films**

An informal discussion was held immediately following the film screening with those who voluntarily showed up to view the films. It is important to note that those who engaged in this conversation did not participate directly in the process of creating the landscape films, although almost all of them were aware of the process. This discussion was led by University of Florida research assistant Ridwan Sutriadi in Bahasa Indonesia. A pre-determined set of questions was delivered and a translation of the ensuing dialogue was recorded in Bahasa Indonesia and later translated into English. A list of these questions can be found in the Appendix B.

### **Follow up discussion with US students**

A second discussion was held with the US students, led by Jocelyn Widmer and Kevin Thompson, upon the completion of their involvement in the process. Again, a pre-determined set of questions was delivered in English and notes were taken of the dialogue that emerged. The setting was informal and all of the US students who took part in the project contributed to the discussion. A list of these questions can be found in the Appendix C.

### **Follow up discussion with Sekolah Menengah Pertama students**

A third and final discussion took place with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students four days after the public screening of the films. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were divided into two groups of ten students each so that each group had one representative from each production team. The first group for the debriefing sessions with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students consisted of eight participants (out of ten), whereas the second debriefing session consisted of nine participants (out of the original ten). The sessions were each moderated in Bahasa Indonesia by the same student from Udayana University. The same pre-determined set of questions was delivered orally in Bahasa Indonesia to each group by Arya Adiartha, a student from Udayana University who was instrumental in the facilitation process. The questions were divided up into topics, so that the students would thoroughly discuss questions under each topical area, which would then be translated and transcribed before the subsequent topic and questions would be introduced. The moderator delivered a topic with five to six subsequent questions, and took notes as the participants gave their feedback. The moderator then translated the notes from each set of questions after each set of questions was asked (see Appendix D for a list of question sets). He would speak to the whole group, so that the students could hear how he was translating the information back to me, and they would often fill in details in English. Both sets of answers from the two different debriefing sessions were consistent and answers from each set of questions asked by the moderator followed almost immediately after the question was answered if students did not interrupt the moderator to answer already. Participation in each of these two conversations were equally distributed among the ten Sekolah Menengah Pertama students so that they each contributed to the discussion.

### **Method III: Emergent Themes (Retrospective)**

While the participant observations and the follow up questions address the project sequence leading up to and including creating and screening the landscape films , the third method looks at the project sequence in reverse (see Figure 3-6) and away from the context where the project was executed. This third retrospective method couples the participant observations made throughout the project sequence with the materials produced by the activities in the project sequence. Working backwards to the beginning of the process is a way to triangulate the findings from the participant observations to see where specifically in the film content these themes of landscape, scale, and development pressures surface.

#### **Data Processing**

The four sets of identified data (content from landscape films and commentary from the three follow up discussion) were interpreted alongside notes and observations made throughout the entire process. Data processing included looking at the material that went into developing each film. This included comparisons between the narrative, the storyboard, and the transcript of the film for each of the ten production teams. Following an initial organization of the physical material from the process, the film content was also considered in terms of the ten individual subthemes and their exploration of development pressures at the village landscape scale. Beyond the films, the documented commentary from each of the three follow up discussions was considered topically, as the line of inquiry for each set of questions delivered to the three distinct groups contained similar topics. Not only were these discussions considered individually and in relation to the other two conversations, but the commentary was also considered in terms of the project sequence to understand how

three different perspectives interpreted the process that culminates in the landscape films.

While there are significant and distinct deliverables that stand alone from the process, this research is primarily interested in looking at the landscape films in the context of the process and the follow-up discussions. In doing so, the analysis phase interprets the four sets of data (landscape films and commentary from the three follow up discussions) for emergent themes within each discussion as it relates to the process, as well as where themes among the three discussions converge and diverge as a commentary on the process as a whole.

The analysis becomes more than just a description of the process, but a commentary on the themes that emerged from looking at a number of internal and external points of reference throughout the process and also upon the processes immediate conclusion. Thus, making sense of the emergent themes has been a two-fold process. The first step in the process was to understand what about the process of creating landscape films remains contextually specific to the village landscape of Ubud and perhaps more generally to the island of Bali. The second step was to consider where and how the process contributes generalizations about engaging a particular group of participants who comment on development pressures at a scale that most approximates the village in which they live. Ultimately there is a continuous tension between these two in participatory research, and the analysis phase suggests where participatory research that is both spatially and socially situated is adept at contributing to this ongoing debate.

Table 3-1. Timetable of Project Activities

| Date        | Activity  |
|-------------|---|
| 9 May 2009  | Workshop with students and faculty from University of Florida and Udayana University  |
| 13 May 2009 | Introductory working session with students from University of Florida, Udayana University and SMP (Project introductions, community map, story mapping)     |
| 14 May 2009 | Working session with students from University of Florida, Udayana University and SMP (Story mapping continued; Places I Like, Places I Dislike)             |
| 15 May 2009 | IRB collection from SMP students  |
| 18 May 2009 | Working session with students from University of Florida, Udayana University and SMP (Narrative development, clarified where SMP students lived on the map) |
| 19 May 2009 | Working session with students from University of Florida, Udayana University and SMP (refine narrative, move toward storyboarding, film activity)           |
| 20 May 2009 | Working session with students from University of Florida, Udayana University and SMP (filming)  |
| 22 May 2009 | Working session with students from Udayana University and SMP (view film edits, create invitations to film screening)                                       |
| 24 May 2009 | Film screening at SMP.<br>Follow up discussion with members from Ubud.<br>Follow up discussion with students from University of Florida                     |
| 27 May 2009 | Follow up discussion with students from SMP   |

Table 3-2. Directing Content through Use of Examples

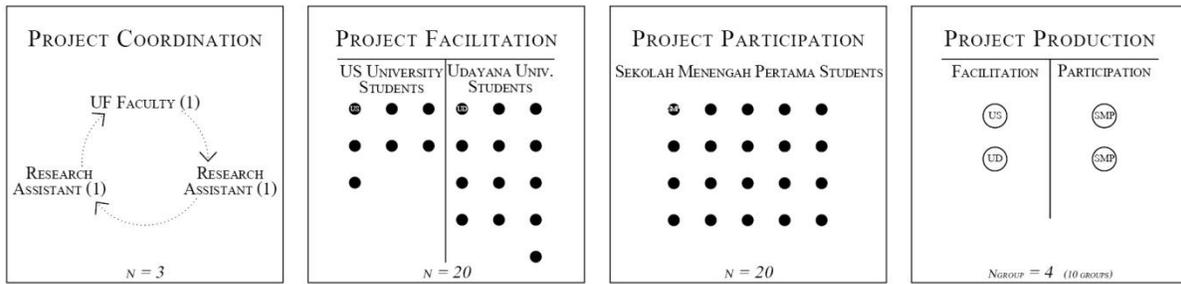
| Lead by Example (out of 4) | Project sequence                            | Sequence in Delivery |
|----------------------------|---|----------------------|
| -                          | Community Map                               | 1                    |
| Graphic                    | Story Mapping                               | 2                    |
| Graphic / Narrative        | Places I Like / Dislike                     | 3                    |
| -                          | Identification and<br>Generation of Themes* | 4                    |
| Narrative                  | Narrative Development                       | 5                    |
| Template                   | Storyboarding                               | 6                    |
| Technological              | Film Production                             | 7                    |

\*This was a collective activity with no example. Because the *sawah* was a part of every group's community map, a list of twelve subthemes culturally and naturally significant and related to the *sawah* was generated by the project coordinators. Each group then selected a subtheme and were able to negotiate trades with one another until everyone was satisfied with their subtheme.

Table 3-3. Summary of Project Structure and Sequence

| Activity                           | Duration<br>(days) | Parties Involved                    |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Preliminary Contextualization      | 3                  | U.F. Students                       |
| Facilitator Workshop               | 1                  | U.F. / Udayana Students             |
| Introduction to SMP Students       | 1                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Community Map                      |                    |                                     |
| Story Mapping                      |                    |                                     |
| Places I Like, Places I<br>Dislike |                    |                                     |
| Theme Generation                   | ½                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Narrative Development              | 1 ½                | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Storyboard Development             | 1 ½                | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Technological Introduction         | ½                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Filming                            | 1                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Footage Edits / Assembly           | 1                  | Udayana Students                    |
| Review of Footage Edits            | 1                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP Students       |
| Film Screening                     | 1                  | U.F. / Udayana / SMP /<br>Community |
| Follow Up Discussion               | ½                  | Community Members from<br>Ubud      |
| Follow Up Discussion               | ½                  | U.F. Students                       |
| Follow Up Discussion               | ½                  | SMP Students                        |

# GROUP INVOLVEMENT VS STAGES OF PROJECT BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT



**STAGE 1 OF PROJECT**

ACTIVITY:  
 STRATEGY AND DEVELOPMENT

GROUPS INVOLVED:  
 PROJECT COORDINATORS  
 PROJECT FACILITATORS

**STAGE 2 OF PROJECT**

ACTIVITY:  
 PROGRAM ORIENTATION

GROUPS INVOLVED:  
 PROJECT COORDINATORS  
 PROJECT FACILITATORS  
 PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

**STAGE 3 OF PROJECT**

ACTIVITY:  
 PROGRAM INITIATION

GROUPS INVOLVED:  
 PROJECT FACILITATORS  
 PROJECT PARTICIPANTS  
 PROJECT PRODUCTION

*DECREASED INVOLVEMENT OF PROJECT COORDINATION*  
*INCREASED INVOLVEMENT OF PROJECT FACILITATION*

*DECREASED INVOLVEMENT OF PROJECT FACILITATION*  
*INCREASED INVOLVEMENT OF PROJECT PRODUCTION*

*CONTINUED DECREASE IN INVOLVEMENT OF PROJECT COORDINATION*

**STAGE 4 OF PROJECT**

ACTIVITY:  
 PROJECT OPERATION

GROUPS INVOLVED:  
 PROJECT PRODUCTION

Figure 3-1. Group Involvement as it relates to the Stages of the Bali Field School Project.

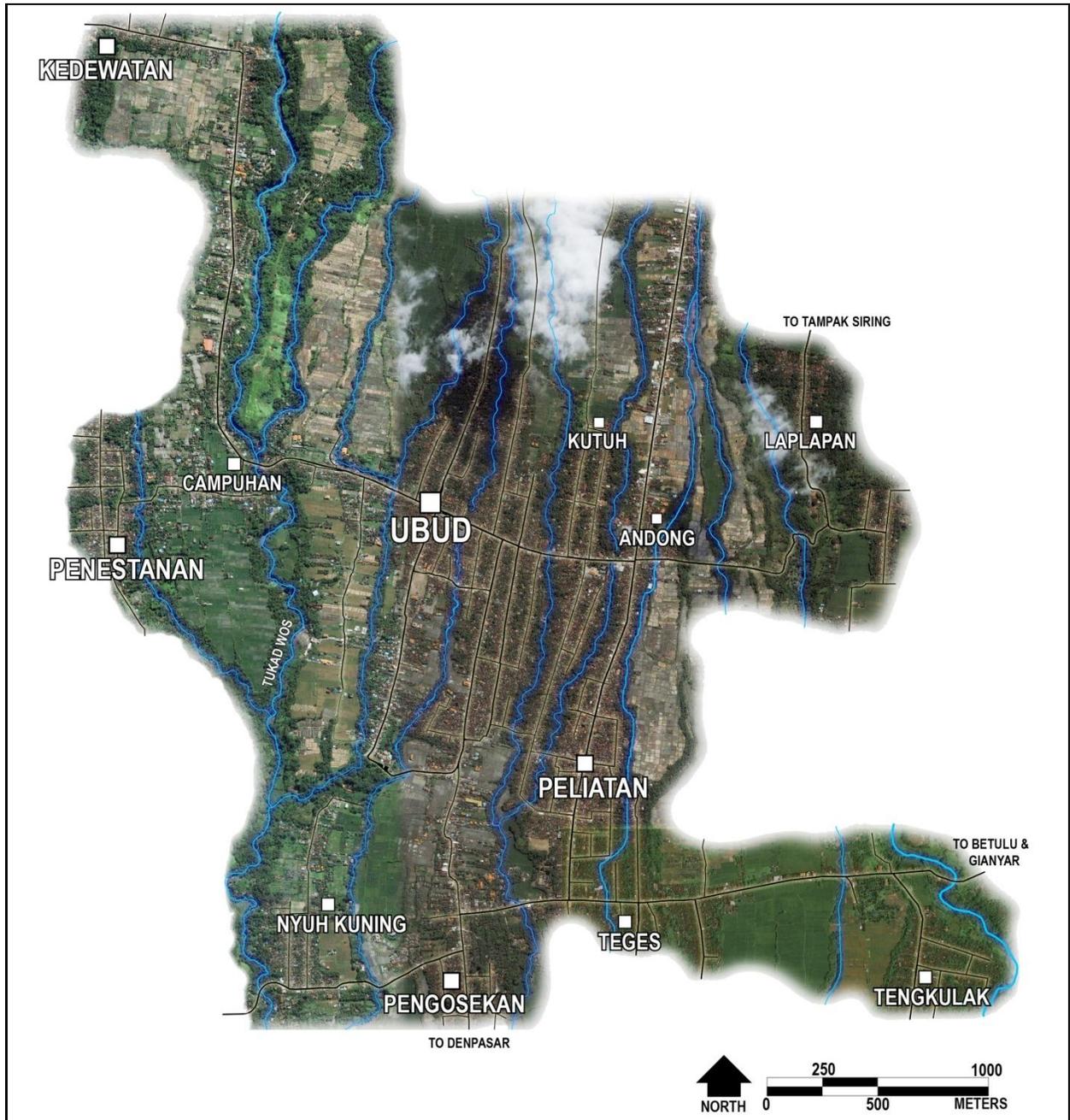


Figure 3-2. Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages [Map courtesy of Andrews, Sarah 2010. Content adapted from Tukad Dawa Stream Course Enhancement. Landscape Architecture Capstone Project. University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.]

| METHOD                   |                       | BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT       |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                          |                       | STAGE 1                         | STAGE 2          | STAGE 3                       | STAGE 4                         | STAGE 5                 | STAGE 6            | STAGE 7            | STAGE 8           |
|                          |                       | COMMUNITY<br>MAP                | STORY<br>MAPPING | PLACES<br>I LIKE /<br>DISLIKE | IDENTIFY<br>LANDSCAPE<br>THEMES | DEVELOPING<br>NARRATIVE | STORY-<br>BOARDING | FILM<br>PRODUCTION | FILM<br>SCREENING |
| PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS | LANDSCAPE AND SCALE   |                                 | →                |                               | →                               |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|                          | DEVELOPMENT PRESSURES |                                 |                  | →                             |                                 | →                       |                    |                    |                   |
|                          | PARTICIPATION         | →                               |                  | →                             |                                 | →                       |                    | →                  |                   |
| FOLLOW UP DISCUSSIONS    | FILM AUDIENCE         |                                 |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    | DEVELOPMENT       |
|                          | UF STUDENTS           | LANDSCAPE, PLACE AND SCALE      |                  |                               | PARTICIPATION                   |                         | FACILITATION       |                    |                   |
|                          | SMP STUDENTS          | SHARING COMMUNITY GROUP DYNAMIC |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
| RETRO-SPECTIVE THEMES    |                       | ←                               |                  | ←                             |                                 | ←                       |                    | ←                  |                   |

Figure 3-3. Comprehensive Conceptual Summary of Research Method. Research Method I) Participant Observations; Research Method II) Follow Up Discussions; Research Method III) Retrospection.

| METHOD                   |                       | BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                          |                       | STAGE 1                   | STAGE 2          | STAGE 3                       | STAGE 4                         | STAGE 5                 | STAGE 6            | STAGE 7            | STAGE 8           |
|                          |                       | COMMUNITY<br>MAP          | STORY<br>MAPPING | PLACES<br>I LIKE /<br>DISLIKE | IDENTIFY<br>LANDSCAPE<br>THEMES | DEVELOPING<br>NARRATIVE | STORY-<br>BOARDING | FILM<br>PRODUCTION | FILM<br>SCREENING |
| PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS | LANDSCAPE AND SCALE   |                           | →                |                               | →                               |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|                          | DEVELOPMENT PRESSURES |                           |                  | →                             |                                 | →                       |                    |                    |                   |
|                          | PARTICIPATION         | →                         |                  | →                             |                                 | →                       |                    | →                  |                   |

Figure 3-4. Conceptual Summary of Research Method I (Participant Observations).

| METHOD                |                  | BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT          |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                       |                  | STAGE 1                            | STAGE 2          | STAGE 3                       | STAGE 4                         | STAGE 5                 | STAGE 6            | STAGE 7            | STAGE 8           |
|                       |                  | COMMUNITY<br>MAP                   | STORY<br>MAPPING | PLACES<br>I LIKE /<br>DISLIKE | IDENTIFY<br>LANDSCAPE<br>THEMES | DEVELOPING<br>NARRATIVE | STORY-<br>BOARDING | FILM<br>PRODUCTION | FILM<br>SCREENING |
|                       |                  |                                    |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
| FOLLOW UP DISCUSSIONS | FILM<br>AUDIENCE |                                    |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    | DEVELOPMENT       |
|                       | UF STUDENTS      | LANDSCAPE, PLACE AND SCALE         |                  |                               | FACILITATION                    |                         | PARTICIPATION      |                    |                   |
|                       | SMP<br>STUDENTS  | SHARING COMMUNITY<br>GROUP DYNAMIC |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |

Figure 3-5. Conceptual Summary of Research Method II (Follow Up Discussions).

| METHOD             |                    | BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|                    |                    | STAGE 1                   | STAGE 2          | STAGE 3                       | STAGE 4                         | STAGE 5                 | STAGE 6            | STAGE 7            | STAGE 8           |
|                    |                    | COMMUNITY<br>MAP          | STORY<br>MAPPING | PLACES<br>I LIKE /<br>DISLIKE | IDENTIFY<br>LANDSCAPE<br>THEMES | DEVELOPING<br>NARRATIVE | STORY-<br>BOARDING | FILM<br>PRODUCTION | FILM<br>SCREENING |
|                    |                    |                           |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |
| RETRO-<br>SPECTIVE | EMERGENT<br>THEMES |                           |                  |                               |                                 |                         |                    |                    |                   |

Figure 3-6. Conceptual Summary of Research Method III (Retrospection).

## CHAPTER 4 OUTCOMES

The outcomes presented in this chapter are derived from the assimilation of information collected by participant observations throughout the project sequence; follow up discussions between two groups involved in the project sequence (US university students and Sekolah Menengah Pertama students) and one group not directly involved in the project sequence (but that viewed the landscape films at a public screening); and reflection on the project away from the research context. The outcomes from this study are a derivative of the entire experience, and cannot be separated by the three methods used to evaluate the participatory process involved with creating the landscape films. What follows is a discussion on the emergent themes that come from looking at the project sequence, the content produced from the project sequence, and participation by the community youth mediated the relationship between the project sequence and resulting content.

### **Emergent Themes**

Content analysis was not an originally-proposed point of data collection because there were so many unknowns in the project sequence. Yet in retrospect, it turned out to be a point of validity supporting the project sequence. In looking at the project sequence alongside some of the content that was produced during certain moments of the project sequence, the content is supportive of the overall intention of the project sequence. This phase of analysis considered the video content as it related back to the storyboards, the relationship between the development pressures on the village landscape and other contributing scales that are anchored around the village landscape scale, a sophisticated understanding of development pressures and their relationship to

global trends, specifically related to the economic potential of the *sawah*. In addition to this content-specific analysis, the process also created visibility among the people of Ubud, as well as ultimately reflecting the voice of one particular group in the community. The themes that emerged from this stage in the analysis are supported with images, screen captures from the films, as well as some of the other graphic material that the project sequence produced. In looking at all three of these sets of information, the incremental project sequence can be valued beyond producing a collection of landscape films, but for the social and spatial relationships that were observed as a result of the process.

### **Tracing Video Content Back Through Storyboards**

The storyboards had two main purposes in the project sequence. First, they served as a transition between the narrative development and the filming by getting the participants to think of their narrative in terms of scenes with supporting dialogue. Each frame of the storyboard was intended to translate roughly into one scene (the image drawn in the box) with dialogue that would support that scene (written below the image). If this process was carried out consistently, then the collection of scenes depicted individually in boxes on the storyboard would sequentially follow the individual scenes filmed. In this case, the editing team could then use the storyboards as a guide to stitch the individual scenes together with little organizational trouble, which was the second objective of the storyboards. Thus, the storyboards were an integral tool not only in developing the narrative into the filmed product, but also in assembling the filmed product so that it became one complete film (albeit composed of multiple scenes).

