

Learning from Greenpeace: Activist Habitus in a Local Struggle

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Abstract

This paper traces the ontogenesis of a specific environmental campaign in Indonesia. A highly effective struggle to save the local city forest was instigated by young activists in Bandung who had previously been involved with Greenpeace Indonesia. The data comes from interviews, a focus group and ethnographic fieldwork. The paper illustrates the point that when youth get involved in a highly structured environmental protest movement like Greenpeace, the skills, network resources and confidence they gain there can later be deployed to great advantage in a local conservation campaign. That phenomenon can be understood using the notion of radical habitus derived from the theoretical work of Pierre Bourdieu. Its creation was reinforced by the dispositions developed through the young activists' previous involvement in Greenpeace training and activism. In the end, the development of the radical ecological habitus of young activists is formative for shaping a radical disposition, which can be deployed in the domain of protest.

Introduction

Indonesia is a middle-income developing country in Southeast Asia that only became a full democracy in 1999. The environmental movement had been tolerated during the previous three decades of authoritarian rule (Di Gregorio, 2014, p. 382). However, after 1999, environmental lobby groups and Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) stepped up political demands for change (Peluso, Afiff, & Fauzi Rachman, 2008). Indonesia is a 'forest-rich' nation with a long history of dispossession of forest areas for the sake of 'development' (Di Gregorio, 2014). It is not surprising therefore that in the new millennium the country is characterized by a multi-faceted environmental justice movement fighting for recognition of local forest rights (Nomura, 2009; Peluso et al., 2008). As Della Porta and Fabbri point out, 'local contentious politics tend to make frequent references to the ways in which territory is used and misused' (2016, p. 185). In other words, the use of territory very often constitutes the stakes of the struggle.

That claim holds true for urban development in Indonesia. In late 2012, young environmental activists in Bandung formed a new environmentalist group -

Backsilmove, with the aim of saving the much-prized local city forest Babakan Siliwangi from commercial development. Babakan Siliwangi (also known as Baksil) is a city forest of 3.8 hectares (9.39 acres) in the centre of Bandung in West Java. On a sloping site with streams and watercourses, it is a remnant of lush tropical forest surrounded by bustling city streets. The Backsilmove campaign to save the forest was ultimately successful. The right of young people seeking leisure space, and the right of the indigenous ethnic people of the region to make full use of the city forest, were both subsequently protected by reformed legislation enacted in late 2013. Commercial development plans for the forest were withdrawn and the local government was reconstituted under a newly elected mayor who included environmental protection in his voting platform. The focus in this paper is on the development of a repertoire of protest by Backsilmove activists. It illustrates their debt to earlier Greenpeace involvement. The interpretive analysis of data below makes use of a concept derived from Bourdieu: (radical) habitus. To move forward it is necessary to define that term.

Radical Habitus

Crossley (2003, 2005) coined the term 'radical habitus' to explore the emergence of an environmentalist identity. The idea builds directly on Bourdieu's notion of habitus; a set of partly unconscious generative 'dispositions' developed during the formative stages of life that are 'durable' and 'transposable' to new contexts, enabling individuals to maintain a consistent sense of who they are and how they take the world to be (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). Habitus provides adaptability for an agent to enter a new social situation – such as a different field - based on the tacit knowledge coming from their previous experience. Crossley uses the concept of radical habitus to analyse how principles of activism are transferred between one activist and another, which goes some way toward explaining the coherence and consistency of social movements over time. Thus, radicalism moves between activists; 'particularly between experienced/established activists' (Crossley, 2005, p. 22). The new activists may take up the radical ideology through active engagement with experienced activists. As Crossley (2002) puts it: 'neophytes ... acquire it [radical habitus], or aspects of it, by way of their interaction with these more experienced activists' (p. 22). In developing radical strategies, 'protest behaviour tends to draw upon a stock of historically and culturally variable "techniques" of protest' (Crossley, 2003, p. 48). The authors propose use of a distinctive 'repertoire' of protest practices (see Crossley, 2002) in Backsilmove signals the constitution of a radical habitus among the young people who had previously been involved in the transnational environmental movement of Greenpeace.