Approximately one afternoon working session was devoted to developing the storyboards. Many of the groups chose to take them home when the working session

ended and the storyboards were still incomplete (even though filming was to commence the following day). Despite the relatively shorter span of time devoted to developing the storyboards (in comparison to the time devoted to developing the narratives), the storyboards in all ten films almost exactly follow the trajectory of the film sequence in both dialogue and graphic form (see Figure 3-10). Because of this, the editing process was sufficiently expedited, especially because the translated English subtitles could be taken from the storyboard rather than transcribed and translated from the films themselves. Furthermore, the careful consideration that went into developing the narratives and further refinement in terms of scenes through the storyboarding process was upheld in the final films. The films logically told the stories that had gone through at least two stages of refinement. The storyboards were essentially the scripts for the films out in the field. Because there is such a close alignment of the storyboards and the scene sequence that transpires in the films, by considering the storyboards and the films as a refined extension of the narratives many of the relationships to broader themes at varying scales become evident in the film content.

### **Relationships to Broader Themes at Different Scales**

The project sequence was grounded in the concept of landscape that was introduced at a middleground scale, or the village scale. While the project sequence carefully adapted to the participants evolving understanding and expression of development pressures at this village landscape scale through the various project activities, the films clearly articulate issues at other scales. Many of the films address development pressures that are global in scope and have ramifications beyond the *sawah* in Ubud. Yet in most instances, these global development pressures were still anchored to Ubud's village landscape. These themes include the inter-relationship

between building development and the ecological ramifications not only on the immediate *sawah* near the participants' homes, but also at a larger scale and affecting a number of different land use types. In one particular film commenting on the different uses that the *sawah* promises during the different seasonal rhythms, the participants express concern over the physical change in the landscape to accommodate an expanding development footprint. The dialogue from the screen capture translates as follows (see Figure 3-11): "Because the increase of the building development, that makes land and playground decrease" (Cycles Film). The participants go on to pan out at a global scale to comment on what building development on the immediate landscape will do at a much larger scale—but still what that means for these two in particular. The dialogue translates into the following (see Figure 3-12): "Yes, I agree. The decrease of the land, makes global warming increasing, so I don't like to go out" (Cycles Film).

With similar concern for the increased building development on the *sawah*, the *Duckman* Film extends beyond what the imposition of buildings on the *sawah* does to the participants' immediate recreational habits to comment on what this means for all of the different (and at times competing) interests in the *sawah*. From one scene in the *Duckman* Film, the dialogue translates into the following (see Figure 3-13): "Now the padi fields have turned into buildings, despite the fact that many people need it. It is also a habitat for many creatures" (*Duckman* Film). Interestingly, the *Duckman* Film introduces the *sawah* as having both economic and ecological importance based on the integral role that ducks play in maintaining the ecosystem balance of the *sawah* once it has been flooded after harvest, as well as the well-known dish served up at one of

Bali's premier restaurants *Babek Gouling* (fried duck). Thus, this film in particular comments on the ecological and economic pressures that many residents of Ubud face with the expanding building footprint onto the *sawah*—and even more, what this means for sectors beyond those traditionally aligned with agriculture that have morphed Bali's (and particularly Ubud's) economy into what it is today. What surfaced thematically, then, is a strong tension between the many systems, both tangible and intangible, in flux all supported by the *sawah*.

### **Sophisticated Understanding of Local Pressures Connected to Global Trends**

While the films never really comment on how to strike a balance between these different systems at play on the village landscape, what the films do is further explore the tension among these systems in terms of the local pressures which are inevitably connected to global trends on the island of Bali. Many of the films articulate a sophisticated understanding of the inner-relationship among tourism and the *sawah*, a tenuous relationship nevertheless, since Miguel Covarrubias first wrote about it in the 1940s. The Harvest Film comments on the direct relationship between the *sawah* and the local tourism industry in dialogue that translates into the following (see Figure 3-14): “Besides that, if our rice fields has gone, the tourism in Bali will not be famous anymore” (Harvest Film).

More specifically, yet still looking at the connection between local development pressures on the *sawah* and how these pressures are connected to more global trends, the films frequently cast the rice farmer as one who has suffered dramatically since rice no longer is exported from Bali. Many of the films articulate an economic understanding of the harvest gains and yields that the *sawah* historically provided for farmers, as well as the fact that rice farming has become a much less lucrative form of employment

today than historically it has been in Ubud. One particular scene in the Harvest Film depicts the harsh realities that befall a rice farmer today in the translated dialogue that follows (see Figure 3-15): “Harvesting is not as easy as we thought, there’s also have the problem. The outcome is not equal with the income” (Harvest Film). Interestingly, what also comes out of this economic interest in the *sawah* is the overwhelming tension that exists for many people of Ubud who rely on tourism for their economic livelihood. So while the films recognize the loss of a more traditional form of employment in the rice farmer, they also recognize the need to accommodate the tourism industry amidst the development that is encroaching onto the *sawah* in Ubud.

Yet in addition to commenting on the tenuous flux at the systemic level when considering the development pressures that the *sawah* faces, the participants were also able to consider some of the traditional forms of employment that are in many cases unfamiliar to them as their parents own art shops or restaurants or are a part of the growing expatriate community in Ubud. The Harvest Film in particular considers the plight of what may seem like a constant in the landscape to the unknowing eye, that the Balinese rice farmer and traditional farming practices are oftentimes being outsourced to migrants from Java seeking employment (MacRae, 2003). The landscape films championed many of the unassuming (albeit more traditional) forms of culture in Ubud that are also affected by the development pressures on the village landscape in Ubud. By casting these roles of the rice farmer and the duckman (to name just a few) in the films, the participants made visible what is characteristically an unspectacular source of employment to their generation.

## Visibility and Communication among the Broader Community

The films make visible and start a dialogue about many issues, events, people, and places that are culturally threatened by the development pressures facing Ubud's rice-terraced landscape. The documentaries also made the development pressures visible to those curious onlookers who were not directly involved in the project, yet who interacted with the project participants on a daily basis. From taxi drivers who frequently transported the production teams around Ubud, to the Sekolah Menengah Pertama teachers, to the heads of local *banjars*, this project was highly visible in Ubud throughout its duration.

It is also important to note that the delivery activities were rarely completed within the time allotted for the afternoon working sessions. Yet the more invested in the process the participants became, the more motivated they were to devote additional time to developing the narratives and storyboards so much to the point that they began to ask if they could by taking the work home with them. Initially, this was met with hesitation, as the project sequence activities were cumulative, and there was little time built into the schedule to re-create any of the work if participants left it at home from working on it the night before. After careful consideration, the project coordinators allowed the participants to take the working material home under the provision that they return with it the next day. Not only did students return with the work, but it was completed with the utmost attention to detail. Interestingly, during this interlude in the formal project sequence, the participants were working without the rest of their production teams (the University of Florida and Udayana University student). Yet the work that they returned with communicated a clear understanding of the project sequence, as well as why completion of a particular activity was imperative to beginning

the next activity in the project sequence. Not only did this individual time commitment to the project bring visibility to it outside of the working sessions, but upon further inquiry, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students reported that they openly communicated with their families and friends about the project when they were working on it outside of the afternoon working sessions, and in fact, oftentimes the participants claimed that they solicited the help of siblings and parents in completing the activities. Thus, not only did the project become visible away from the afternoon working session environment, but the participants openly communicated the project objectives as their understanding increasingly evolved throughout the project sequence. As a result of this communication, the level of comfort and enthusiasm that emerged from the participants with the subject-matter of the films (development pressures) also ignited a sense of ownership in what they were producing throughout this evolution.

### **Evolution of Ownership in the Product**

Both the US students as well as the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students commented in the follow up discussion on the fact that they did not like to share their work with other groups. The inspiration for creativity and innovation as it relates to group individualism will be discussed in the following section, but it is important to mention the sense of ownership that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students began to show as their understanding of the process increased. This increased understanding in the process became evident as the participants took work home with them following the afternoon working sessions and completed the activities without the assistance of the University of Florida or Udayana University students communicating any sort of direction. Their independence and the quality of work that emanated from this time away from the project facilitators is indicative of their increased understanding in the

process as well as the commitment and ownership they began to take toward the products. Many of the groups added an additional activity to the project sequence as part of their pre-production development, developing scripts. Nearly all of the groups translated the dialogue written on the storyboards into typed scripts that they then practiced to the point of memorization. One group in particular articulated their sense of ownership in their work by placing the copyright symbol following the title of their film (see Figure 3-16). This sense of ownership served to sustain the overall engagement of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students throughout the entire project sequence, which at times was held on their days off, as well as during the weekends. As a testament to this sustained engagement, there was one-hundred percent attendance of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students at the film screening, which was held on a Sunday. While it can be argued that initial interest in the process may have sustained their involvement up to a point, as the participants increasingly understood where the process was headed and subsequently increasingly took ownership in the project sequence, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students became more deliberate and calculated in how they chose to take advantage of the opportunity to voice their particular concerns over the development of their village *sawah*.

### **Articulation of a Particular Voice**

This project captures ten different but related narratives of the *sawah* by a group of Ubud's community youth. It weaves the oral traditions that they recall being passed down to them by their elders, with their contemporary uses of the *sawah* as a playground and meeting place. It does so with a cautious eye toward the future and their perception of the eminent threats that face the characteristic landscapes of southern Bali as development pressures loom. The project sequence situated the films'

dialogue among a particular group of community members who are not typically involved in village development decisions, but who nevertheless have a story to tell. Subsequently, the films cast into relief whose interpretation of the memories and meaning of a place is valued and what influences these interpretations. It is the particular experience of Ubud's community youth that is narrated through the landscape films. However, whose story is told with regards to landscape experience rarely comes into question. Yet the project sequence gives this particular landscape interpretation primacy as we considered community youth as participants in a community project documenting the cultural landscape of southern Bali, whereas typically it is the elders who pass down oral traditions in Balinese culture.

The tendency to generalize or conflate the nuances of scale, community composition, and landscape values can be challenged by considering methods used to communicate the meaning of landscape and place by different groups. The project sequence leading up to the collection of landscape films gets at a more deconstructed understanding of Ubud's village landscape and the threats facing this landscape as identified by one group who has a distinct attachment to this landscape. Now that these concerns have been voiced, as evidence in the translated dialogue in the Duckman Film (see Figure 3-17): "I agree. I hope our concerns will be heard" (Duckman Film), the questions emerge on how this voice will be perceived by others with equal but different attachments to the landscape.

### **Analysis of Follow Up Discussions**

Analysis of the data consisted of critical reflections of the process based on external observations on behalf of the researcher as well as thematic mapping by abstracting meaning from the follow up discussion commentary. Observations were

made systematically and consistently across activities; however, regardless of how systematic these observations were, they do not reveal why participants engaged in the behaviors that they did. To understand participants' motivations better, external observations were coupled with commentary from three follow up discussions with three different groups who were involved in the landscape filming process. Analyzing both external and internal observations independently begins to describe what exists among the relationships established through the participatory process, but considering these two vantage points together begins to explain these relationships. This process was done simultaneously by seeking synthesis and understanding differences between the external observations and the three different follow up discussions.

While the external observations are important to understanding the emerging dynamics between the different groups involved in the process as well as among the groups themselves, the internal observations made about the process by three groups integral to the process are important to understanding why the films turned out the way that they did, and more importantly, what can be learned from such a process. By better understanding the process from both those involved as well as those internally connected to development pressures in Ubud, more valid comments can be made about the project sequence and how effective it is at certain moments, as well as how generalizable the findings are to contexts other than Ubud, Bali, or Indonesia.

These internal observations were gathered from three instrumental groups in the process: (1) those who attended the film screening and stayed after to discuss the films, (2) the US students who served in a facilitation role throughout the process, and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students as the project participants with the greatest

time commitment to the process. These three vantage points target different levels of involvement and understanding of the process. Those who participated in the follow up discussion after the film screening were the least involved in the actual process but were arguably more familiar with the development pressures facing Ubud's landscape from a cultural and political point of view. As a result, the dialogue generated in that discussion can be characterized as reactive to the film content in terms of having the most agency in contemporary Ubud's economic, cultural, political, and social realms. In contrast, the US students were most familiar with the intent of the process but were least familiar with the existing conditions in Ubud. As a result, their responses can be characterized by elements of knowns and unknowns with relation to the process and Ubud more generally. Finally, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students generated a dialogue that was most revealing about the project sequence, as they were the group most involved. The two sets of responses gathered from the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students reveal a great deal about the process, while often contradicting comments made by the participants in the follow up discussion and the US students. What the follow up discussion with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama reveals that the other two do not is what components of the project sequence may be generalized to understand the application of landscape films in contexts other than Ubud.

### **Follow Up Discussion with Attendees of the Film Screening<sup>22</sup>**

The follow up discussion held with those who attended the film screening took the subject matter of the film as a starting point for the conversation. The starting point was

---

<sup>22</sup> Questions asked and transcript of the dialogue transcribed and translated by Ridwan Sutriadi on May 24, 2009. All quotations in this section are taken from Ridwan Sutriadi's transcribed and translated notes from the follow up discussion.

that the films clearly articulated some concerns about development pressures on the village landscape of Ubud. The validity of the method and those voicing the concerns came into question through the follow up discussion, but what originally surfaced was a reiteration of those development pressures by those who attended the film screening and were thus not directly involved in the process of producing the videos. While the development pressures articulated in this follow up discussion aligned with how the project coordinators understood the development pressures in Ubud prior to the project, the follow up discussion stressed the tension that lies in these pressures, primarily the tension between the economic incentives to develop in Ubud versus the cultural heritage that may be compromised as a result. One member of the discussion noted that among the people of Ubud who are economically stable, it is expected that they invest their income in support of Bali's development. In other words, there is an expectation for development in Ubud. As a result, these same people, if they own the paddy fields, rush to sell them. Interestingly, the sale of this economically viable yet culturally important landscape is not a problem only for the people of Ubud anymore. Rather, "this is the world's problem, and Bali follows the world in terms of this problem," meaning the lucrative exchange of valuable land for the sake of traditional practices is not specific to Bali. Furthermore, many people in Bali no longer want to farm the land, but instead prefer employing migrant workers from Java so that they can work in Bali's urban sectors. Finally what this tension in developing Ubud's landscape reveals is not only a tension between the local people of Ubud and an international interest in what is seen as valuable real estate, but also a tension wholly Balinese, who themselves pride their provincial autonomy. As one member of the discussion reminds others, they [the

Balinese] can “alleviate their own problems in autonomous ways.” While neither the films nor the follow up discussion specifically delineate how to alleviate this tension between development and cultural heritage, there was a consensus that the solution lie at the provincial level.

This positive movement that the follow up discussion motivated was also detected in the general feeling toward the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students’ involvement in the process with students from the University of Florida and Udayana University. Those who attended the film screening saw the process as a potential way to enhance students’ usage of the English language. The process created a situation where the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students could have written the film dialogue in English, thereby eliminating the need for English translations and subtitles. Only using English, rather than Bahasa Indonesia, would contribute a different avenue by which they could improve their English. That is, if would be optimal is the language learning process could be synchronized with the project sequence, so that both are happening concurrently.

While there was positive approval of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students participation in the project, there was a detailed critique of how the process did not align with the oral tradition norm in Bali. It was also noted that the process could be improved to better help kids articulate development pressures if it were institutionalized toward a more sustainable model to reach more children through an increased breadth of participation. While those who participated in the follow up discussion agreed that change is necessary with regards to the current development trajectory in Ubud, the methods by which this change is articulated needs to reflect the original values of the

people articulating the change, which included attention to cultural and religious traditions.

More specifically, those who attended the follow up discussion clearly explained what role the community youth of Ubud play in articulating this change and believed the project sequence was flawed by incorporating this role of the community youth. First it is important to communicate how those who attended the film screening and follow up discussion perceive the community's youth knowledge of development pressures in Ubud. According to those participating in the follow up discussion, "the children cannot catch what is actually happening in the current situation. The development of Ubud is happening very fast." Arguably because of this rate of change in relation to their young age, those who attended the follow up discussion argue that the younger generations "do not know the solution to the current problems of how to protect tradition and religion, how to recycle, how to learn from nature, etc..." Thus, in order for these community youth to be able to articulate these solutions, they need to learn "good practices: they need to learn from *Tri hita karana*<sup>23</sup>, which holds very special value to the Balinese—from the heart, to nature and to the community." More generally, the community youth need to understand the different scale of threats that come from developing the *sawah*. In doing so, the community youth need to understand not only the origin of rice, but they also need to understand the relationship between the rice, the paddy, and the importance of the continued existence of the paddy field. And even more broadly, the community youth also need to understand the realities of developing the *sawah*, which

---

23 *Tri hita karana* comes from Sansekerta language that instructs the Balinese to maintain harmony and balance between human-to-God, human-to-human, and human-to-environment relationships (Lansing, 1995).

can be expressed in monetary terms. Although the films are deemed by the follow up discussion participants as an accurate depiction of the development pressures that are depicted in the films, the process stands to be improved on the basis that the films did not propose any solutions to these problems.

Discussants also requested that the process leading to the product be done in a more natural way so that the films could be more than just scenarios. While the participants in the discussion found the scenarios effective in presenting some of the pressures associated with development in Ubud, the scenarios fell short for the follow up discussion participants in the fact that they present a one-sided portrayal of development in Ubud. Those participating in the follow up discussion asked if the children understood globalization. While they explained that talking about globalization is okay, the films also needed to explore the pros and cons of globalization as it relates to Ubud, because it was explained that development is not always negative, but it can also have positive ramifications. While it was confirmed that the filming process gave the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students a chance to state opinions, it was not thought to be stated necessarily though a process of critical thinking that was entirely theirs. As a result, the process runs the risk of being too “indoctrinating,” according to some follow up discussion participants. To avoid this indoctrination, the follow up discussion participants wanted to explore how the scenarios in the film could be developed more freely. However, it is important to note that the follow up discussion participants were not arguing for the process to be entirely controlled by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. Instead, they were concerned that what they viewed as a contrived project sequence since it was created and implemented by those external to Ubud. They

voiced concern over the legitimacy of the process because “there was no scene which shows education or the learning process from the adult generation to the younger generation of what has been going on in the surrounding areas in previous times. This is the responsibility of the adult generations.” By leaving the elders out of the process, the group traditionally aligned with communicating oral traditions, the process lacked legitimacy to those participating in the follow up discussion. As a result, the follow up discussants stressed the careful balance that needs to be struck between not indoctrinating the community youth, but also recognizing that there is currently no formal education regarding development pressures from the government. Thus, the responsibility lies with the community elders incorporate these development pressures into the oral tradition norms that are embedded in the cultural traditions of Ubud.

This conversation about where the responsibility lies in communicating development pressures to the younger generations of Balinese children took the conversation toward where the project sequence was flawed in its contextualization within contemporary Bali. Foremost, it was argued that the films needed to highlight or demark the separation between entertainment and bad development practices. It was difficult for those viewing the films who were not part of the process to really understand how the children viewed development in Ubud because of the scripted nature of the dialogue. This project sequence needed to better allow the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students’ own perceptions about development to emerge, and once they do emerge, this begs the question, “What will these perception look like?” While the follow up discussion participants agreed that the films do demonstrate that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students can already recognize and voice environmental concerns,

the films fell short in their opinion in that they did not reveal the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students' perceptions of development pressures in Ubud in the form of application of solutions. This is the perception that the participants of the follow up discussion are most interested in understanding, which was noticeably absent from the collection of landscape documentaries. Thus, the potential breadth of the films' message was not effectively reached, the discussion participants argued. The message in the film should not just be for those in attendance at the film screening, but for all who are relevant to Bali. The discussion participants whole-heartedly agreed that the awareness articulated in the films should be understood by all of the younger generation, "so that the paddy field in Bali will not disappear." One member of the discussion group credited the young generation as those who are the critical thinkers.

To improve the project sequence, the overwhelming consensus from those who participated in the follow up discussion was to institutionalize the process. It was the general consensus that the landscape films as an collection of activities were a useful starting point that needed to be continued in the future by being "directly implemented... and replicated at every level of education [in Indonesia]." The participants in the follow up discussion agreed that the value in the landscape documentary process lies in the fact that the project sequence incorporated existing cultural elements already taught in school, including Balinese language and culture. Yet the process should not only address development on the *sawah*, but also current tensions at the national level, so that the films could comment more broadly on "the politics of rice and the relationship between the green revolution and the paddy field." The follow up discussion participants believed that the project sequence had room to accommodate some of

these national (and often historical) tensions associated with the *sawah* in Ubud, so that the students could learn about all of the problems associated with the paddy field and not just the development pressures. Interestingly, in doing so, there emerges a tension coming from existing institutions in a desire to institutionalize the project sequence.

To institutionalize the project sequence into the education system, the landscape films could become an on-going program that itself could be sustainable as a pedagogical tool. Yet to do so, the project sequence needs an organizational structure so that the program can be sustainable long after the university students leave Ubud. This suggestion came after the follow up discussion participants voiced concern over the lack of follow up, or monitoring and evaluation, from the film process. The discussion participants were very interested in what the proposed future direction of the project sequence was, but did not hold these expectations over either of the two universities. Instead, the follow up discussion participants felt that the responsibility of sustaining the process lies primarily with the school and the development of curriculum that incorporated the project sequence into the cultural activities that occur in the afternoon for the school children. It was argued that ultimately “the school has the power to educate and maintain the sustainability of this activity.” In passing this responsibility over to the school, the next step should be to formulate a plan to continue the program in the schools. The program could be easily integrated into the elective courses that deal with “natural affection.” The follow up discussion participants agreed that everyone in attendance, and many people in Ubud more broadly, understand the theoretical and political intent of development policy already in place in Ubud (and Bali at the provincial level). However, the application of these development policies, and

their potential effectiveness and reach, are not yet fully understood by the people of Ubud. Currently, there is great discrepancy throughout Bali between the development policies in theory and action. To those who participated in the follow up discussion, this discrepancy is ultimately a testament to the fact that development cannot be avoided in Ubud. Therefore, the inevitability of development in Ubud further justifies the implementation of a process that facilitates an understanding among the community youth about the importance of activities that address development in Ubud realistically, and activities that have a viable and sustainable follow up strategy.

The follow up discussion with those who attended the film screening revealed the importance of planning versus action in activities related to voicing concerns about development pressures in Ubud. Planning and action should be sequential and not two different sets of activities running tangential to each other. To avoid the historical tendency of planning and action being divorced in Ubud, the community can no longer support activities that promise false hope through the guise of a certain process—in this case the project sequence for the landscape films. The follow up discussion stressed an overall sense of urgency to ensure such development-related activities need to move beyond talking about development pressures and understanding how to turn these discussions into viable and applicable solutions to address development in Ubud.

### **Follow Up Discussion with US Students**

The follow up discussion with the US students added a deeper understanding of how the community was engaged throughout the process, which was first explored by those who participated in the follow up discussion after the film screening. The US students' observations derived from their interactions with the Sekolah Menengah

Pertama students as well as their interactions with those parents' who became involved in the process (ranging from logistics to taking part in the films).

Overall, the US students were surprised at how at ease the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were with sharing their community with them. Through the filming process, the US students observed that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students grew increasingly comfortable with sharing their community as the project sequence encouraged an emerging level of creativity and innovation. Subsequently, the US students observed how decisions were made to apply this emerging creativity and innovation through the process activities. As a result, the US students were able to shed light on the value of each increment in the project sequence as a product of encouraging and negotiation creativity in the process so that the project sequence becomes embraced by the project participants.

The US students noted that as the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students evolved their understanding of the project sequence, their level of commitment increased. With this evolved understanding came more outgoing attempts to engage others in the process. The US students noted that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students willingly approached different community members to ask that they participate in the films in roles that they had specifically cast for notable figures in the Ubud landscape. These included farmers, the duckman, and their parents, among others. Part of engaging those outside of the process required that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students explain not only that they were from the village (as they had to obtain the trust of the individual whom they were trying to get to participate), but they also had to explain the process and the role that that person would play in the film. Similarly, the US students

had to go through this process with nearly every different activity in the project sequence, all the while seeking the trust of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. By explaining the process to those community members whom the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students sought out as part of their films instilled a sense of confidence in their understanding of the process, because to explain the process to someone not involved required them to frame it in a way that was understandable to the person whom they were talking to. In addition to this one-way explanation, the students were able to participate in more of an on-going dialogue with their parents throughout the process. Part of this can be attributed to the fact that their parents knew that they were involved because of the Institutional Review Board's informed consent forms. The students also took unfinished activities home with them after the afternoon working sessions, so parents also gained awareness of the project through the different activities in the project sequence. The US students note that the parents were really involved at the filming stage, arguably because they were aware of the process throughout. In a few instances parents were cast in roles in the films, and also provided food, drinks, and transportation back and forth between sites where scenes for the films were shot. While the US students were surprised to find this level of involvement by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students' parents on the day of filming, they note that this involvement that had apparently been on-going, unbeknownst to the US students prior to filming, actually helped establish a level of comfort and rapport for the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students in having the US students follow them around their villages during filming.

The US students commented on the noticeable level of comfort that emerged as the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students took the US students through their village on the day of filming. Arguably contributing to this level of comfort was the degree of focus that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students exhibited toward the task at hand. In fact, the US students were surprised that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did not deviate from tasks throughout the entire project sequence, but especially on the day that filming occurred. It is important to note that filming day was the first time that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and the US students had worked together outside of the afternoon working session environment at Sekolah Menengah Pertama. The US students noted that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students shared their culture through the places where the different scenes were shot, overtly. This was characterized by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students refraining from much dialogue with the US students, especially about the places they were going. Yet despite the lack of dialogue, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students seemed very comfortable walking through their villages and the paddy fields with the US students. What many of the US students speculated was whether the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students realized how very different the experience was for them as well, as none of the US students had been into a family's home or into parts of Ubud where much of the filming took place prior to the day of filming. In the process of this overt sharing of culture, the US students recognized that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were not used to sharing their homes with others who came from outside of Ubud. Arguably the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students recognized that they were ultimately part of something bigger in terms of oral traditions and the norms associated

with communicating culture, as the participants of the follow up discussion from the film screening acknowledged. Perhaps this overt expression is a result of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students ultimately knowing their role in the hierarchy of oral traditions, and while they were working in a capacity outside of their typical role within that hierarchy, they were still playing host to their culture. Interestingly, while the US students noticed that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students oftentimes did not know what to make of the role of the US students, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did however remain mindful and acutely aware of tourists' role when they were out in Ubud on the day of filming. The US students noticed that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were polite to the point of being subservient to tourists.

The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students also commented on some of the ambiguity that the day of filming brought about, not in terms of the ambiguity between the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and the US students, but between the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and other people whom they interacted with in Ubud as a result of being with the US students. As a result of this association, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that they had problems gaining access to the Monkey Forest on the day of the filming and had to negotiate to get in, when locals usually get in for free. So what the filming had been noted to do, both from the perspectives of the US students and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, was to bring about some ambiguity among roles not only introspectively, but also within the existing social and cultural norms in Ubud, as well as how others perceived these roles when they were grouped with outsiders. This aligns with the caricatures that often wove

their way into the films to the point of hyperbolizing certain roles and characters that are ingrained in Ubud's development pressures.

Thus, the level of creativity and innovation that emerged throughout the process can arguably be attributed to an increased understanding in the project sequence that resulted in a greater comfort of sharing place. The US students noted that the more apparent the activities in the project sequence became toward transitioning the narrative into the films, the more deliberate the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were in not only their creativity, but their commitment to fleshing out their ideas so that they most closely approximated what they had envisioned. Early on in the project sequence, the US students noted that the majority of the graphics were drawn by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, although at the early stages in the project sequence they had a tendency to copy styles or examples provided by students from either the University of Florida or Udayana University. Furthermore, while both groups of University students theoretically carried equal weight in the project sequence, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students tended to seek graphic approval from the US students over and above the Udayana University students. However, the US students note that while the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did tend to rely on examples (either graphic or narrative) to instigate their understanding of a certain activity, all of the supporting dialogue was a product of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students' collaboration between the pair in each production team. Thus, the situated dialogue that emerges in the film as a result of its evolution in the project sequence transformed from casually sharing place (where oftentimes students from the University of Florida and Udayana University were contributing a good portion of the graphics) to being hard-

lined in sequential scene form that would ultimately turn into the film's dialogue. The US students attribute this transition to the stories communicated in the films to becoming their story of place, only facilitated with the help of the two groups of university students.

This begs the question of how were decisions made among the production teams, but more specifically between the two Sekolah Menengah Pertama students within each production team. Although the US students noted that top-down approval was sought from them, and it was also noted that at times it was difficult to get the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students started on an activity in the project sequence, the US students were not particularly necessary once the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students became engaged in an activity. This also casts into relief the role of the US students in the entire project sequence, particularly with respect to their understanding of that role as it changed, evolved, and diminished throughout the project sequence. In questioning their own role in the process, the US students also questioned if the decisions made by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students within the different activities in the project sequence were made on the basis of working toward the filming stage, or if these decisions were more short-sighted and pertained only to the activity at hand. While the US students were not able to conclusively agree on how short-sighted or cumulative decisions made by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were, what was more apparent to them was the cumulative value that each increment in the project sequence amassed.

The US students questioned whether the decisions made by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students at the storyboard stage were made based on the fact that filming would proceed that process. However, it should be noted that the storyboards in

and of themselves (with the help of additional typed scripts that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students tended to bring along for the filming of each scene), the storyboards were still remained a successful segue from developing the narrative to filming individual scenes. Because the US students could not gauge the short-sighted versus cumulative nature of decisions made throughout the project sequence, the US students remarked that each activity in and of itself had value to the project sequence. This was particularly noted by the US students insofar as the material that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students came back with when they took work home overnight indicated that they understood what it needed to resemble in order to move onto the next step. More broadly, the US students remained unsure not only of their role in the project sequence, but also the intent of the process. As a result, the interpretation from the US students, as they were situated in the communication cascade, did not always align with what the process was supposed to resemble. In following up with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students on some of these discrepancies, it can generally be concluded that the lack of understanding among the US students did not hinder how the project sequence was administered nor the content for each activity that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students produced.

### **Follow Up Discussion with Sekolah Menengah Pertama Students<sup>24</sup>**

The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students add another layer to the insights gleaned from the previous two follow-up discussions. It is important to note that the questions guiding the follow up discussion with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama

---

<sup>24</sup> Questions asked and dialogue translated by Arya Adiartha to Jocelyn Widmer. Notes were transcribed by Jocelyn Widmer on May 27, 2009. All quotations from this section are taken from the notes transcribed by Jocelyn Widmer during the follow up discussion with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students.

students were developed after the follow up discussion with those who attended the film screening and the US students to investigate some of the points of contention between direct observations and the responses voiced in the follow up discussions. The follow up discussion with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students was primarily interested in their commentary on how decisions were made and what inspired their creativity in what was deemed by the people who participated in the discussion following the film screening as an indoctrinated process of scenarios but also (and perhaps more proactively) is what they would hope to explore further now that the process framed their ability to comment on development pressures in Ubud.

In general, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students all agreed that they enjoyed the process, especially those parts where they were able to draw and be creative. Both groups communicated that there were parts of the process that were confusing to them, but it seems as if those times were quickly balanced out by activities that they enjoyed. The narrative development phase of the process was agreed upon by both groups as the most confusing part of the process for the participants. While the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that the phases in the project sequence that might have been unclear to them at the time of the activity made better sense to them once they finally saw all of the films together. It is important to note that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did not view the entire collection of films until the public screening. Not only did the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students enjoy showing off their individual films, but they enjoyed how many of the stories were created and produced in the other films. What came through in talking about the film content in its entirety with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students is that they appreciated the

freedom to create some scenes in the films that were drastically out of context to emphasize their point. While this may be one of the arguments that the participants in the follow up discussion after the film screening expressed; for the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, the ability to cast roles in their films to exaggerate some of the issues related to development and tourism in Ubud allowed them not only to incorporate some of the US students into the films (as tourists and developers), but it also gave them a chance to express their feelings towards these different interests involved in Ubud's village landscape. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did not see these roles as an exaggeration of reality in their films. However, where they did find fault with how some of the subthemes had to be explored was when scenes were drastically out of context or in the wrong season. For instance, the paddy planting and harvesting scenes were shot out of context because it was not the season to plant or harvest rice in Ubud. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were not directly involved with coming up with the list of film subthemes. Had they been more directly involved with that process, the list of identified subthemes may not have had this issue of context. Inevitably the project sequence involved moments when decisions were made for the participants, and the process proceeded assuming that the participants would carry on with the effects of these decisions. It is thus noteworthy that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students identified some of these moments where decisions were made for them and identified some of the cultural and contextual issues that arose as a result.

Within each production team, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that decisions were either made based on the pair of Sekolah Menengah Pertama students negotiating with each other based on discussion, whereas other pairs played

“follow the leader,” with one Sekolah Menengah Pertama students leading the way and the other following along. This suggests the level of creativity and subsequent ownership that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students felt toward the process and the resulting products. Among the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, there was a noticeable interest in cultural production, as noted by the US students throughout the process. In fact, many of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were part of a band. First looking into creativity between the University student exchange with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that they relied on the Udayana University students mostly for translation, but not necessarily for idea generation. Furthermore, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that while students from both the University of Florida and Udayana University offered ideas, they recognized that it was ultimately up to the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students whether they took these ideas and developed them. One area where the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that they solicited the help of the university students was for ideas for film production; or more specifically, how to create scenes that were more dynamic than just the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students speaking their rehearsed lines.

Between the groups of Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, most agreed that they only looked at other groups' work when other groups looked at their work first. Thus, someone had to initiate the exchange before groups would freely share their ideas among the other Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. In general, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students expressed that they did not even think to take ideas from other groups because they were so focused on making their films unique between the

pair of Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. Interestingly, the pairs of Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were assembled based on their proximity to living together. Many of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students revealed that they would not have picked their partner had they been given the choice, and many of the pairings were not that familiar with each other prior to the process but became so throughout the project sequence. Thus, while the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that there was an equal sharing of the responsibilities among the pairs, and despite their exclusivity of ideas between pairs, they all adamantly agreed that they would have liked to see more people involved in the process to spread the workload around.

The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were interested in seeing more people involved in the process. The students noted that while only a few of them participated in the process, many of their friends and family were aware of the process and the individual activities. Parents of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were aware of the process because of the informed consent they had to sign to allow their children to participate. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that their parents were “very happy with the opportunity because it would expose their children to students from the United States, as well as to a new form of technology.” The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students confirmed that they talked to their families throughout the process about the process to get a response about the film topics from others with more experience—presumably those older generations who typically initiate the telling of oral histories. In addition to having more of their families involved, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students also expressed interest in having their siblings and friends involved to create bigger groups to help with the workload of the activities.

While the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that the process did overtly include others, mainly family and friends who helped out when the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students took work related to the process home, they argue that there were a number of different groups not involved in the process that should have been. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students challenged the process and the content of the films because the subject of the film in many cases, the paddy farmer, was not formally involved in participating. A few groups, including the Duckman and Harvest films, did ask rice farmers who were working the paddy fields on the day of filming to contribute, and in doing so were able to weave diverse perspectives beyond theirs into the films, which the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students believed contributed by better sharing their village through the film narratives.

As noted by the US students, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students admitted that while they were happy to share their villages and homes with the US students on the day of filming, they were initially shy in the process of showing. As their comfort level grew in sharing significant (and often private) spaces with the US students through the day that filming took place, many times the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that they were the ones responsible for negotiating to get into the Monkey Forest, or who would initiate conversations with the paddy farmers or shop merchants who would later be included in the films. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students noted that they became more comfortable sharing these places with the US students the more they were able to engage others in Ubud in the process on the day of filming. By the end of the process, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that they would have liked to have shared other important places outside of their village with the US

students—a feeling they would not have had prior to getting to know them throughout the project sequence. As a result, there became an exchange between what was similar to the places that were shared in the films from Ubud and those places that the US students could draw comparisons to from their homes (primarily in Florida). Thus, this exchange of sharing places was framed through the narrative developed in the films, as a swapping of stories about places most intimate to both the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and the US students.

The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that filming was the most important part of the process because it was a unique method to publicize material and to show this to others. They explored this idea further by claiming that more people would prefer to watch a film than read a book or take in any other means of communicating issues that the films present. In addition to the films being a unique way to communicate some of the development pressures facing Ubud, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students added that what contributed to this distinctiveness was the fact that they were also in the films. For the first time in many cases, this was also an opportunity for the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students to watch themselves in the films. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agree that the films would not have turned out the way that they did had they not completed some of the activities throughout the project sequence. Thus, the product became an evolution of the process.

The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did not wholeheartedly embrace the films, however. They noted that there was room for improvement at distinct junctures in the process. While the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students joked that they thought

acting classes would have improved their performance in the films, and thus the film quality, acting classes were suggested because they Sekolah Menengah Pertama students thought that this would have helped them to look more “professionally and culturally appropriate” in the films. It was also agreed upon that sound quality was poor in parts of the films, so they could not confirm that the films turned out exactly as they thought they would as a result of the poor sound quality. Regardless, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students would have liked to have shown the films again in a bigger place, but only if the films were re-edited so that the sound quality was improved and “parts cut out of the films that no longer fit” to create generally shorter films. If the films were shown again, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students claimed they would be eager not only to show the films again, but also to explain the process and all of the hard work that went into making the films. And beyond showing the films in Ubud, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that the films “should be on YouTube so that the message on saving the *sawah* could be delivered to people all over the world.”

In general, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students agreed that films could be improved with better organization, more time, and if they were able to better explain the process to their families and friends. This would be possible now with their recognizably increased understanding in issues and challenges associated with development pressures at the village landscape scale in Ubud. As a result of this increased understanding, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students reflected that they would have liked to have chosen more themes relevant to development pressures in Ubud that they were aware of. These include topics related to climate change, as well as topics that connected were more specific to Bali as an island. For instance, topics about resource

conservation, rising sea levels, the rainforest, culture, littering, beaches, mountains, pollution, traffic, globalization, and the development easements around the temples. Broadly, these observations by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students reflect their increasing understanding of the process, having now participated in it, and specific increments through the process where their unique perspective could have better aligned with development pressures infringing on Ubud's village landscape. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students expressed confidence in their creative potential to explore ideas that had subsequently emerged as a result of participating in the landscape filming process.

### **Interpretations**

In interpreting the external and internal observations made throughout the process, it is important to note that there can be many alternative logics to the sequence in explaining thematic similarities and differences (Richards, 2005). Yet what the three follow up discussions reveal are three distinct perspectives on the project sequence leading up to the landscape films. Embedded in these perspectives are feelings about sharing place, how place then comes to be shared, and what these different interpretations of the project sequence articulate about control of a process that was initiated by a group external to the community of Ubud. This is important as it reveals how (or even if) a process such as this can be initiated in places other than Bali. That is, how context specific did the project sequence have to become throughout the process to engage participation to the point that the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were able to comment on landscape change at the village landscape scale of Ubud? In answering this question it is important to consider how polluted the landscape narratives became as a result of the project sequence that was coordinated and

facilitated by groups outside of the village of Ubud. The follow up discussions reveal a certain tension in answering this question among the different groups contributing to the discussions. For those who attended the film screening, the project sequence was seen as disruptive to an oral traditions norm that are oriented around village elders disseminating stories of place in a top-down approach. However, for the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students, this was a new opportunity for them, age having deferred their role in oral traditions until much later in life. So while the process progressed at a rate equal to their understanding of certain issues and concepts related to spatial change at a certain scale, the novelty of the experience could be argued as sustaining their involvement and commitment to the process. Finally, what should be gleaned from the questions posed to each follow up discussion group is not that the line of inquiry was aimed at legitimizing or authenticating the particular stories that were told, but in understanding how different groups contribute different interpretations both in the project sequence and in what is made of the resulting product.

### **Limitations**

This research poses practical and methodological limitations both in how the data is interpreted, as well as how generalizable the findings are toward future replications of the research in different contexts. From a practical standpoint, there were a number of logistical issues that could not be worked out prior to arriving in Bali in May 2009, but instead required the project coordinators' physical presence in Ubud. As a result, the activities associated with the project sequence had to be adapted to accommodate participants' schedules, religious holidays, and school obligations that were not always clearly evident until after activities had been planned. Thus, while the framework for producing the landscape films was kept intact, many of the details were subject to

change based on Sekolah Menengah Pertama and Udayana students' availability on a daily basis. In addition to these practical limitations of conducting the research in Ubud, there are also methodological limitations imposed by the participatory research approach.