The idea of radical habitus (Crossley, 2003) resonates with the term 'ecological habitus', which was developed by Kasper (2009) and Haluza-DeLay (2008). That term also seeks to explain the internalisation of environmental values and practices in the habitus of everyday environmental activists. Gäbler (2015, p. 78) argues that

ecological habitus builds a long term 'feel for the game' in the environmental movement. In fact both terms productively engage activist experiences and actions within the field of a social movement, and both are relevant. In reference to that claim, it should be noted that a 'field is not simply sets of rules but rather principles and criteria' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 83). Any field is regulated through classificatory schema exercised by agents in that field. So, although not everything is written down and coded, each individual who enters a struggle for position comes to understand the 'fundamental laws' of a field (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 96) through internalisation within their habitus. To gain success in any field, social agents act according to what Bourdieu (1998, p. 76) called their 'feel for the game'. The sense of how the 'game' is played comes from their habitus. The game itself corresponds to the distinctive play of 'capitals'¹ in a given field.

In the authors study it seems that Baksilmove activists brought their distinctive 'feel for the game' – developed through previous activism - to the field of struggle to save the city forest. They strongly believed that the game was worth playing, and they were 'caught up' in the game (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 76). Social actors struggling for positions of power accumulate resources, both actual and symbolic that will help them play to win. For the young Baksilmove activists, their feel for the game of activism was signified in their successful use of a protest repertoire derived from Greenpeace.

Methodology

The aim of the study was to grasp the radical activist trajectory of the young people who drove the successful Baksilmove campaign in Bandung in 2012-2013. 26 Baksilmove activists were interviewed in 2014-2015. They were aged 18 to 30 years at the time. They had all taken part in the planning and execution of protest actions that gathered public support to protect and preserve the city forest. A focus group discussion (FGD) was also conducted with five key decision-makers from Baksilmove. In addition, the first author conducted participant observation of continued networking between Baksilmove activists over four months.

By 2014, when data collection began, Baksilmove was no longer very active as an organization. Yet there was still a website and a contact person. The members were still in touch. Through email correspondence, the first author was directed to various activists who had been involved in the campaign. Many were still living in Bandung, while others had re-located to Jakarta and Semarang. Interviews mostly took place at cafés and restaurants. The activist to be interviewed on the day made the choice of location. The interviews were conducted using a biographical trajectory approach. The questions encouraged narratives about their prior involvement in the environmental movement. A biographical trajectory approach, often referred to as a life history approach, is useful for identifying how social factors are influential in shaping the social changes encapsulated in the personal stories of interviewees (see

Vélez-Vélez, 2015). The approach favours the technique of a 'narrative interview'. Narrative interviews place 'the people being studied at the heart of the study process and privileges the meanings that they assign to their own stories' (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015, p. 631). The choice of narrative interviews for exploring Baksilmove activists' biographical trajectory was effective. It allowed authors to obtain stories of influential events that led the young people to become environmental activists, including childhood experiences and organizational membership.

The FGD was divided into two rounds comprising one hour each. In the first round of discussion, high profile Baksilmove activists explained the shaping influences from childhood and primary school on their later environmental activism. In the second round of discussion they explained shaping influences that affected them during the period of secondary school up to university. Finally, participant observation was conducted by the first author to collect relevant details of activities, conversations, clothing, locations and settings in their lives that would enable us to grasp their milieu and, most importantly, the context of their activism (see Della Porta & Fabbri, 2016). Participant observation allows the study of connections between phenomena and the particularity of behaviour in a given context. It is an approach to 'finding out what people do in particular contexts, and the routines and interaction patterns of their everyday lives' (Darlington & Scott, 2002, p. 74). A 2014 reunion of Baksilmove activists was attended as part of that fieldwork. In this paper, the data comes from the interviews, and is informed by the FGD data and the knowledge gathered during participant observation.

The authors have added the word "activist" in each interview quote of the narrative to clearly identify the activist in question. For identification in this paper, the activists themselves chose a pseudonym to be displayed. Names were changed to protect the identity of the interviewees.

The Ontogenesis of Baksilmove

Originally, the area of the Babakan Siliwangi city forest in Bandung spanned 7 hectares (17.3 acres) under the control of the local government. However, over time parts of it were leased out for recreational facilities until only 9,39 acres were still forested. That jungle remnant came under further threat in 2007 when the Bandung municipality under Mayor Dada Rosada granted 20-year forest management rights to property developer PT Esa Gemilang Indah (PT EGI). The company formulated plans for a restaurant and hotel facilities in the city forest area. The government of the time stood to gain from the proposed commercial development. There was immediate community concern and the Babakan Siliwangi Residents Forum was created. This is an environmental collective, which was established to assemble residents, artists, and environmental organizations in Bandung City. There were 50 representatives of environmental organizations attending the initial meeting. However, that loose coalition of community groups was not particularly effective in its

advocacy between 2007 and 2012. It certainly did not engage the concerns of local young artists and university students, who used the forest to gather socially and for creative purposes. The radical activist group Backsilmove was established quite late in the campaign, when matters were coming to a head at the end of 2012.