### **Participation by an Identified Group**

This study's methodological framework was designed to consider participation as it was applied through a specific process. Therefore, the totality of the explanation with regards to participation by a certain group within Ubud cannot be expanded beyond any group but the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. While the research intended to consider participation by only the community youth in Ubud, the project sequence was set up to not only engage one sample of community youth, but also sub-groupings to further understand how the participatory process worked with regards to producing the landscape films. However, the large group size required to create ten production teams and the subsequent complex demands necessary to coordinate so many people made it difficult to gauge levels of involvement within the small group dynamics. Interestingly, the two groups affected by this large study population (the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and the US students) had competing interpretations of the number of people necessary to produce a collection of landscape films. While the US students felt that the four-member production teams were adequate, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama student repeatedly communicated that they would have liked to have more of their friends and family directly involved to share some of the workload. Balancing these two internal responses with my external observations, appropriateness of production group size was not necessarily something that was evident.

In participatory research, researchers acknowledge that they are firmly embedded into the project sequence, as was my involvement with the project sequence. This is one limitation on the data analysis, as my interpretations of the data are a product of also having coordinated the project design and implementation in Ubud. While this research design specified four different sources of data (the landscape films and the three follow up discussions), the data was still collected from one point in time from each source. In summary, participation generates a politicized response that is very much a product of the facilitation process, which was partly planned and coordinated by the researcher in this study.

Finally, it is important to note that because of time constraints in the field, and the research's intent to look at how landscape films function as a product of a participatory process, this research instigates (and investigates) action rather than implement action. As a result, the project analysis makes no attempt to assess its worth in terms of long-term implementation indicators.

### **Time**

The project coordination team and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama student participants both repeatedly referenced the limited amount of time available for the landscape film process. As a result, the highly structured nature of the project's timeline, as well the limited availability of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students led to the students' recognizably restricted understanding of where the process was headed at certain moments throughout the project sequence. This was a general consensus that was articulated in the follow up discussions with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. Ideally students from the University of Florida and Udayana University would be positioned to more quickly facilitate their understanding, but it was difficult to budget

time toward this understanding having not had any prior experience working with the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. It is also worth noting that the calculated nature of the project timeline, while essential to ensuring the project was capable of producing the landscape films, was at times a crippling factor in the university students' ability to facilitate the process. However, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were quick to compensate by taking their work unfinished from various activities in the project sequence home with them each evening.

While time limited the Sekolah Menengah Pertama participants' ability to consistently grasp where the project sequence was headed, they recognized that as a result of them not understanding the progression toward making films, their ideas and creativity were not developed to its full potential. Had they been able to apply the level of creativity exhibited throughout the project sequence toward activities that they clearly understood the purpose and intent of, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students argued that they would have potentially explored other ideas that might have been more interesting or relevant to them as community youth. The Sekolah Menengah Pertama students felt that the limited time of the project sequence did not allow their creativity to naturally evolve, so at times the content created through each activity in the project sequence was forced. While the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students did express some dissatisfaction in their level of creativity as a product of them not always understanding the intent of the project sequence, they did notice that their creativity increased the further they got into the process and understood the progression toward producing the landscape films.

## **Challenges with Replication**

From the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students' astute self reflections about time limitations and their ability to engage their creativity to its fullest potential, it is worth noting the exceptional nature of this group of students from Ubud. Their level of engagement and enthusiasm throughout the entire process was instrumental in gauging the success of the landscape films. To replicate this research poses a number of challenges, beginning with the caliber of participants that we were able to collaborate with from the Sekolah Menengah Pertama.

Engaging the participation of a specific group is most often tied to the context in which the participation is engaged. As a result, the question arises if this process could be implemented elsewhere, with all other things being equal except the project context. Participatory strategies are still seeking to "combine generality and validity," which can arguably be accomplished by "devoting greater attention to context" (Adcock & Collier, 2001, p. 529). Context is highly applicable to understanding the phenomena produced by the landscape filming process in Ubud, but also in understanding how the process might compared across different regions of the world, as well as scaling the project up to the national level, "given that different subunits, regions, or subgroups may constitute very different political, social or cultural contexts" (Adcock & Collier, 2001, p. 534), as is especially consistent in Indonesia.

Among many participatory methods, there is a recurring tension between context specificity and universality of the method. As an emerging method, participatory video relies on context specificity, which many argue is one methodological constraint of the technology (Shaw & Robertson, 1997). However, to root a method in context, and to subsequently attempt to validate the method, as the landscape filming process does in

this research, requires that the method establish equivalence among observations (Adcock & Collier, 2001). Thus, by considering the participation of one identified group in Ubud and understanding their perception of development pressures on Ubud's village landscape by way of a participatory process, this research aims to echo these perceptions against other community members of Ubud who share the same physical landscape, but who have arguably different experiences and perceptions based on these experiences. As a result, the "context-specific domain of these observations" (Adcock & Collier, 2001) are very much wrapped up in the cultural heritage traditions of Bali and the Balinese landscape, as was the design of the participatory process itself; but by obtaining a balanced round of feedback based on the process and product of the landscape films, this research stands to more appropriately engage participation that is situated in a method that is at once spatial, technological, and participatory.

### **Additional Considerations for Undertaking Participatory Research**

The working framework for participation applied in this study sparks additional questions about participation that further help shape the research method. Questioning the role of the researcher and the researcher as part of a larger, interdisciplinary collection of disciplines committed to participatory development strategies are explored in the following section.

### **Role of the Researcher**

Researchers engaging in participatory development strategies are increasingly re-inventing their role in the participatory process to arrive at a sequence of coordination, facilitation, and collaboration that is ultimately supported at the local level (Stringer, 2007). If done properly, participatory processes should be culturally derived to sustain both the resources and identities linked to a place. Situating development efforts in a

cultural context is not solely an exercise for outside experts, however. Questions of authenticity and legitimacy arise when development projects do not evolve organically around the existing cultural context in place. Furthermore, how to sustain a project that is the product of an outsider after the development team departs becomes a legitimate concern. To strive toward legitimacy and sustainability, it is important that the project recognizes the limitations of participation and does not extend the findings beyond what is appropriate to the context and to the participants. Finally, development strategies that champion one local voice over others (or even dissent) cannot fully articulate existing conditions as they really are (Sen, 1999).

### **The Related Disciplines**

As developing communities evolve to meet the challenges of the accelerated rate of change brought on by external forces, landscape architects and planners are particularly equipped to facilitate this process. Trained to envision change spatially, these disciplines in particular can comprehend and reach out to the very people who are part of the existing and historic conditions with the intent to improve upon their quality of life. Where these two disciplines have historically fallen short is in what they have traditionally assumed as constants. In their effort to consider nuanced variables specific to the built and natural environment, often the social variables that are associated with the physical landscape remain less explored. To move past descriptive research that “demonstrates the existence of social problems” and “challenges accepted assumptions about these social problems” (de Vaus, 2001, p. 2), there is a need for more explanatory studies that explore questions of why these social problems exist as they do. In moving from descriptive research to explanatory research there is a certain tension between context specificity and generalizing the research findings. This study

situated within the disciplines of landscape architecture and planning initiates a movement toward explanatory research through a specific participatory approach, while at the same time questioning if a participatory method drawing upon the cultural traditions of Bali, Indonesia, can be generalized to other contexts.

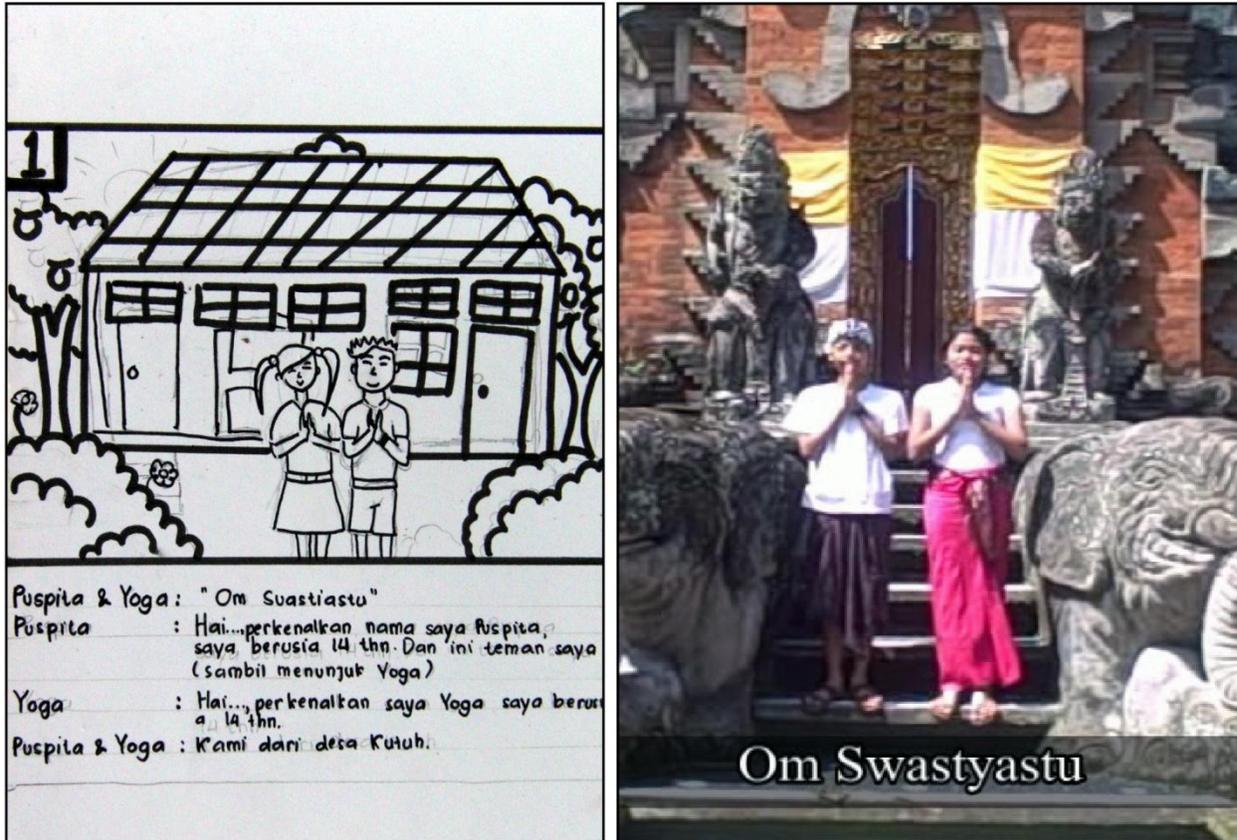


Figure 4-1. Content from Nasi Goreng Group Images representative of "Tracing Video Content Back Through Storyboards." [Graphic example produced by Nasi Goreng Group on May 19, 2009. Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Nasi Goreng Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)



Figure 4-2. Screen Capture from Cycles Film. Scene representative of “Relationship to Broader Themes at Different Scales.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Cycles Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)



Figure 4-3. Screen Capture from Cycles Film. Scene representative of “Relationship to Broader Themes at Different Scales.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Cycles Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)



Figure 4-4. Screen Capture from Duckman Film Scene representative of “Relationship to Broader Themes at Different Scales.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Duckman Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)



Figure 4-5. Screen Capture from Harvest Film Scene representative of “Sophisticated Understanding of Local Pressures Connected to Global Trends.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Harvest Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)

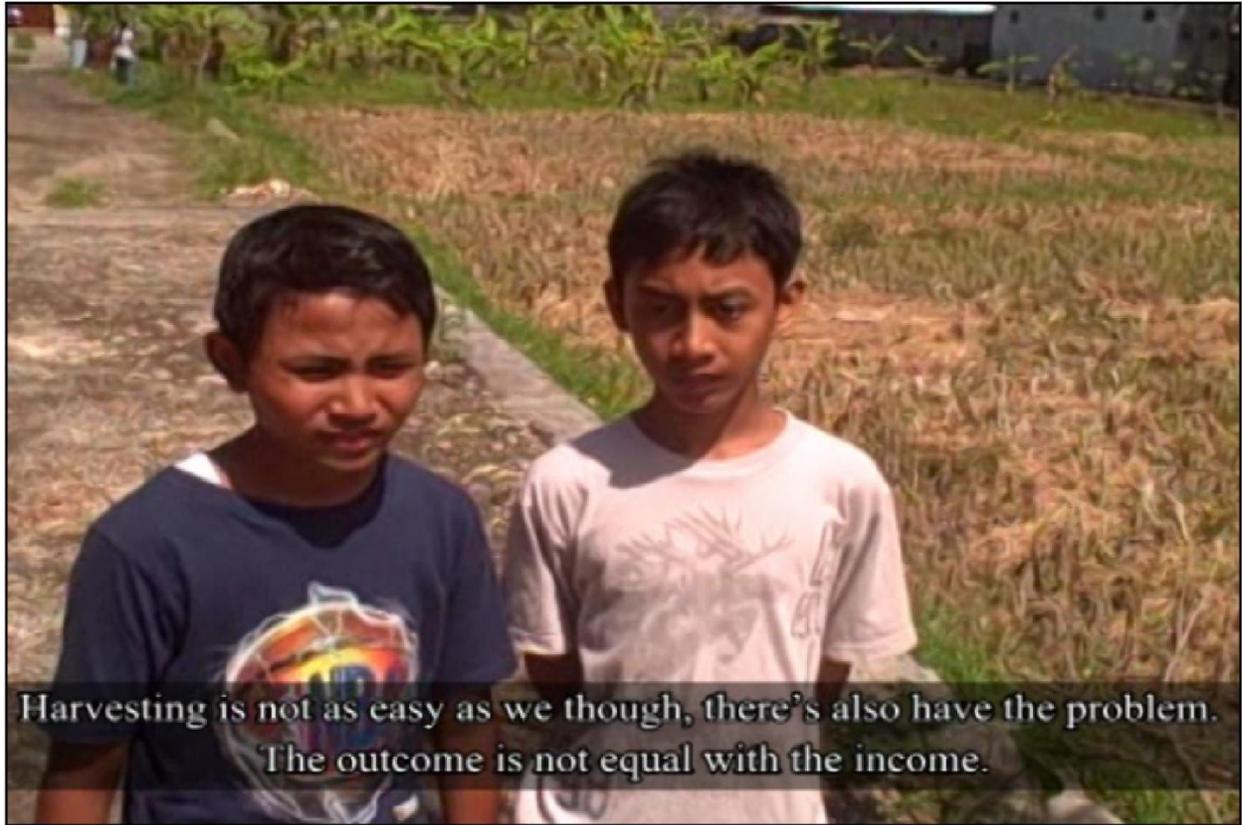


Figure 4-6. Screen Capture from Harvest Film Scene representative of “Sophisticated Understanding of Local Pressures Connected to Global Trends.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Harvest Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)

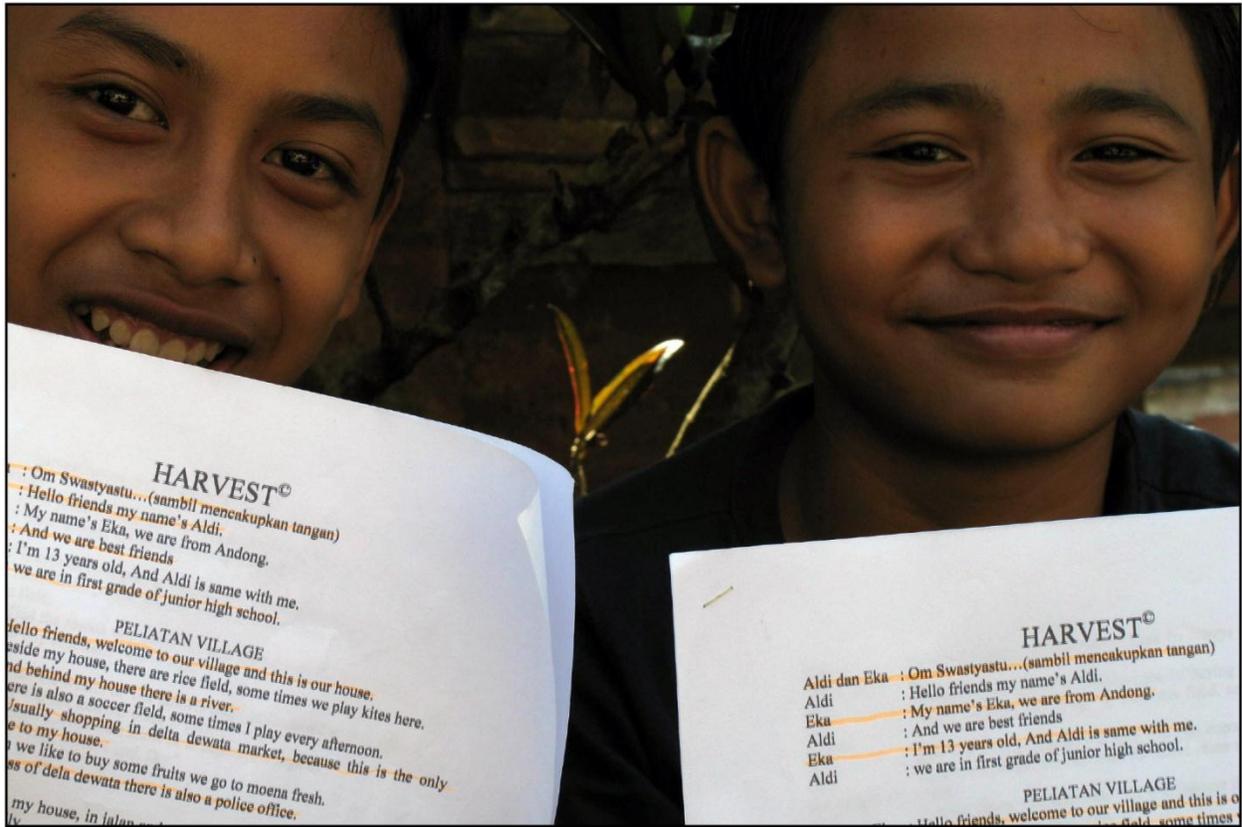


Figure 4-7. Harvest Production Team Image representative of “Evolution of Ownership in the Product.” [Photograph by Widmer, Jocelyn. May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)



Figure 4-8. Screen Capture from Duckman Film. Scene representative of “Articulation of a Particular Voice.” [Screen capture taken from video footage filmed by the Duckman Group on May 20, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)

## CHAPTER 5 IMPLICATIONS

This dissertation poses much needed critical reflection of the increments of spatially situated participatory methods using an emerging technology. In working through this critical reflection, it becomes appropriate to begin to question when participation becomes a collaborative process, and then how this might be significant to development activities. All too often we stop prematurely in our line of inquiry, asking only if participation worked or did not work, when in fact this outcome-oriented approach to participation fails to assess the impacts of the participatory process and what influences these impacts along the project sequence. Participation is as much about the inherent nature of participants as it is about the enabling environment fostered by the participatory process. In addition to questioning the role of participants or the value of participation, we need to move to question the role of the project facilitators, the quality of communication between facilitators and participants, and most importantly, the validity of participation amidst this process. When we can balance why people participate with their actual role as participants in research and/or practice, that seems to be the moment when participants embrace the process, and thus the process becomes a collaborative effort.

At the intersection of where global and local meet on the community heritage landscape, as underrepresented groups gain more agency, and as development challenges are approached from top-down and lateral forces coming together, precedent and other objective standards are not equipped to deal with this shift, and can in fact lead to impasse. The participatory approach coupled with the use of technology is an opportunity to modify traditional participatory community processes

(e.g. community mapping). Precedent and objective standards are not getting us closer to understanding the nuances of participation as they play out at multiple scales. Participation works differently in varying cultures and political contexts, and the right to participate does not always equal a group's capacity to participate or participate meaningfully (Mohan, 2000). To develop this capacity necessitates following a participatory trajectory by which the concepts of development pressures and community consciousness evolve simultaneously through the introduction of multiple scales and multiple levels of participation. The natural gravitation that participation excites toward collaboration when culture and development challenges are approached in tandem—using technologies at appropriate scales—allows the potentially connective powers of culture (Young, 2008) across time and space to integrate and manage development demands.

### **Diversifying Participation**

As participation has become increasingly mainstreamed in development projects, there has been a move to increase public participation in decision-making amidst the tension that exists between diversifying participation and the satisfaction of this growing numbers of diverse participants (Thompson et al., 2005). While the value of including diverse groups is a cornerstone of now widely accepted community-oriented approaches to development (Thompson et al., 2005), participation requires reciprocity between project facilitators and participants (Davis & Reid, 1999). Participatory development seeks to understand the lives of the people participating by involving them in the development process and by using their knowledge “in the search for relevant solutions to relevant problems” (Davis & Reid, 1999, p. 757S). Nevertheless, bringing together certain groups of participants can create a “constructed” world which is

“partially artificial” or a “virtual reality” (Wollenberg et al., 2005, p. 54). Thus the challenge for participation to have meaningful and long-lasting impacts is to make strong links between these two contexts—the real world and the facilitated environment.

In the process of establishing the connection between the real world of project participants and the facilitated world that assembles participants together for the purpose of a project, it is important to arrest the tendency to make assumptions about the group of participants according to their perceived interests and positions. There is an overriding tendency in participatory development projects to divvy up interests and positions into clear, concise, and exclusive categories, thereby ignoring the naturally-occurring overlap and/or diversity that may exist among an assembled group of participants (or those who may be absent from the participatory process altogether). While the group of community youth participants could be characterized as students attending the Sekolah Menengah Pertama, this was not the only way of characterizing this group, nor were all of the students at Sekolah Menengah Pertama involved in the project sequence. Religious beliefs and the location of their homes in relationship to the heart of Ubud are just a few of the characteristics that further diversified the group of community youth that participated in the project. When we cast people in certain roles based on more exclusive categories,<sup>25</sup> whether in our minds or in the way we frame the participatory process, we are not encouraging unbridled participation.

This study examined the participatory process from the standpoint of one discrete group, adolescents. Adolescents offer a unique point of entry into understanding the impacts of participation through development projects. As a group, they are usually

---

<sup>25</sup> For example, community youth as separate and distinct from other roles that might characterize individuals in the group.

already organized into some larger social structure. This most often is through school, as was the case of this project, but it does not necessarily have to be (Bernard, 2000; Patton, 2002). In asking “why do children participate?” this question might be answered on the surface because the organizational system that brings them to the participatory process often requires them to do so. In the case of youth participants in the landscape filming process, their participation could be deemed a requirement because their parents gave consent, which in a sense obliged them to the process under the structure of the afternoon cultural sessions at Sekolah Menengah Pertama. But what sustained their involvement in the project so that participation did not grow stale? While this question cannot be answered outright based on the data collected for this study, any number of factors shed some light, including the interest garnered by the activities of the project sequence and the lure of producing landscape films. It must also be mentioned that in Bali, “even the children have a strong sense of pride” (Covarrubias, 1946, p. 11) in their cultural heritage, and it is intuitive for them to play host to disseminating its legacy.

Because children are almost always organized into a group structure, it may be easy to assemble them under the framework of a participatory process (Bernard, 2000; Patton, 2002). However, it is not as easy to assemble their interests and positions toward a particular issue. Beyond their common enrollment at Sekolah Menengah Pertama, the participatory process and the landscape films both reveal the diversity that exists among this group of twenty community youth from Ubud and the surrounding villages. This group reflected a continuum from living in rural to urban areas. As a result of their spatial proximity to Ubud, a whole host of other variables began to stratify

the group, from independence from their parents, association with the *sawah*, participation in Ubud's tourism sector, access to particular technologies at home, involvement in extracurricular activities, and many more. Thus, organizing otherwise unorganized groups of participants lends itself to some of the cultural issues for parties that are not "clearly bounded" or might be "highly differentiated" (Putnam & Wondolleck, 2003, p. 44).

As one should avoid homogenizing people when working with participatory groups and not fall victim to the "mythical notion of community cohesion" (Arora-Jonsson, 2008, p. 133), it is equally important to not homogenizing places or time. Instead, facilitators should strive to appropriately navigate their insertion, involvement, and removal from these diverse places. The process of producing these landscape films was dynamic and changing based on different circumstances related to context and the participants. Yet one of the main determinants of the participatory process was the participants' increasing attempts to reveal their perceptions of development pressures amidst this changing context. In the case of the landscape films, individual and group motivations were "context-specific" and "locally-bound" rather than "universally definable" (Botes & Rensburg, 2000, p. 52). Thus, it took going through the process that was locally informed in part by the preparation of the project coordinators and also continually informed by what the participants offered up each day. Participation emanated (and cannot be separated from) the participant's social embeddedness in a particular spatially-informed context defined at a certain scale. While development literature and practice critically examines participation to understand its complexities based on an increasingly diverse cross-section of participants (Beard, 2005; Silver, 2007; Wollenberg

et al., 2005), scale warrants similar scrutiny to better understand development pressures that exist across spatial and temporal increments.

### **Relevance of Scale in Articulating Development Pressures**

Context is spatial and ideological, and is defined at a specific scale (Daniels & Walker, 2001, p. 148). Scale does not adhere to an exact measurement, but becomes a utilitarian product of human occupation, function, and use that varies as a culture adapts and evolves from external forces at work. In the contemporary cultural landscape of Ubud, scale is a spatial and cultural construct that closely aligns with traditional distributions of land and meanings associated with the Ubud landscape. Add the elements of location onto a historic community in which heritage is tied to the landscape, and this overlay creates new layers of significance. Worldviews that derive from this heritage are then a comprehensive set of values organized hierarchically that reflect cultural identity. Context becomes the organizing framework for understanding and reconciling cultural identities.

The Balinese worldview is not static, but evolves as the context evolves under emergent challenges. In Bali, these challenges are not new, but have been absorbed into the Balinese world view, and have in many ways become a core element of the Balinese identity (Putnam & Wondolleck, 2003). For instance, tourism and the economic livelihood that the tourism market provides for many residents of Ubud cannot necessarily be distinguished from their identity, but rather has been absorbed into the indigenous culture. While this cultural identity undoubtedly aligns in many ways with the development pressures facing Ubud, it is important to recognize that different actors will “understand the situation differently, prioritize different problems, include or exclude different aspects, and favor different kinds of solutions” (Dewulf et al., 2004, p. 178).

Furthermore, the very resources (rice fields) under question have multiple and interconnected uses and users at varying scales. It is precisely the “people aspects” of natural and cultural resources—the traditional orientation toward these resources that is influenced by the social and political—that inevitably makes these spaces “multiple use with sustained yield” (Daniels & Walker, 2001, p. 151). Thus, to accommodate the real and probable change to these resources and systems of resources, it is necessary to understand at what scale these resources have meaning to particular groups involved in articulating the effects of this change on their cultural identity.

In the developing world, landscape change is inevitable. However, the effects of landscape change are not necessarily universal, and will impose unique and distinct impacts at varying scales and across different groups affected by the change. Similarly, this change can be manifested tangibly, through the physical alteration of the landscape, or intangibly, through the ways that traditions, behaviors, or land uses need to be adjusted. In Bali, not only is scale a complex combination of the global, local, island, and national scales coming together, but the scale of landscape change is at once affected by the global, local, island and national scales. If this change is going to affect the lives of the communities that inhabit these landscapes, then specific groups within the communities need to participate in the processes that considers and influences this change. Landscape change at the village scale is a reality in Ubud. Communicating scale in terms of resources (cultural and natural) and development pressures on these resources needs to align with the scale of the dominant world view. Doing so enables development challenges and their solutions to resonate with those most integrated into the context.

## **Communication Competency and Scale**

There are three important characteristics of competence in communicating challenges associated with natural and cultural resources: adaptability, appropriateness, and effectiveness (Daniels & Walker, 2001). All three of these characteristics wove their way into the project sequence so that it was evolutionary rather than prescriptive in nature.

The project sequence adapted to the project context's changing situation as well as the community youths' understanding of spatial change at the village landscape scale. Not only was it important that the project facilitators adapt their articulation of landscape and scale (through the delivery and facilitation of activities in the project sequence) to align with the participants, but it was also necessary that this adaptation was a result of understanding how the participants were grappling with such contexts at different moments throughout the project sequence. To ensure that spatial change at the village landscape scale was not imposed on the participants, the project facilitation considered not only the ongoing dialogue among production teams, but also how this spatial change in Ubud was depicted in graphic, narrative, and digital forms. While narrative or text-based forms created a leader/follower situation (as observed by the Sekolah Menengah Pertama student in their follow up discussion), activities that were image-based (as observed in both the graphic and filming stages of the project sequence) were more collaborative. These three different forms used throughout the project sequence to engage participants' perception of spatial change created different dynamics depending on whether the form was graphic, narrative, or digital.

Secondly, the project sequence evolved so that communication of spatial change at the village landscape scale was appropriate to the group of project participants. In

this sense, the project sequence is unique to other participatory video projects in developing world contexts (Lunch and Lunch, 2006). This was especially invoked in the transition from traditional community mapping techniques that identified places project participants liked and disliked toward developing a narrative about these spaces. Channeling this transition through the use of age-appropriate and context-specific subthemes related to the *sawah* enabled each group to individually explore spatial change through the lens of a particular topic. It is especially through these subthemes where both the tangible and intangible spatial change comes through.

Finally, effectiveness is a tenet of communication competency as defined by Daniels and Walker (2001). While effectiveness is the most subjective characteristic of competent communication, there are two hallmarks of the project that stand to support the effectiveness of communication throughout the project sequence. As detailed in Chapter Three, the project sequence yields ten landscape films of equal quality where the content can be almost exactly traced to the storyboards, which became graphic translations from the narrative development, which are themselves and extension of the Places I Like / Places I Dislike activity, (albeit through the lens of a particular subtheme). More substantially, however, is one of the points that was made in the follow up discussions with both the US students and the Sekolah Menengah Pertama student. It was in these sessions where the project participants articulated that it was not the language barrier between Bahasa Indonesia and English that made communication a challenge, but it was going through the process that framed spatial change at the village landscape scale that ultimately gave the participants the space and language to articulate how they assess this landscape change within Ubud. Because we do not

control “unilaterally the meanings of words” communicating spatial change at the village landscape scale is undoubtedly a challenge (Dewulf et al., 2004, p. 185). This challenge is most effectively approached when communication between project facilitators and participants embraces the sources of this complexity to include differences and deeply held values and world views (Daniels & Walker, 2001). The project facilitators and participants held different world views and understandings of spatial change in Ubud. But we cannot take for granted what others might or might now know, and must also be mindful of the hidden knowledge, or more specifically, that knowledge not communicated. The use of issue framing, then, becomes an effective means by which to communicate, and thus align what were originally divergent views of scale.

### **Using Frames to Communicate Scale**

Framing is a process of communicating the world around us by shaping, focusing, and organizing this world (Gray, 2003). Frames are not permanent and through framing, participants produce meanings (Dewulf et al., 2004). Thus, framing becomes a way of creating an interpretation of the world around us. Throughout the project sequence, and especially early in the process, certain terms were not especially meaningful to the project participants. “Landscape” was one of these terms that was not commonly understood by the project participants. Yet using frames in the project sequence necessitated the project participants to make sense of these unfamiliar terms through connecting them with more familiar frames. Through the give-and-take of the project sequence, while the process was always moving forward, the pace at which participants grew to understand spatial change at the village landscape scale did not compromise the integrity of its meaning as a manifestation of their own identity. Thus,

framing the initial project sequence, and then allowing the increments within this process to shape, focus, and organize the participants' understanding and articulation of this spatial change in Ubud, the participants created an interpretation of what this change meant to them and how they envisioned its potential impacts.

It is not necessarily what framing the project sequence accomplished that is important, but rather what this process instigated in the participants' ability to produce their own meaning about spatial change at the village landscape scale. At the beginning of the project sequence, the community mapping activities revealed that the participants were aware of their own place in the system, but it was through the project sequence that the participants increasingly became aware of their relationship to the whole—a system that they discovered is not necessarily in equilibrium. Through this discovery, the group of community youth revealed their commitment to aligning with the ideological assumptions, values, and norms of their culture, as was articulated both in the concerns voiced in the film content, and also supported by the discussion that followed the film screening. Yet the participants also discovered that their identity as community youth has both strength and salience. Strength insofar as they took the project sequence and produced a collection of landscape films framing their views and concerns about spatial change at the village landscape scale; and salience insofar as community youth with their identity grounded in the village landscape, have the unique ability to resonate with multiple generations. This interconnectedness of frames is what is important if the concerns articulated by the community youth are to gain momentum in further development discussions. The threat to these frames comes when the frames become disconnected in a larger framed context, where the frames no longer hold their

significance (Dewulf et al., 2004). Thus, scaling up is at once a challenge yet a necessity if the process is to be applied to broader contexts.

As project coordinators and facilitators, we framed the issues relating to spatial change at the village landscape scale. Therefore, we produced certain meanings associated with scale, resources, systems, and development that had not been framed in that particular way for the participants before. Furthermore, we framed the issues as a way to guide and direct the project sequence, without which it would not have proceeded along the trajectory that it took. Dealing with differences in framing the project sequence had to be done quickly while keeping the interaction in motion, as well as keeping an eye on where the interaction is headed (Dewulf et al., 2004). Certainly there were moments of friction, but the project sequence thrived, and thus moved forward when there were points of affinity. Language and communication, then, especially associated with spatial change at the village landscape scale very much played into this dynamic. Ultimately, when the words and objectives of the project facilitators aligned with those of the project participants, communication segued into a dialogue and participation morphed into collaboration.

### **Framing the Project sequence toward Collaboration**

Through the use of frames, the project sequence embraced many different perspectives, thus allowing for varying interpretations of spatial change in Ubud. The frames allowed for varying interpretations to emerge, which fostered not only new interpretations, but variations within their new interpretation. What a collaborative process produces by way of framing is an opportunity to generate ideas, which given the chance, now has the occasion to surface and be explored. This was increasingly

expressed as narratives became more unique from the community maps to the storyboards.

Interests that were wrapped up in the varying interpretations did not have to be cast aside. Varying perspectives, including varying “knowledge levels, diverse values, and levels of passion and emotion” are often assumed as constants (Thompson et al., 2005, p. 176). Yet by being amenable to the potential of more “diverse perspectives, more creative solutions” are possible (Thompson et al., 2005, p. 177). In accepting diversity comes the challenge posed to different groups to respect each other’s rights and to hold distinct and often opposing views (Gray, 2003). Collaboration does not demand that participants set their self-interests aside, nor does the success of collaboration hinge on anyone doing so. Instead, the participants ideas and interactions mattered and gained validity through both the process and outcome of the collaborative exchange (Daniels & Walker, 2001).

Through an additive approach in the project sequence, there was a progression toward collaboration. Participants moved beyond simply buying into the process because of what they understood the project sequence to be working toward (a film), to understanding their role as collaborators because they increasingly understood that the project sequence was adopting their language and their ideas as it moved forward. Thus, the communication cascade fostered an element of trust and transparency in the process. In wanting to keep the inquiry open to the possibility of embracing its own concepts, to be of practical use, and to be accountable to community members, this approach presents two challenges: (1) to let the conceptual categories emerge from the research process rather than from prior theories and (2) to bridge the gap between

researchers and participants in order to formulate a process useful not only to the project coordinators but also to community members (Arora-Jonsson, 2008). Furthermore, to impose structure on the process might have meant that the process moved toward analyzing one main issue rather than the evolutionary nature that was otherwise achieved through the project sequence. Still, by reducing the level of abstraction in this transparent process, collaboration becomes an emerging and evolving phenomenon, while never fully predictable or manageable, it is nevertheless transparent (Daniels & Walker, 2001). Collaboration cannot be forced, scheduled, or required; it must be nurtured, permitted, and promoted. This is always a challenge when research projects are expected to progress through a schedule most often determined by the researcher. So one of the greatest challenges of collaboration, then, is how we move from excelling based on our own experiences to collaborating in a group—especially arresting the tendency of self interest and promotion.

Collaborative inquiry is a form of participatory research in which collaborative learning means constructing knowledge collectively as people work, inquire, and learn together based on a shared purpose (Arora-Jonsson, 2008; Daniels & Walker, 2001). Collaboration involves five key features critical to the collaborative process: (1) Stakeholders are interdependent, (2) solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences, (3) joint ownership of decisions is involved, (4) stakeholders assume collective responsibility for the future direction of the domain, and (5) collaboration is an emergent property (Daniels & Walker, 2001). In the instance this study, collaboration was less deterministic and linear, insofar as the project sequence was not necessarily anticipating a certain quality in its expectations. Rather, it was the collaborative

processes that was important, as participants arranged the system of relationships—natural systems, cultural systems and social systems, so that each group of participants could begin to construct a collective meaning of these systems and their interconnectedness.

Collaboration over and above participatory exchange evolved in the landscape filming process. Participation segued into collaboration at moments when there was an equal forwards and backwards communication cascade flowing from project coordinators, project facilitators, and project participants. The participatory process was marked by moments of collaboration (both internal to the group of participants and externally throughout Ubud). In this sense, the project became a community effort. I often wondered why these community youth consistently showed up each day. Arguably one answer to this question lies in the fact that the community youth increasingly bought into their role as participants the more collaboration there was between the project coordinators, facilitators, and other participants—and among other community members not involved in the project but still interested. By engaging so many in the project sequence and through the follow up discussions, development pressures on the village landscape of Ubud were deconstructed among different groups. Furthermore, the use of problem definition throughout the project sequence and as articulated in the film content as a means to invert solutions to satisfy interests (as broad and diverse as these may be in Ubud) ultimately developed mutually acceptable solutions (Thompson et al., 2005). What is important is that the interests remain diverse without compromising the potential of mutually-acceptable solutions. When this tenuous

balance is struck, collaborative processes can become conducive to articulating development pressures.

Collaboration is conducive to articulating development pressures because the collaborative process works to provide accurate information that helps to separate fact from personal values and attitudes (Thompson et al., 2005). This surfaced by having ten groups with similar interests and solutions create ten distinct landscape films through the lens of ten different subthemes. Formally addressing development issues across different groups does promote this enabling environment where collaboration and alliances begin to form, not only among the group of participants, but by way of the visibility that the process garnered throughout Ubud. Therefore, to embrace the power of collaboration, we need to recognize that none of creativity, innovation, or participation is happening on the fringe of periphery of our current global trajectory. Instead, all of these are mainstreaming themselves (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). The generative dialogue that the collaborative process is meant to excite therefore becomes an invention “from the whole system” (Kahane, 2008, p. 92), a system absorbing the continuing effect of history on it, rather than history that is incremental and distant. Community youth are uniquely pre-dispositioned to make such a comment as they are most ingrained as products of the recent past, yet have their own unique interpretation to contribute.

All too often we are simply hoping to achieve some level of collaboration, or more specifically, collaboration at its basic level is often assumed to be achieved when a collection of people are working together. In fact, there are many informal surprises that can come from collaboration that give it depth and further significance to participatory processes. Among these surprises is the moment when barriers between project

facilitators and participants break down so that we no longer are bound by structure and deliverables, but can connect and communicate with each other (Bergelin et al., 2008). In doing so, we do not assume what our interest are as researchers to be what we see occurring on the ground. Furthermore, there is a particular sense of empowerment that can come from a group, not just project facilitators or project participants, independently, but the collaborative group, in knowing that together they have effectively produced something based on the resources and the knowledge that the group has collectively amassed. Among this amassed knowledge that is articulated in the collection of landscape films includes conversations about resource scarcity, historic and contemporary supply and demand of the rice produced from the *sawah*, climate change, the provincial development regulations that run in parallel with the ritualistic determinants of land use, and the general resource give-and-take that is a result of the island's finite resource base. Still, the collaborative process took the unique identities of the participants and allowed them to explore their own identities in relationship to this knowledge, as well as spatially in terms of what the village landscape once was, what it is now to them, and what it could become.

### **Culture and Development**

When culture is used as a medium in a collaborative process, the process becomes much more dynamic and engaging for participants, and the process can become unbounded by the structure in which it is implemented. In fact, people cannot “act or interact in any meaningful way except through the medium of culture” (Daniels & Walker, 2001, p. 76). Collaboration becomes more than an effort to seek a recipe, but rather an inspiration for communities to develop their own framework for the issues that the process explores (Daniels and Walker, 2001). When participatory processes are

meant to excite collaboration, moments of collaboration hinge on the participatory process adapting to the existing cultural and social settings (Mbakagu, 2004).