Greenpeace is an environmentalist NGO with a global following. They receive income from members who support teams of selected activists in the countries where Greenpeace operates. Greenpeace activism is targeted to achieve media coverage and actions are chosen which will dramatize environmental problems for a global audience. The Greenpeace organization has been very successfully established in Indonesia, where democratization has permitted an NGO of this kind to operate. Nearly all the activists we interviewed had joined Greenpeace Youth Bandung as teenagers and consolidated their membership through Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA) training and subsequent involvement in a number of campaigns. In other words, their participation in Greenpeace was not confined to donation but included participation as Greenpeace activists. This training was a formative stage in preparing them to be courageous environmentalists for Greenpeace, who would be capable of leading environmental campaigns against big business in the public domain. Being actively involved in the local community to gain more allies for environmentalism is fundamental for these activists. In keeping with the Greenpeace tradition of community outreach, the young activists who later formed Backsilmove had attempted to make common cause with the Babakan Siliwangi Residents Forum, but they were not given a proper voice. One activist remembered,

Most of those who spoke in that forum were 'old men' at that time. We wanted the planning to be straightforward and not too much time wasted. But it wasn't like that. Furthermore, the meeting did not count young people as active agents, but still considered them as second-class citizens (Hadi, m, activist, interview, February 2015).

Another activist, Wirdan, claimed that the role given to young people by the Residents Forum was just to make and distribute leaflets and brochures. There was an obvious contrast between that assigned subsidiary role and the powerful position they had experienced as militant activists in Greenpeace protest actions. However, even though at the time they were all active members of Greenpeace Youth Bandung, Greenpeace itself would not give support to the campaign to save the forest,

Greenpeace Youth could not make any direct struggle for it because it was out of the scope of Greenpeace work (Wirdan, m, activist, interview, December 2014).

This was because the local environmental problem was deemed not to have transnational implications that could strengthen Greenpeace Indonesia branding as an environmental organization in the country. In their study on the leadership dynamics and environmental activism of Greenpeace, Eyerman and Jamison (1989) point out that although Greenpeace is one of the important environmental political organizations in the world, it can be apolitical at the local level. The main organization in a country may not take on local environmental issues if the problems at that level are deemed as insufficient to generate transnational media attention of the kind that might attract potential international donors. In the situation, the young environmentalists in Bandung felt that they had little choice but to establish a separate activist group,

Actually, why Baksilmove was established was because we were disappointed with Greenpeace. The organization would not take the Babakan Siliwangi issue as an arena of struggle (Melodi, f, activist, interview, January 2015).

The formation of Baksilmove also represented their repudiation of 'dirty' local politics. They were activists who had long been involved in environmental actions, so they were sensitive to the political undercurrents of the Residents Forum.

At that time, I clearly saw the [political] engagement of the Residents Forum. It was directed by [mayoral candidate] Ridwan Kamil and he was using the Babakan Siliwangi forest campaign as a strategy to win the mayoral election. If he was to win, we didn't want our names to be on the list of the Residents Forum supporters, leading the public to think we were a part of his group (Lentia, f, activist, interview, March 2015).

In short, the young Greenpeace activists found the political manoeuvring of the Babakan Siliwangi Residents Forum to be distasteful. The establishment of Baksilmove was a way to independently express their radical environmental values in fighting a campaign to preserve the Bandung city forest.