Culture for different groups participating includes many different dimensions, yet at the same time, identities are shaped differently by the overriding structure that culture offers in a community. The variable dimensions of culture include values, reasoning, directedness, and above all else, context (Daniels & Walker, 2001). For the group of community youth participating in the landscape filming process, the cultural structure that was in place particularly within the context of their school day allowed them to devote a number of hours in the afternoon to exploring their cultural heritage through dance, music, theater, and art lessons. This formal structure is juxtaposed against the informal yet no less significant daily rituals and traditions that mark the passage of each day for even contemporary Balinese. Formal holidays and festivals weave their way in, and daily life for any Balinese is influenced by culture in the context of Ubud.

More generally, Ubud operates from approximately 8:00 am until well after dark as a tourist destination. These community youth carry out their day-to-day rituals amidst the cultural tourism structure that is imposed on the daily rhythm of Ubud. The culture in Ubud has absorbed the presence of tourists, and the daily rituals and traditions are rarely interrupted, but certainly influenced as they are offered on display for the errant passer-by. Thus, the context of Ubud cannot be separated or removed from the identities of the community youth, as their identities are embedded in the formal and informal cultural structure that ebbs and flows throughout different parts of the village.

Culture in the case of the group of twenty community youth was also found to be influenced by religious beliefs and degrees of affluence. Depending on these two

variables, the community youth experienced Ubud differently. The participatory process drew out these nuances and offered them up for their collaborative potential. While all of the community youth attended the same school and were more-or-less paired in such a way that they lived in close proximity to each other, many of the participants commented on how they did not know their partners very well prior to the project. Thus, the landscape films were that much more enriched by those groups that were comprised of pairs which were life-long next-door-neighbors and had nearly identical daily experiences, as they were by those groups that paired together youth that lived very distinct lives from each other all within the context of Ubud.

The participants' identities were at once shaped by: the immediate context of Ubud and their varying degrees of engagement with Ubud as a cultural setting, the understanding and attachment participants had to other places on the island of Bali, the rest of the Indonesian archipelago, and then in a broader global context as the distant origin of the project facilitators was of immense interest to the participants. Scale then weaves its way into the cultural construction of multiple identities as they are anchored in a particular place and moment in time, yet as they perceive and conceptualize places and issues that the process found to orbit around their anchor point in Ubud. When we embrace pluralistic identities, even amidst what is deemed a fairly constant group of community youth, we move beyond considering development pressures in a particular context as isolated and unique. Instead, we can connect these contexts, as contexts are not only becoming better linked to the rest of the world, but this global understanding of context is relevant to even the younger generations of societies (Wollenberg, 2005). Culturally-based development project get us closer to

understanding the impact of participation in a particular context at a particular moment in time so that we can harness the potentially connective powers of culture at multiple scales to understand these pressures as locally situated, but still unbound.

Locating, articulating, and engaging cultural meaning has become a dominant issue in our time (Young, 2008). The process of creating the landscape films served to do all three through the lens of development pressures. However, this was not a linear nor cumulative progression, but iterative through the project sequence as the community youth more precisely located, more exactly articulated, and more creatively engaged their culture in grappling with the spatial change at the village landscape scale. This spatial change was given both temporal and physical dimension as it was shaped by the identities of a particular group of community youth who were uniquely aligned with the uniquely Balinese cultural traditions of the past, but also who held a keen interest and understanding of contemporary technologies. How we bring these together ensures vast potential for managing spatial change at the village landscape scale. Those spatially trained in the built and natural environment are uniquely equipped to motivate.

### **Aligning Culture and Planning**

Planners and landscape architects have the distinct advantage of conceptualizing space at varying scales. We need to forfeit our sole propriety of these skills so that the layers of analysis are amassed by the people embedded in the context and conceptualized by the same people who will be affected by spatial change. In doing so, planning needs to align diverse viewpoints, ranging from perspectives of those who use community landscapes to views of those whose culture is shaped by these same landscapes. The landscape filming process allowed significant resources to be placed

on the community's "radar screen" and allowed dialogue and collaboration amidst the pressure for development on these community landscapes is occurring (Thompson et al., 2005, p. 177). How this occurred was not necessarily prescriptive and cannot necessarily be replicated in its entirety in a different context, but what it did do was draw on culture and especially culture that has been influenced by a historical trajectory that spans a continuum from ancient traditions to the influence of the recent past. In doing so, the importance of the historical component of culture adds value to planning strategies that intend to engage development pressures that cannot be disentangled from either history or culture. Engaging the historical component of culture not only connects that past with the present, but does so by way of creativity. Culture, then, may be considered both in terms of its role in the "constitution of the spatial and planning scales themselves, and also in terms of its potentially connective powers" (Young, 2008, p. 80).

### **Connective Powers of Planning and Culture**

What those allied through the built and natural environment need to explore is how culture has the power to connect and animate otherwise logically separate types of planning (Young, 2008). The landscape filming process utilized participation to unveil some of the parallels that exist between urban and regional culture and the challenges facing urban and regional planning in Ubud and beyond (Young, 2008). This parallel relationship that prevails between urban and regional planning and urban and regional culture is especially relevant in the context of Bali that celebrates provincial autonomy amidst an otherwise highly-nationalized Indonesia. Through culture, the historical trajectory of even the *sawah* within Ubud is connected to wider patterns of history and culture not just in Bali or throughout Indonesia, but ultimately through a potentially

international dimension (Young, 2008). While the landscape filming process engaged a particular group of participants to explore the potentially connection between culture and planning, participatory planning strategies should be mindful of the omnipresent challenge of mainstream public involvement in issues related to development pressures.

### **Challenges of Mainstreamed Participation**

Participation is becoming an increasingly mainstreamed phenomenon, especially in the context of Indonesia, where Indonesians deem participation not only as their right, but also as their civic responsibility and obligation (Mohan & Stokke, 2000). This begs the question: How do we deal with increased public interest in issues related to or stemming from development pressures? And what does this mean for the future when oftentimes this increased public interest is not matched by an increased public understanding of the issues involved? The challenge lies in harnessing this public participation toward the benefit of the management process rather than as a hindrance to the process. The landscape filming process garnered widespread interest throughout Ubud as the participants grew increasingly visible. The project sequence had participants taking storyboards home, filming was often done in public open spaces, and family members and other community members were cast as roles within the films. Today we are dealing with the mainstreaming of participation and overall public involvement in development pressures within the context of outdated metaphors about communities and how they are historically perceived to flourish or decay (Robinson, 2009).

As part of a new paradigm for understanding development pressures on community landscapes, we need to re-invent the metaphors that we have grown complacent in using so that they appropriately match and transcend the many scales

we are forced to contend with today and in the future. When we level the playing field, allow everyone to weigh in, and then are systematically able to evaluate and monitor the former on the basis of the latter, maybe then we have simultaneously universalized yet maintained the context-specific advantages associated with participation. Participatory research requires reciprocity, after all (Davis & Reid, 1999). It is this reciprocity that needs to be required not just among participants and facilitators, but also in theory and application of the participatory process so that it achieves reciprocity for the ultimate benefit of the community where the collaboration is taking place.

### **Dissemination Opportunities**

There is an opportunity for reciprocity above and beyond the participation engaged through the landscape filming process. In fact, it is this reciprocity that in part moves the landscape filming process beyond participatory and toward collaboration. A hallmark of participatory development is that the results of a project should be “shared, usable, and have the potential to result in positive change” (Thompson et al., 2005, p. 175). The process began to build a narrative about landscape change in Ubud yet it was the experience that will stay with the community youth and help sustain the legacy of Ubud’s village landscape. Our experiences and learning stretch beyond the time of inquiry and we carry the lessons with us in our work, in the village, in academia, and in everyday life (Arora-Jonsson, 2008). The landscape films’ significance is not anchored in the context in which the process took place, but extends beyond that. The process only instigated the learning, or more specifically, framed a set of issues related to spatial change at the village landscape scale for a group of community youth embedded in this landscape. What they gleaned from the process can be carried with them and applied

to more deliberate dissemination tactics beyond what was possible through the duration of the project.

### **Final Thoughts**

Throughout the history of participatory development, development experts have sought to empower the marginalized voice. In doing so, the argument has been made that researchers define the contexts, characterize development issues, and target those whom are deemed to be marginalized by these issues. Yet what a survey of the history of participatory development suggests is that context exists long before being defined by researchers; and participatory involvement in decisions about development are quite common, and their onset does not require the presence of development experts. However, engaging participation and evaluating participatory processes is one valid way of understanding the realities of a world with more fluidity than what is often perceived.

One reality is that power imbalances are often embedded in social and cultural contexts, an argument made in support of the “Tyranny” critique (Cooke & Kothari, 2001) and confirmed by this evaluation of one participatory process. Thus, it is valid to be critical of the participatory process evaluated in this study and to continue to question participation as an authentic behavior. Such questions are valid because the complexities of participation have not been matched with the complexities of context, with power being one example of this disparity.

Development discourse framed most recently by post-modernists (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Escobar, 1995), attempts to standardize context while dismissing participation in development on the grounds that participation cannot be generalized. While this development discourse culminating in Cooke and Kothari’s “Tyranny” critique (2001) is accurate to analyze participatory development methods, this discourse does

not prove that participation is inherently wrong, nor does it offer any viable alternatives to development. Instead, the “Tyranny” critique (Cooke and Kothari, 2001) dismisses participation on the grounds that context cannot be standardized, therefore making participation impossible to generalize. This evaluation of one participatory strategy argues the converse. That is, because context cannot be standardized, participatory strategies should be situated in these complex and fluid contexts (as they really exist) to further understand the complexities of participatory development.

While there continues to be a need to standardize participatory processes for development (so that monitoring and evaluation are possible), the same cannot be done to context. As Bali grapples with the collision of local and global challenges, so too do participatory theories and methods, but in the other direction. As development discourse continues to strive toward some set of universal truths about participation, there remains a tension between efforts to universalize participatory strategies and to situate these same strategies in a specific context informed by a unique cultural heritage. Yet in an attempt to generalize characteristics of this project to other contexts, there are moments from the project that should be celebrated in the same context in which they were generated (one of those moments being empowerment among the community youth participants). The participatory process took the unique identities of the participants and allowed them to explore their own identities in relationship to this knowledge, as well as spatially in terms of what the village landscape once was, what it is to them now, and what it could become.

The participatory video process that was informed by Bali’s unique cultural heritage was one way of both attracting and retaining participation so that more important

principles guiding development could be explored. While the process did not produce these guiding principles, it instigated a sense of inclusiveness by engaging the community youth and then inviting others to take part in what the process produced. Context, then, became an entry point for the project's initial design, and the activities in the project sequence did expand upon the prevalent tension between local and global development challenges in Ubud. Drawing on a culture that has been so meticulously documented (like the Balinese) gives the researcher an entry point into the context so that the participatory process can be derived from this historical evidence. However, it is important to note that there needs to be room in the process for inconsistencies in this history and as well as for how the recent past has influenced this history.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, there is value to participatory processes being initiated and then evaluated by someone outside of the community context. Civic engagement in development decisions may be kindled prior to any participatory process and long after the process ends. However, the value in initiating and then evaluating a participatory process such as has been done through this research lies in organizing the process as a way of educating participants and providing the space for self-reflection during and after the participatory process. An evaluation of this participatory process that utilized video in the village context of Ubud reveals that the project was not advocating a position on development, but was facilitating one way to engage a group of participants in conversations about development. What the project sequence could not ensure was that the momentum garnered by the initial project would continue toward creating a

---

<sup>26</sup> One example of these inconsistencies coming through was in the concern over the use of adolescents to narrate stories typically done so by elders. Yet at the same time, the adolescents claimed that they had never been involved in anything similar to the landscape filming project.

development agenda aimed at safeguarding cultural landscapes and the cultural and natural resources supported by these landscapes.

The process may not have initiated new development policy for the pressures facing Ubud's village landscape, but it was instrumental in reframing the dialogue surrounding particular cultural and natural resources, these resources as systems, and then the proposed threat of development pressures on these village landscapes that hold a particular significance to the community's youth. Striving toward some set of universal truths about participation, such as what Botes and Rensburg refer to as the "ideals of participatory development" (Botes & Rensburg, 2000, p. 53) may disengage some of the dynamism and diversity that is inherent in context. People have a canny way of surprising us—whether these are project facilitators from leading universities or participants from a composite village area in Bali. Whether I can say for certain these surprises will become certainties the "next time around," I cannot. What the process did accomplish was to present a more explicit explanation of concepts related to development pressures at a certain scale to a certain group embedded in that scale. These pressures were then articulated in terms of island-wide issues and more intimate tensions between maintaining cultural heritage while sustaining a way of life in an emerging developing country.

APPENDIX A  
DETAILED EXPLANATION OF BALI FIELD SCHOOL PROJECT SEQUENCE

**(1) Community Map**

This activity allowed the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students to locate where they lived on a map that was hand-drawn on a large poster board (see Figure 3-3). The boundaries of the map were determined by feedback from the Sekolah Menengah Pertama coordinator who estimated where the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students lived. This first mapping activity enabled us to understand where the students lived in relative proximity to each other and some key locations in Ubud (the school, the soccer field, and the monkey forest), but because the map was not drawn to scale and students were relying on their knowledge of living ‘close to’ another student, there was a significant clustering of students who claimed to live near each other, and placed their respective stickers as if they all lived on the same street. However, when this activity was conducted a second time with a larger, to scale map that included more detail, as well as had greater extents (see Figure A-1), with the help of the Sekolah Menengah Pertama coordinator, a more careful approximation of where students lived was mapped. From this map, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students were grouped in pairs with another student who lived closest to them based on the map (see Table A-1). This information is more clearly articulated on a generated map of Ubud and surrounding areas (see Figure A-2).

**(2) Story Mapping**

The second activity of the project was intended to spatially orient project contributors to the landscape scale of importance to the project. The process was initiated by an example produced during a working session the day before by the US

students.<sup>27</sup> Figure A-3 illustrates the US students' Story Map that was brought to the afternoon working sessions to graphically facilitate the exercise among the production teams. The first tangible exercise toward producing the landscape documentaries and to begin to work spatially was to map participants' village with six narrative vignettes (home, football field, temple, etc...). As production teams explored the places where they lived, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students began laying this information out on poster boards. When the US students completed this same exercise in a workshop setting, they began by establishing a boundary on the periphery of their poster board. In contrast, the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students worked from the most central point of their spatial orientation, outward. This is a testament to the Balinese inclination for detail. However, the original Story Maps became predominantly temporal, as they progressed through a typical day for the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students. An additional activity called Places I Like, Places I Dislike was integrated into the project sequence to reorient participants spatially (rather than temporally) and further refine the scale of interest. Inevitably there were stories attached to the places participants liked and disliked within the village landscape of Ubud.

### **(3) Places I Like, Places I Dislike**

The Places I Like, Places I Dislike activity created a clearer sense of the landscapes and places important to the Sekolah Menengah Pertama students and oriented these places in a two-dimensional format. To get an initial sense of the village landscape and to attempt to emotionally orient participants toward landscapes at this scale, each group began to graphically represent their village. It is interesting to note

---

<sup>27</sup> All subsequent content in the project sequence was introduced through a series of examples similar to this technique.

that contributors were naturally inclined to balance their ‘likes’ with ‘dislikes’. In doing so, boundaries were established to delineate perception of place and fears were expressed, as the Balinese approach unkempt or wild landscapes on the fringe or periphery with mystery and trepidations. Among production teams, this was an important activity to reveal scale and emotional attachment at what was beginning to be defined and recognized as the village scale. This activity also revealed some commonalities among the ten iterations of Places I Like, Places I Dislike so that we could start to align subsequent activities to these common interests. Recurrent places that were documented on the poster boards included the students homes, school, soccer field, market, and what eventually became the most recurrent attribute—the *sawah*. Thus, this activity inaugurated theme ideation which was eventually used more explicitly to direct the narratives of each of the individual landscape films.

The temporal and spatial ultimately came together when the more conventional Story Mapping activity (see Figure A-4, left) was combined with Places I Like, Places I Dislike (see Figure A-4, right) to start to graphically articulate a story relating these two concepts. In doing so, meaning and importance began to surface (as well as their clever use of illustrations and hand graphics). This activity began our efforts to celebrate the community youth as the important characters in these stories where their unique connection to the landscape supported and validated these stories.

#### **(4) Identification of Landscape Themes**

From the story mapping exercise, an overriding tendency for the community youth to align themselves with the *sawah* emerged. Unable to deny this connection, we determined that the overall theme for the collection of landscape documentaries would be “Our *Sawah*”. From this broad theme, we identifies ten culturally-relevant and age-

appropriate subthemes for each individual group to explore in the subsequent activities. The following is a list of subthemes: (1) Ducks/The Duckman, (2) Harvest, (3) Flying Kites, (4) Scarecrows, (5) *Nasi Gorang* (Fried Rice) (6) Offerings, (7) Planting, (8) Water Temples, (9) Cycles, and (10) People Working. Each group was able to choose their subtheme, and then extensive negotiations went on as groups traded subthemes until everyone received a subtheme that they were excited about and understood its meaning as it related to the *sawah*.

The sub-themes ran the gamut from landscape creation stories to eating and consuming the productive yields of the landscape. A complete list and description of sub-themes is included in Table A-2. Each team drew a theme and was given the opportunity to negotiate trades if they were not satisfied with their pick. While each of the ten themed landscape documentaries contained elements of both the local and global narratives of Bali, the collection of ten landscape documentaries presents a telling articulation of these themes as a continuum from human cultivation and ritual order and what this means in their world today.

### **(5) Constructing the Narrative**

The expression of concepts within the subthemes occurred through the development and refinement of each group's narrative as it related to their individual subtheme. Narratives for the individual landscape documentaries were developed from a series of activities that were designed and delivered in sequence. The first activity after each group had identified a sub-theme was narrative development. This process was guided by an example that contained five main elements (see Figure A-5): (1) Introduction of contributors; (2) description of contributors' village; (3) walk-through of contributors' homes and introduction of any family members present; (4) the *sawah* as it

relates to each group's selected sub-theme; (5) issues and concerns about the sustainability of the *sawah* in terms of the sub-theme (as either an opportunity or threat); and (6) an optimistic departure from the *sawah* as it highlights the outstanding legacy of the contributors' community heritage. Production teams then took the narratives and translated them graphically into a storyboard format, where each frame of the storyboard roughly approximated individual scenes in the films.

### **(6) Storyboarding**

The interpretation of these narratives occurred through the production of storyboards. Through this activity, each group of contributors divided a poster board into a series of windows (a place to sketch the scene) with lines beneath each frame for the scene's dialogue (including who is speaking). In addition to transferring the narrative produced onto the storyboard, each group was encouraged to refine their ideas and consider the envisioned duration of each scene (see Figure A-6). Groups also practiced speaking the dialogue included with each scene so that they began to get a sense for how these scenes would transpire. Not only did the storyboards become the script for the filming stage, but they also were instrumental in the editing and assembly of each landscape film.

### **(7) Film Production**

The storyboarding activity segued into the production of ten short landscape documentaries varying in length from five to nine minutes. Filming was an intensive organizational and logistical feat where all ten groups were sent out into the village of Ubud and surrounding villages with simple, standard definition Flip Ultra video camera provided to each group by the program. Each group navigated through their scenes and adhered remarkably well to the sequence of their storyboards to facilitate the film

editing process. It is important to recognize the technical elements of the program that were ultimately responsible for editing and assembling the collection of participatory landscape documentaries. Since video editing is a labor-intensive process, the facilitation teams stressed the importance of having clearly defined storyboards to guide the filming of each scene. Members of the facilitation team were charged with performing the simple edits referring back to the production team's storyboard documentation. The production teams contributed to the editing process by reviewing the rough-cuts and guiding the editing teams in changes. Editing team also translated the films, adding lower-third subtitles in English. The resulting product was one final presentation (54 minutes) containing ten stand-alone videos about "Our *Sawah*" and the respective subthemes narrating stories of place specific to the *sawah*.

Table A-1. Pairing of Groups Based on Student Proximity

| Group (by Sub-Theme Name) | Member 1* | Member 2 |
|---------------------------|-----------|----------|
| (1) Cycles                | 3         | 10       |
| (2) Duckman               | 5         | 19       |
| (3) Water Temples         | 2         | 8        |
| (4) Offerings             | 11        | 17       |
| (5) People Working        | 1         | 12       |
| (6) Harvest               | 13        | 14       |
| (7) Plantings             | 15        | 16       |
| (8) Playing Kite          | 6         | 18       |
| (9) Scarecrows            | 7         | 20       |
| (10) <i>Nasi Goreng</i>   | 4         | 9        |

\*Numbers for Member 1 and Member 2 correspond to circled yellow numbers in Figure 3-5.