The Influence of Greenpeace

Previous experience in activism has long been established within social movement literature as a precursor for later participation and leadership in protest campaigns (McAdam, 1983; Vélez-Vélez, 2015). The young people we interviewed were all experienced Greenpeace activists. So, although Greenpeace Youth Bandung did not give them support in the local campaign to save the Babakan Siliwangi city forest, the Baksilmove founders readily acknowledged that the design and structure of their group referred directly to Greenpeace, for example: 'our movement is widely adopted from Greenpeace' (Lentia, f, activist, interview, March 2015). However, unlike Greenpeace, Baksilmove's organizational structure was not hierarchical but

egalitarian, with collective decision-making on avenues of protest. To maintain collegial solidarity amongst the activists, a congenial inclusive meeting was organised every week. These *jumpa militan* (militant meetings) were aimed at cultivating their radical disposition of habitus. They not only debated Backsilmove issues but also discussed crucial cases related to social injustice and humanitarian problems that had recently occurred in Indonesia. At each meeting they were updated with the latest news about environmental cases in Indonesia, and the roles played by fellow activists in these protests. In other words, the *jumpa militan* actively consolidated their radical ecological habitus at the national level. It should also be noted that Greenpeace maintains a strong agenda of gender equality. It was evident from the interviews that the young female activists had been delegated high levels of responsibility and decision-making during their Greenpeace involvement, and this was reflected in the later lateral assignment of leadership duties in Backsilmove.

Responsibility for components of Backsilmove operations was delegated horizontally according to the skills and social/cultural capital of each of the activists. For instance, to optimise recruitment of members and mass mobilization, Canny was appointed as coordinator because she was widely known for her extensive networking with young people in both Jakarta and Bandung as well as among the environmental organizations in Indonesia. Similarly, Wanggi's background in art school and theatrical protest meant he became the coordinator for pantomime performances at the gates of the Bandung parliament building. For expertise in website management, Backsilmove tasked Wirdan because he had mastered computer programming due to his educational background in information technology. With a bachelor's degree in communication, Lentia had been a social media officer in numerous Greenpeace environmental projects. She took responsibility for social media like Instagram, Facebook and Twitter that were vital for disseminating reports and photos of Backsilmove activities, as well as inviting youth into their network. Intense focus on specialised skills of members is characteristic of Greenpeace mentoring so this precise delegation in Backsilmove, according to skill, shows the influence of the formative organization.

After 1990, all Greenpeace actions worldwide were very carefully plotted and rigorously co-ordinated (Böttger, 1996). So the Greenpeace approach to strategic planning was an appropriate model for Backsilmove to adopt. Environmental movements intentionally use the mass media as 'a key site to reach potential supporters, to engage governments and opponents in debate and to shift public values and attitudes' (Stoddart, Ramos & Tindall 2015, p. 75). Certainly a well-known direct action strategy of Greenpeace all over the world is to emphasise mass media communication. Böttger (1996) maintains that Greenpeace always aims to involve the mass media in any action. They may even hire a professional photographer to cover the event. Böttger (1996) also claims Greenpeace will only publish photographs of successful field actions that have dramatic effects, so that the message conveyed to the public brings an emotional reaction. To that end, dazzling short slogans are attached to striking photos to garner public support. Backsilmove

used the same kind of approach to media coverage. For instance, to cover their now-famous action of the Long March from Babakan Siliwangi forest to the gates of the Bandung parliament building, Backsilmove invited journalists from local and national newspapers who would widely publish and disseminate the event. Similarly, young activists who had photography and journalism skills and links to the mass media were prioritised in later Backsilmove recruitment.

Another Greenpeace tactic is to produce scientific reports on issues of environmental concern. Backsilmove also adopted this strategy to enhance public knowledge about the scientific and legal facts, including ecological processes, in the urban jungle of Babakan Siliwangi. That task required a highly skilled individual with experience in designing and running research. The obvious member of the activist team was Puspita. Previously Puspita had analysed the impact of the mining industry in East Kalimantan for Greenpeace. She recounted,

I went to East Kalimantan to survey the coal-mining industry. I even met the Dayak people and talked to them about their life. I observed that they were evicted from their land due to the coal-mining industry and similar. So, I wrote up the report and it was later published online (Puspita, f, activist, interview, March 2015).

Her experience proved most useful. In April 2013, Backsilmove disseminated Puspita's report, titled *Pembangunan tanpa mata* (Blind development)². As report team leader, she first analysed the impact of the loss of Babakan Siliwangi from an environmental law perspective, arguing that developing the Babakan Siliwangi forest area would further decrease the amount of green open space in Bandung and go against existing regulations. Of the total area of 42,007 acres of Bandung City, Babakan Siliwangi is only about 0.02 per cent of the total. Based on the Spatial Regulations Law of Indonesia, green open space area should be 30 per cent of the total area of the city - both public and private land. In the Spatial Plan of Bandung itself, the public green space in the city of Bandung should be 20 per cent of the total, whether riparian areas, parks, public cemeteries or conservation areas. If Babakan Siliwangi were to be reduced further through commercial development, Bandung would lose its forest and a percentage of public green space. The second part of the report used botanical data. Babakan Siliwangi was shown to include 48 species of trees, such as durian and Ki Hujan (*Samanea saman*) that are capable of producing 5,880 kilograms of oxygen and absorbing 5,400 kilograms of carbon dioxide every day. Other biological facts reinforced the argument; for example, there are 24 bird species in the forest. Finally, the many deep-rooted tree species serve to prevent soil erosion and to conserve groundwater stored after rain.