Table A-2. Landscape Film Themes

| Individual Theme                | Explanation of Theme   |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Ducks / Duckman                 | Ducks play a vital role in ecosystem regulation for the rice paddies; the 'Duckman' is that person in a community responsible for guiding the ducks from one terrace to another; furthermore, tourists are always eager to try duck, which is a common item on restaurant menus.       |
| Harvest                         | The harvest process is a laborious one in Bali without much help from technology to assist the process; harvests occur twice a year.   |
| Kites                           | The rice-terraced landscapes are the ideal backdrop for kite-flying, a favorite pastime of children of all ages in Bali; the art of making a kite is being lost to commercially-produced kites sold in local markets.  |
| Scarecrows                      | Scarecrows have an omnipresence in the landscape and the Balinese have certain rituals and beliefs that coincide with the use and jurisdiction of a scarecrow's watch.   |
| <i>Nasi Goreng</i> (Fried Rice) | The ultimate yield from the rice-terraced landscape is fried rice; there is an intricate process for creating and serving up the island's popular dish most commonly found on menus.   |
| Offerings                       | Intricate rice handicrafts are created on a daily basis to make offerings to the gods that watch over the fields and produce a productive harvest.   |
| Planting                        | Planting is an elaborate process that involves transplanting seedlings from nurseries to the fields.   |
| Water Temples                   | Water temples are one of the most iconic structures that dot the rice-terraced landscapes in Bali. These temples are strategically placed in <i>kaja-kelod</i> orientation to appease the rice goddess, <i>Dewi Sri</i> .  |
| Cycles                          | The padi cycles are determined primarily by the wet and dry season and the intense irrigation system on the island. Planting cycles also influence the recreational pursuits of local kids—mud fights when the fields are flooded after harvest and flying kites when rice is growing. |
| People Working                  | The locals who work the picturesque rice fields stand in stark contrast to those who work in the tourism sector along the main roads in Ubud; this has created a division of classes with the emergence of a middle class.   |

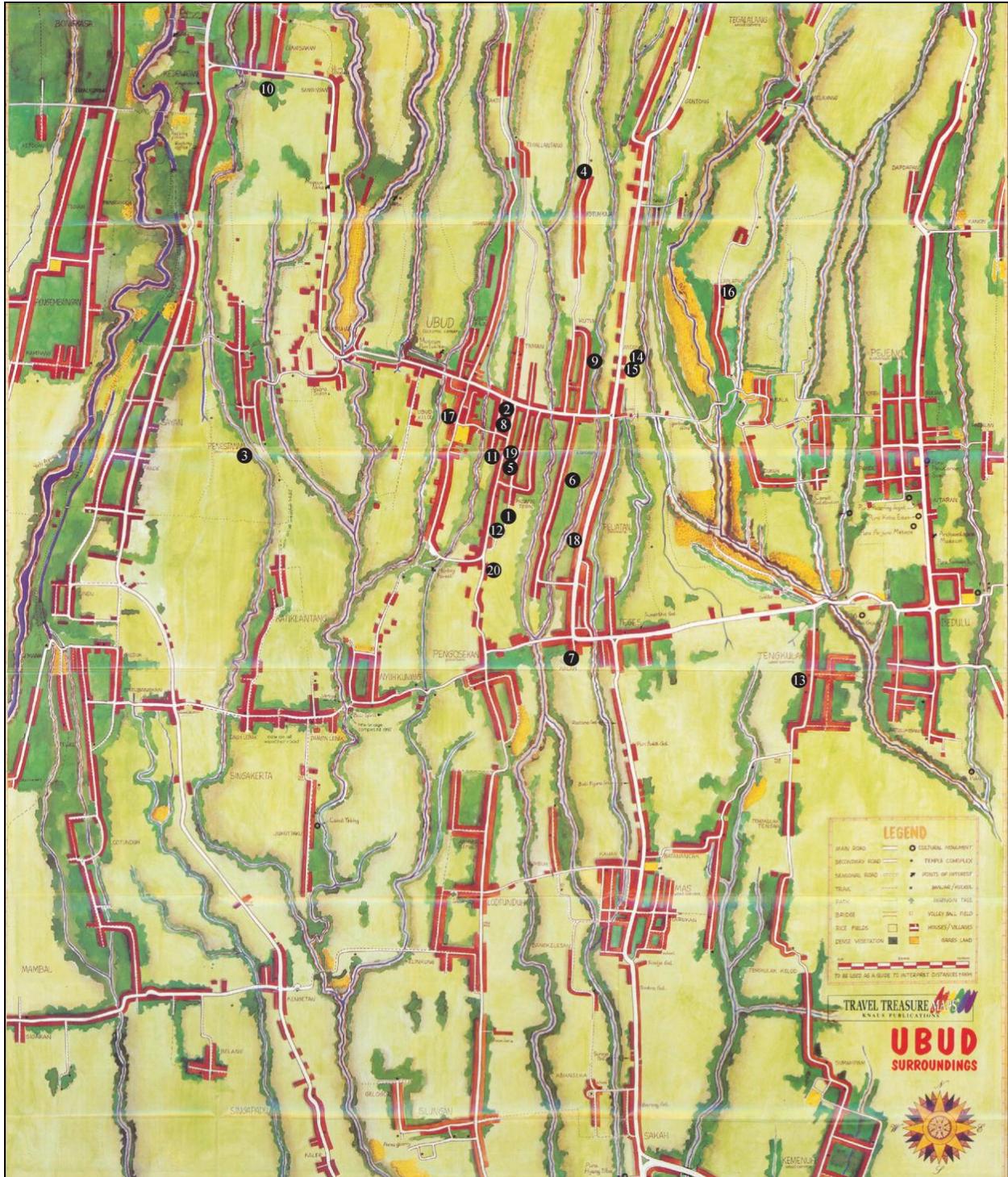


Figure A-1. Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages with Sekolah Menengah Pertama Students' Houses Identified

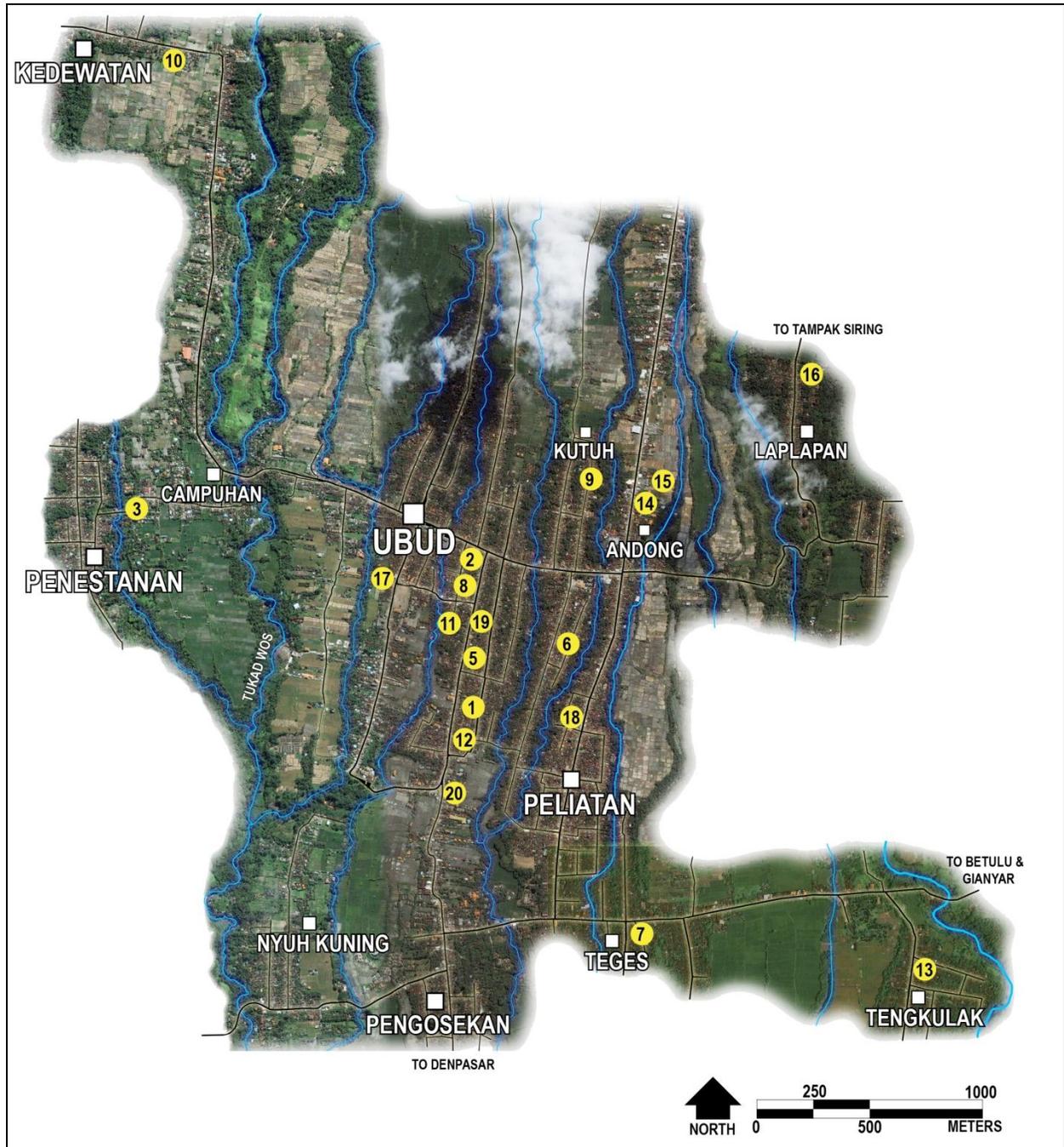


Figure A-2. Refined Map of Ubud and Surrounding Villages. A) Sekolah Menengah Pertama Students' houses identified by yellow circles. B) Number correspond to student pairs listed in Table 3-3. [Map courtesy of Andrews, Sarah 2010. Content adapted from Tukad Dawa Stream Course Enhancement. Landscape Architecture Capstone Project. University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.]

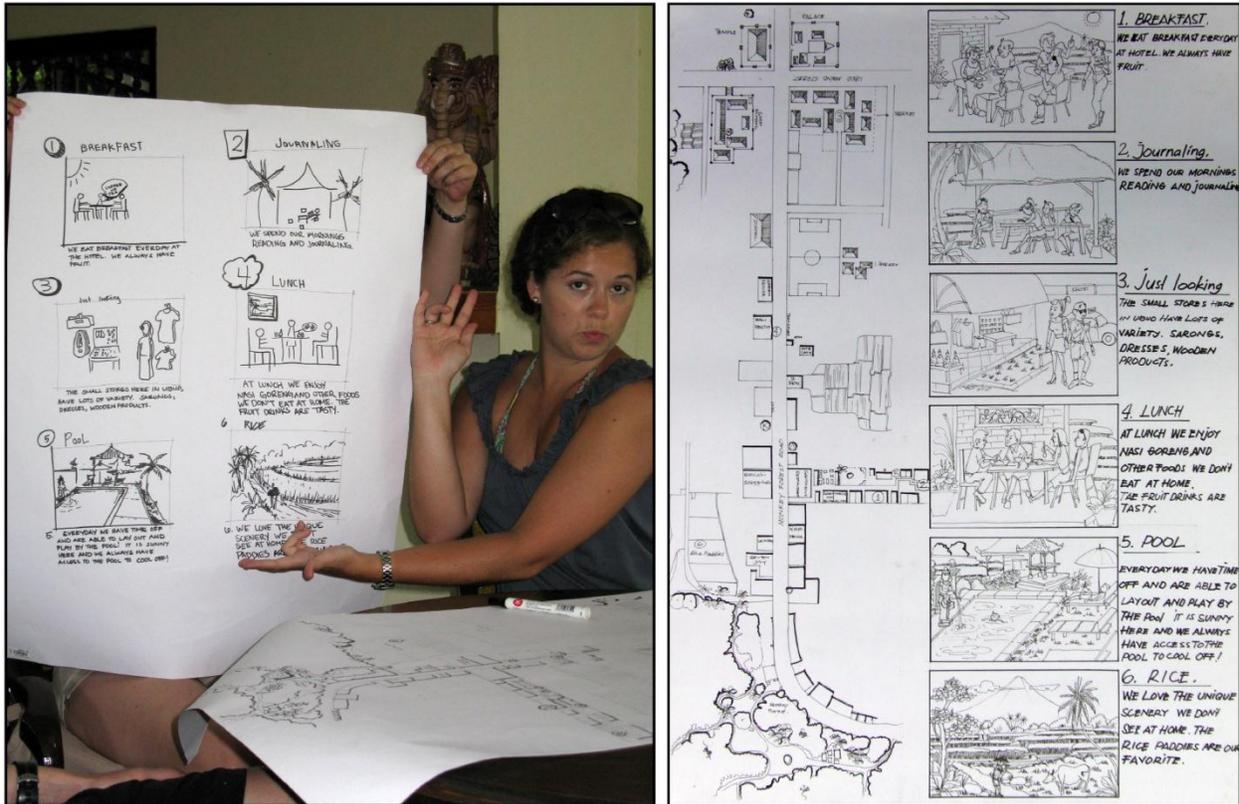


Figure A-3. Typical Lead by Example Approach. [Graphics produced by US students May 11, 2009. Ubud, Bali, Indonesia] (Bali Field School, 2009)



**Narrative genesis (2 hours):** Each team of 2 SMP students is to develop a story about the padi sawa in their village. The story will eventually be developed as a 2–5 minute video and is to include (in the order they appear here) the following parts:

**Note: the framework should be consistent, but please encourage the students to be creative in the content and the way the content is communicated.**

**1.0 INTRODUCTION**  
Very simply, we want the SMP students to identify themselves and take ownership of the story.

**Example:**  
Scene 01:  
Talking head: Budi

Budi:  
"Hello, My name is Budi."

Scene 02:  
Talking head: Wayan

Wayan:  
"I'm Wayan."

**2.0 VILLAGE DESCRIPTION**  
We want the SMP students to tell us where they come from. We also want the SMP students to give us a quick sense of what their neighborhood is like. To do this, they should identify their top 3 preferences from the story mapping exercise last Wednesday and describe these very briefly.

**Example:**  
Scene 03:  
At the village gate: Pan of Budi and Wayan standing in front of the "Welcome to Banana Bobosari Village" sign

Budi:  
"We are from the village of Banana Bobosari."

Scene 04:  
Walking past the football field

Wayan:  
"This is the football field. This is where we play football afterschool."

Scene 05:  
A shot of the temple from across the street.

Budi:  
"This is the area in front of the temple where we like to meet with our friends and play games."

Scene 06:  
Walking along the rice terraces, coconut palms in the background.

Wayan:  
"This is the padi sawa. The frogs here keep me up at night."

**3.0 AUTHOR'S HOME**  
We would like the SMP students to give us a quick glimpse of their homes. From the outside only and can include multiple spaces, briefly.

**Example:**  
Scene 07:  
Begin with image of the front of the house. Quick walk around the outside ending at space in the back where Budi plays checkers with his grandfather.

Budi:  
"This is my house, number 58 Jalan Bananabobo Street. My mother likes plants and this is my favorite spot. It's where I play checkers with my grandfather."

**4.0 OUR SAWA**  
Here we want to focus the narrative directly on the topic of the neighborhood's padi area.

The SMP students, working closely with the Udan students, should develop story ideas based on the topics they have negotiated. This portion of the narrative should be the body of the story/narrative/video.

The number of scenes, the dialogue, the actors, the composition is to be determined principally by the SMP students under the direction of the Udan students.

**STORY IDEAS (again, each should be specific to the padi)**

**Offerings (Dewi Sri, etc)**  
**Water temples (small ones located within the sawa)**  
**Irrigation channels (and gates)**  
**Cycles (wet and dry)**  
**Duckman**  
**Scarecrows and windmills**  
**Harvest**  
**Planting (& nursery for new rice)**  
**Nasi goreng**  
**Edges / development encroachment**  
**People working**  
**Kite flying**  
**Dewi Sri stories**

**5.0 ISSUES AND CONCERNS**  
We would like the students to talk about any issues or concerns they might have relating to the sawa. Are they worried about loosing the sawa to encroaching development? Are they worried about pollution in the sawa area? Are they worried that there may not be any sawa by the time THEY have children? What are the forces that they can see that might affect the sawa? Can they think of anyway to help protect the sawa?

**6.0 OPTIMISTIC DEPARTURE**  
We want the students to end their story/narrative/video on an optimistic note.

We would like them to think about the following scenario:

If there was a contest between your village and all the other villages in the Ubud region to have the best sawa area, what do you think your village should do to win that competition?

-end

Figure A-5. Example of Guiding the Narrative Development Activity [Content developed to be implemented in project sequence on May 18, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)

**WORKING TITLE**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

**Storyboarding**  
Move from the narrative development to storyboarding. Again, take time to ensure that everyone is clear on what a storyboard is, how to produce one and how it will be used.

As we have suggested in yesterday's activity notes, these short video are likely to have something like 7 scenes even before getting into the "meat" of the discussion: i.e. stories of "our sawa."

**Step 1:**  
Each Team should draft-out a story board on both sides of their poster sheet. We recommend dividing the sheet into 3 rows and 6 columns for a total of 18 frames. Remember, each frame contains both a window (where you will sketch the scene that you intend to shoot in the video) and the dialogue (including the name of the person who speaks the dialogue).

**Step 2:**  
Transfer the narrative produced yesterday to the storyboard. Take time to refine the ideas and think about how long each scene should last. Practice speaking the dialogue in each scene and note how long it takes. Remember to speak slowly and think about what visual image or images you would like to see while the dialogue is being spoken.

**Step 3:**  
Take some time to really think about the composition of the video portion (the images). Carefully sketch out each scene on the story board, imagining the window of the story board is the video image itself. Remember, these will be real videos that you will shoot in your village tomorrow. Only include images you know you can record.

**Note:**  
*We are restricted by the amount of time we can record on the video. Your final video will be between 2 and 5 minutes long so please think carefully about each individual scene and practice it to get a good sense for how long each one is.*

*The storyboard is a very important step. It will help guide you to record each scene exactly as you have envisioned it. The storyboard is the first (and perhaps most important) part of the editing process. This is where your talents as a Director really flourish.*

*When it is time to begin filming, you will use the storyboard to guide you to only shoot the scenes you have scripted. When it is time to begin filming, you should practice the shot a couple of times BEFORE recording the video. This will help you make a good quality video*

Figure A-6. Example of Guiding the Storyboarding Activity [Content developed to be implemented in project sequence on May 19, 2009] (Bali Field School, 2009)

APPENDIX B  
QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH RESIDENTS OF  
UBUD (AFTER FILM SCREENED)<sup>28</sup>

1. How did you hear about the Film Festival?  
*Bagaimanakah anda mendengar tentang acara film festival ini?*
2. What motivated you to attend the Film Festival?  
*Apa motivasi/dorongan anda untuk mendatangi acara film festival ini?*
3. What did you anticipate the films to be about?  
*Apa yang anda ingin lebih ketahui dari isi film ini?*
4. After watching the film, how would you summarize the theme of the films?  
*Setelah anda menonton film ini, bagaimanakah anda dapat menyimpulkan tema/topik dari film-film yang ditayangkan tadi?*
5. What is important to you about the sawah?  
*Apakah yang penting menurut pendapat anda tentang keberadaan sawah?*
6. Has your understanding of your community changed since watching the films?  
*Apakah pemahaman anda tentang lingkungan telah berubah setelah anda menyaksikan tayangan tadi?*
7. Why has your understanding of your community changed since watching the films?  
*Mengapa pemahaman anda menjadi berubah setelah anda menyaksikan tayangan ini?*
8. The films voice concerns for the future of Ubud's sawah, do you agree with these concerns?  
*Film tentang "voice concerns"/suara keprihatinan terhadap sawah di Ubud untuk masa mendatang, apakah anda menyetujui ide ini?*
9. Having now seen the films, do you have new concerns about the ideas expressed in the films?  
*Setelah anda menyaksikan film ini? Apakah anda memiliki keprihatinan lainnya tentang ide-ide yang ditayangkan dalam film-film tadi?*
10. Why are these concerns important to you and other people in your community?  
*Mengapakah keprihatinan ini menjadi penting bagi anda dan masyarakat lainnya di tempat anda tinggal?*
11. Do you think the concerns expressed in the films are issues that your community can manage by themselves?

---

<sup>28</sup> Delivered orally in Bahasa Indonesia

*Apakah menurut pendapat anda apakah keprihatinan di dalam film ini merupakan isyu yang dapat ditangani oleh masyarakat secara mandiri?*

12. Would you be interested in following up with some of the issues addressed in the films?  
*Apakah anda tertarik untuk mengikuti tindak lanjut dari isyu-isyu yang dimunculkan di dalam film-film tersebut?*

13. If yes, how do you see this follow-up happening?  
*Apabila ada, bagaimanakah anda melihat tindak lanjut tersebut?*

14. Would events like the Film Festival be helpful in raising community involvement and awareness to some of the concerns talked about today?  
*Apakah acara seperti film festival seperti ini akan meningkatkan keterlibatan masyarakat dan kesadaran terhadap tema film yang diperbincangkan hari ini?*

15. Do you know that the sawah with technical irrigation cannot be changed into other use of land, especially to the urban used? And, in terms of the new spatial plan guidance law (Law No. 26/2007), do you know that each regencies in Indonesia has to provide 30% of its land as a green space?  
*Apakah anda mengetahui bahwa sawah irigasi teknis sebetulnya dilindungi oleh Keputusan Presiden untuk tidak dikonversikan kepada peruntukan lainnya? dan, apakah anda mengetahui bahwa tiap kabupaten harus melestarikan 30% lahannya untuk kawasan hijau (sesuai dengan Undang-Undang No. 26/2007 tentang Penataan Ruang)?*

APPENDIX C  
QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH US STUDENTS<sup>29</sup>

1. What were your preconceptions about the process going into it and how have those changed now that we have finished?
2. How do you think the contributors perceived your entrance and exit throughout the process?
3. Did you feel that the contributors wanted to share their place with you?
4. Can you comment on the length of the process in relation to the process sustaining itself?
5. How did you understand your changing role throughout the process, especially in the context of us telling you that your role would change?
6. Could you get a sense of how decisions were made in your group throughout the process?
7. Did the contributors engage the community in the films? If so, who did they seem to approach?
8. Can you assess the level of creativity / innovation / artistic license taken on by the contributors?
9. Discuss the value of each increment of the process:  
Workshops  
Introduction (community mapping and story maps)  
Narrative development  
Storyboards  
Film exercise  
Filming
10. How critical were points of debriefing and reflection for you?

---

<sup>29</sup> Delivered orally in English

APPENDIX D  
QUESTION PROMPTS FOR FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION WITH SEKOLAH  
MENENGAH PERTAMA STUDENTS<sup>30</sup>

1. The Process

What did you like about the project?

Did you understand each part of the project?

Community Map and Story Mapping

Narrative Development

Storyboard

Filming in the Circle (Favorite Famous Person)

Filming

The Film Festival

Which part (from the above 6) was your favorite? Why?

Is there anything that you didn't like about the project?

2. Film Topics

What did you think about the film topics related to "Our *Sawah*"?

Would you have chosen a different topic to make your film about?

What would these topics be?

Are there other things besides the *sawah* that are important to you that we should have made films about?

3. The Negotiation Process

How did you and your partner decide on what your film was going to be about?

Did one person lead or was it more equal among you and your partner?

Did you look at other teams' work to get ideas? Did you ask the University students for ideas (Uduyana or UF)?

4. Team Organization

We assigned you teams. Would you have chosen your group differently had they not been assigned?

Do you know why your partner was who it was? (based on living proximity)

5. Other's Involvement

Did you talk about the project with your family?

What did they think of it?

Did they want to be involved?

Do you think your siblings have been involved?

Do you wish more of your friends could have been involved in the project?

Should we have included others in the activities? Who would this be?

6. Sharing Places I Like

How did you feel about showing your special places to us—especially the US students?

---

<sup>30</sup> Delivered orally in Bahasa Indonesia; two concurrent sessions with same set of questions

Are there other places or cultural events you wish you had more time to share?

Are there places that you would not like to share with outsiders?

7. Working with University Students

What did you think about working with the US students?

Was it difficult to communicate with them because they did not speak Bahasa Indonesia?

Do you feel like you understood the US students okay?

If you did this project again, would you prefer to work with both groups of University students or one over the other?

Have you ever been involved with projects with other University students before?

Would you like to do more projects with University students?

Did you talk to the University students about what they learn in school?

8. Making the Films

What did you like about making the films?

What didn't you like about making the films?

Did they turn out the way you thought they would?

Do you think that the films could they have been better or did you like them just the way they turned out?

Would you like to make more films? What would these films be about?

9. The Film Festival

What did you like about the film festival?

What didn't you like about the film festival?

Did you invite your family? Friends?

Would more people have come if the Competition hadn't been yesterday?

Would you like the films to be shown again? If so, where and when would be a good place and time to show the films again?

10. Follow Up

If you were to have a DVD copy of the film, would you show it to your friends? Family?

If you showed the film to your family or friends, would you talk about the process of making the film with others whom you show it to or would you just show the film?

Would you like the film to be up on You Tube? Why?

11. In the Future

Do you have any ideas for the future if you were going to participate in a similar project again?

## LIST OF REFERENCES

- Abrams, J., & P. Hall.** (2009). *Else/where: Mapping new cartographies of networks and territories*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Adcock, R., & Collier, D.** (2001). Measurement validity: A shared standard for qualitative and quantitative research. *American Political Science Review*, 95 (3), 529 – 546.
- Antlöv, H.** (2003). Village government and rural development in Indonesia: The new democratic framework. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 39, 193 – 214.
- Arora-Jonsson, S.** (2008). Research sounds so big: Collaborative inquiry with women in Drevdagen, Sweden. In L. Fortmann (Ed.), *Participatory research in conservation and rural livelihoods: Doing science together*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Baker, A.** (2002). Desperately seeking survival. *Time Magazine* (Monday, Nov. 25, 2002).
- Bali Field School.** (2009). Project content, materials, and deliverables. Produced 9 May 2009 – 27 May 2009. Ubud, Bali Province, Indonesia.
- Basiago, A. D.** (1995). Sustainable development in Indonesia: A case study of an indigenous regime of environmental law and policy. *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology* 2 (3), 199 – 211.
- Beard, V. A.** (2002). Covert planning for social transformation in Indonesia. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 22 (1), 15 – 25.
- Beard, V. A.** (2005). Individual determinants of participation in community development in Indonesia. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 23, 21 – 39.
- Beard, V. A.** (2008). Community-driven development and elite capture: Microcredit and community board participation in Indonesia. In V. Beard, F. Mirafab, & C. Silver (Eds.), *Planning and decentralization: Contested spaces for public action in the global south*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bergelin, Å., Emretsson, M., Halvarsson, A.L., Halvarsson, E., & Ryen, A.** (2008). For oss ar naturen en lisa for sjalen (“Where peace comes dropping slow”): The forests and nature for us. In L. Fortmann (Ed.), *Participatory research in rural in conservation and rural livelihoods: Doing science together*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bernard, H. R.** (2000). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Booth, A.** (2003). Decentralisation and poverty alleviation in Indonesia. *Environmental and Planning C: Government and Policy* 21, 181 – 202.
- Botes, L., & van Rensburg, D.** (2000). Community participation in development: Nine plagues and twelve commandments." *Community Development Journal* 35 (1), 41 – 58.
- Buggey, S., & Mitchell, N.** (2008). Cultural landscapes: Venues for community-based conservation. In R. Longstreth (Ed.), *Cultural landscapes: Balancing nature and heritage in preservation practice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Burnett, R.** (1991). Video / Film: From communication to community. In N. Thede & A. Ambrosi (Eds.), *Video the changing world*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Cambell, L. M., & Vainio-Mattila, A.** (2003). Participatory development and community-based conservation: Opportunities missed for lessons learned? *Human Ecology* 31 (3), 417 – 437.
- Chambers, R.** (2005). *Ideas for development*. London, UK: Earthscan.
- Checkoway, B.** (1994). Paul Davidoff and advocacy planning in retrospect. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60 (2), 139 – 143.
- Cleaver, F.** (2004). Broader perspectives on "From tyranny to transformation." In S. Hickey & G. Mohan (Eds.), *Participation: From tyranny to transformation?* New York, NY: Zed Books
- Collier, P.** (2007). *The bottom billion. Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*. London, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U.** (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* London, UK: Zed Books.
- Cornwall, A.** (2004). Spaces for transformation? Reflections on issues of power and difference in participation in development. In S. Hickey & G. Mohan (Eds.), *Participation: From tyranny to transformation?* New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Covarrubias, M.** (1946). *Island of Bali*. Singapore: Berkeley Books Pte. Ltd.
- Daniels, S. E., & Walker, G. B.** (2001). *Working through environmental conflict: The collaborative learning approach*. London, UK: Praeger Publishers.
- Das, A.** (2010). *NGOs in participatory urban development: understanding their relevance from a comparison of India and Indonesia*. Unpublished paper presented at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning 2010 Conference, Minneapolis, MN.

- Davidoff, P.** (1965). Advocacy and pluralism in planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31 (4), 544 – 555.
- Davis, D. A., & Walker, T. D.** (2000). *Plan Graphics* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Davis, S. M., & Reid, R.** (1999). Practicing participatory research in American Indian communities. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 69, 755S – 759S.
- Devas, N., Amis, P., Grant, U., Mitlin, D., Nunan, F., & Rakodi, C.** (2004). *Urban governance, voice and poverty in the developing world*. Sterling, VA: Earthscan Publications.
- de Vaus, D.** (2001). *Research design in social research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dewulf, A., Craps, M., & Dercon, G.** (2004). How issues get framed and reframed when different communities meet: A multi-level analysis of a collaborative soils conservation initiative in the Ecuadorian Andes. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 14, 177 – 192.
- Escobar, A.** (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the third world*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ferreira, G.** (2006). *Participatory video for policy development in remote aboriginal communities*. Unpublished Dissertation: University of Guelph.
- Fleming, A. K., & Campbell, I. L.** (2007). *Joining the mainstream: A practical approach to safeguarding cultural heritage in a changing world*. (Based on authors' work as consultants at the World Bank).
- Geertz, C.** (1963). *Agricultural involution: The processes of ecological change in Indonesia*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Geertz, H.** (1991). *State and society in Bali: Historical, textual and anthropological approaches*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Girami, A.** (2009). Bridging the theory-and-practice gap: Mediator power in practice. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 26 (4), 433 – 451.
- Gray, B.** (2003). Framing of environmental disputes. In R. Lewicki, B. Gray, & M. Elliott (Eds.), *Making sense of intractable environmental conflicts: Frames and cases*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Grenier, L.** (2008). *Working with indigenous knowledge: A guide for researchers*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

- Groth, P., & Bressi, T.** (1997). *Understanding ordinary landscapes*. Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, Inc.
- Hadiwinata, B. S.** (2003). *The politics of NGOs in Indonesia: Developing democracy and managing a movement*. New York, NY: Routledge Curzon.
- Hadiz, V. R.** (2004). Decentralization and democracy in Indonesia: A critique of neo-institutionalist perspectives. *Development and Change* 35 (4), 697–718
- Hall, D.** (1992). Video as a tool for change: The development of an international dialogue and perspective on the use of video in this process. In N. Thede & A. Ambrosi (Eds.), *Video the changing world*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Halprin, L., & Burns, J.** (1974). *Taking part: A workshop approach to collective creativity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Handelman, H.** (2006). *The challenge of third world development* (4<sup>th</sup> ed). NJ: Prentice Hall Press.
- Healy, S.** (2008). Toward an epistemology of public participation. *Journal of Environmental Management* 90 (4), 1644 – 1654.
- Hendriatiningsih, S., Hernandi, A., Budiarta, A., Kurdinanto, S., & Abdulharis, R.** (2009). Comparative study of customary and formal land tenure system in Bali, Indonesia. In *Surveyors key role in accelerated development*. Israel: Eilat.
- Herr, K., & Anderson, G. L.** (2005). *The action research dissertation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G.** (2004). Towards participation as transformation: Critical themes and challenges. In S. Hickey & G. Mohan (Eds.), *Participation: From tyranny to transformation?* New York, NY: Zed Books
- Hill, J., Terry, A., & Woodland, W.** (2006). *Sustainable development: National aspirations local implementation*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Hopkins, L. D., & M. A. Zapata** (Eds). (2007). *Engaging the future: Forecasts, scenarios, plans, and projects*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Kahane, A.** (2008). *Solving tough problems: An Open way of talking, listening, and creating new realities*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
- Kaplan, S.** (1987) Aesthetics, affect, and cognition: Environmental preference from an evolutionary perspective. *Environment and Behavior* 19 (3), 3 – 32.
- Lansing, S. J.** (1991). *Priests and programmers: Technologies of power in the engineered landscape of Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Lansing, S. J.** (1995). *The Balinese*. Australia: Thompson Wadsworth.
- Lansing, S. J.** (2006). *Perfect order: Recognizing complexity in Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lunch, C., & Lunch, N.** (2006). *Insights into participatory video: A handbook for the field*. UK: Insight.
- Lunch, C.** (2007). The most significant change: Using participatory video for monitoring and evaluation. *Participatory Learning and Action* 56, 28 – 32.
- MacRae, G.** (1997). Global Village or neo-negara? Acting global, thinking local in a Balinese tourist town. In T. Reuter (Ed.), *Staying local in the global village: Bali in the twentieth century*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- MacRae, G.** (2003). The value of land in Bali: Land tenure, land reform and commodification. In T. Reuter (Ed.), *Inequality, crisis and social change in Indonesia*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Mason, R.** (2008). Management for cultural landscape preservation: Insights from Australia. In R. Longstreth (Ed.), *Cultural landscapes: Balancing nature and heritage in preservation practice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Maton, K. I.** (2008). Empowering community settings: Agents of individual development, community betterment, and positive social change. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 41 (1 – 2), 4 – 21.
- Matthews, R., & Selman, P.** (2006). Landscape as a focus for integrating human and environmental processes. *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 57 (2), 199 – 212.
- Mbakogou, I. A.** (2004). Is there really a relationship between culture and development? *Anthropologist* 6 (1), 37 – 43.
- McLuhan, M.** (1965). *Understanding the media: Extensions of man*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- McPhee, C.** (1947). *A house in Bali*. Singapore: Berkeley Books Pte. Ltd.
- Mikkelsen, Britha.** (2005). *Methods for development work and research: A new guide for practitioners* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mitchell, B.** (1994). Sustainable development at the village level in Bali, Indonesia. *Human Ecology* 22 ( 2), 189 – 211.
- Mitchell, N., & Buggey, S.** (2000). Protected landscapes and cultural landscapes: Taking Advantage of diverse approaches. *The George Wright Forum* 17 (1), 1 – 12.

- Mohan, G., & Stokke, K.** (2000). Participatory development and empowerment: The dangers of localism. *Third World Quarterly* 21 (2), 247 – 268.
- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I.** (2003). *Tourism and sustainability: Development and new tourism in the third world* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Murphy, M. D.** (2005). *Landscape architecture theory: An evolving body of through*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Nelson, R. D., Folhes, M. T., & Finan, T. J.** (2009). Mapping the road to development: A methodology for scaling up participation in policy processes. *Development in Practice* 19 (3), 386 – 395.
- Patton, M. Q.** (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Peattie, L.** (1987). *Planning: Rethinking Ciudad Guayana*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Potteiger, M., & Purinton, J.** (1998). *Landscape narratives: Design practices for telling stories*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Putnam, L. L., & Wondolleck, J. M.** (2003). Intractability: Definitions, dimensions, and distinctions. In R. Lewicki, B. Gray, & M. Elliott (Eds.), *Making sense of intractable environmental conflicts: Frames and cases*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Reed, M. S.** (2008). Stakeholder participation for environmental management: A literature review. *Biological Conservation* 141, 2417 – 2431.
- Reid, G. W.** (2002). *Landscape graphics: Plan, section, and perspective drawing of landscape spaces* (revised ed.). New York, NY: Watson-Guption Publications.
- Richards, L.** (2005). *Handling qualitative data: A practical guide*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Ridley, M.** (2010). *The rational optimist: How prosperity evolves*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishing Company.
- Riesenweber, J.** (2008). Landscape preservation and cultural geography. In R. Longstreth (Ed.), *Cultural landscapes: Balancing nature and heritage in preservation practice*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Robinson, K.** (2009). *The element: How finding you passion changes everything*. London, UK: Penguin Books.
- Sachs, J.** (2005). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

- Sen, A.** (1999). *Development as freedom*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Sen, A.** (2000). *Culture and development*. Tokyo: World Bank Meeting.
- Shaw, J., & Robertson, C.** (1997). *Participatory video: A practical approach to using video creatively in group development work*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Simangunsong, A. S. M.** (2008). *The extent of land ownership by foreigners in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Azmi and Associates.
- Sillitoe, P., Bicker, A., & Pottier, J.** (2002). *Participating in development: Approaches to indigenous knowledge*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Silver, C.** (2007). Tourism, cultural heritage, and human rights in Indonesia: The challenges of an emerging democratic society. In H. Silverman & D.F. Ruggles (Eds.), *Cultural heritage and human rights*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Silverman, H., & Ruggles, F.** (2007). Cultural heritage and human rights. In H. Silverman & D.F. Ruggles (Eds.), *Cultural heritage and human rights*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Publikasi Statistik.** (2010). *Statistik Indonesia: Statistical yearbook of Indonesia 2009*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Badan Pusat Statistic.
- Stringer, E. T.** (2007). *Action research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Thompson, J. R., Elmendorf, W. F., McDonough, M. H., & Burban, L. L.** (2005). Participation and conflict: Lessons learned from community forestry. *Journal of Forestry* 6, 174 – 178.
- Thompson, K. R., & Widmer, J. M.** (2010). Community landscape documentaries: Is digital video a more exacting method of storytelling? In G. J. Carsjens (Ed) *Landscape legacy: Landscape architecture and planning between art and science* (Conference Proceedings). Maastricht, The Netherlands: The Council of Educators in Landscape Architecture.
- Tsing, A. L.** (2005). *Friction: An ethnography of global connections*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- UNESCO World Heritage Committee.** (2008). *Operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.
- Vickers, A.** (1996). *Bali: A paradise created*. Singapore: Periplus Editions.

- Wall, G.** (1998). Landscape resources, tourism and landscape change in Bali, Indonesia. In Greg Ringer (Ed.), *Destinations: Cultural landscapes and tourism*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Warren, C.** (1993). *Adat and dinas: Balinese communities in the Indonesian state*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Warren, C.** (2005). Community mapping, local planning and alternative land use strategies in Bali. *Danish Journal of Geography* 105 (1), 29 – 41.
- Watkins, K. E.** (1991). *Validity in action research*. Paper presented to the American Education Research Association, New York, NY.
- Wijaya, M.** (2002). *Architecture of Bali: A source book of traditional and modern forms*. Editions Didier Millet: Singapore.
- Wollenberg, E., Anderson, J. & Lopez, C.** (2005). *Through all things different: Pluralism as a basis for cooperation in forests*. Bogor, Indonesia: National Library of Indonesia Cataloging-in-Publication Data.
- Yamashita, S.** (2003). *Bali and beyond: Explorations in the anthropology of tourism*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.
- Young, G.** (2008). The culturization of planning. *Planning Theory* 7 (1), 71 – 91.
- Zube, E. H., Sell, J. L., & Taylor, J. G.** (1982). Landscape perception: Research application and theory. *Landscape Planning* 9, 1 – 33.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jocelyn Widmer was born in Lewisville, Texas in 1982. She earned her Bachelor of Arts in art history and English from Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas (2003). Upon completing her undergraduate work, she traveled to Gold Coast, Australia to complete post-Baccalaureate study at Bond University. In August of 2004, Jocelyn began her studies toward a master's in landscape architecture, with a certificate in historic preservation, which she earned from Texas A & M University in May of 2007. Throughout her graduate work in College Station, Texas, Jocelyn also worked for the planning and landscape architecture firm TBG in both their Austin and San Antonio offices. Jocelyn earned her PhD from the College of Design, Construction and Planning at the University of Florida, with a certificate in Tropical Conservation and Development and a certificate in Public Health. She will apply coursework taken at the end of her doctoral studies toward a master's in public health earned from the University of Florida.

Jocelyn's research experience draws on her background in landscape architecture and her interdisciplinary interests in working with community groups in developing regions of the world. Her research experience includes work in Australia, Pohnpei (Federated States of Micronesia), and Indonesia (Java and Bali).