The Backsilmove report also foregrounded the environmental rights of Bandung people through Law No. 26 of 2007 on Spatial Planning. Article 60 states that every

person has the right to know the spatial plan, enjoy the value of space as a result of spatial planning, obtain a worthy replacement on losses arising from the implementation of development activities in accordance with the spatial plan, and file an objection to the authorities against inappropriate developments in accordance with the spatial plan in its territory. It also states that a person can file a cancellation of the license and termination of a development that does not comply with the spatial plan, and file a lawsuit claim for compensation to the government and/or permit holder if development activities are not in accordance with the spatial plan, resulting in losses. Furthermore, citizenship rights should be included in spatial arrangement planning. The Baksilmove report also cited Article 65, which states that the implementation of spatial planning by the government must provide for public involvement in planning. Public participation is meant to be implemented through the process of formulating the design of spatial plans to ensure that the space will be used for their benefit. The report concluded that aside from its ecological value, Babakan Siliwangi city forest provides valuable psychological functions, not only for residents from Bandung but also for visitors to the city forest. The detailed, widely disseminated Baksilmove report indicates Puspita's high level of cultural capital in conducting research and exploring legal opinion; both capacities that she had developed in earlier Greenpeace actions. The government and influential citizens of Bandung could not easily ignore the carefully assembled evidence in the report on the value and legal rights of the city forest.

Repertoire of Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA)

The Long March

Baksilmove activists not only practised scientific research in their campaign, but advocated for Babakan Siliwangi through a repertoire of protest drawn from Greenpeace tactics. By the start of the new millennium, Greenpeace protest actions had become highly disciplined, and the expression 'ecotage' appeared. 'Ecotage' is an action in the field featuring the repertoire of drama and pantomime, for example, to stimulate an emotional reaction from the public and government (Nayan, 2014). For example, pantomime functions symbolically in the 'ecotage' to politically criticise the government in a campaign. Events of resistance carried out by Baksilmove in 2013 included the Long March from Babakan Siliwangi city forest to the local parliament building Gedung Sate, oratorical speeches on the streets, and performing pantomime at the gates of Gedung Sate³. All those events were based on similar actions they had experienced when they were involved in Greenpeace Youth Bandung.

Although a long march is a protest tactic used by Greenpeace, the name 'Long March' also has deep significance for the people of Bandung and surrounding areas because it relates to an important historical event. The original Siliwangi Long March was conducted by the Siliwangi Army Division in 1948. At that time, local soldiers

were fighting to establish an independent Republic of Indonesia following Dutch and then Japanese occupation. Following the Renville Treaty, the soldiers were mobilised to leave West Java and head to the Central Java region by crossing a very dangerous battlefield, during which time they faced direct confrontation (Soetanto, 2007). To lower the risk of being attacked, the Siliwangi army was strategically divided into smaller divisions to make their way to Central Java. This is referred to as the Siliwangi Long March. It culminated in a small military division reaching the Bandung area, to be actively deployed when Dutch attacks peaked again in Java (Soetanto, 2007). For Backsilmove, their Long March was purposefully embedded with the sense of a historical reconstruction of the Siliwangi military struggle. It also echoed, for the people of Bandung, the success of the Indonesian army in expelling Dutch colonial forces during the struggle for independence.

In keeping with Greenpeace NVDA training, anticipation of risks was a fundamental component of planning. For example, early in the morning of 20 March 2013, the big day of protest, all Backsilmove activists gathered in the city forest. The march co-ordinator Wirdan repeatedly checked all the required equipment for the action, such as orange vests, megaphones, maps, and first aid items. Meanwhile Hadi briefed the activists, saying: 'Guys, remember we will march in the left lane and if there are any suspicious parties you don't need to listen to them'. He advised them to take full precautions. Another activist, Hilman, brought the update that a police officer was ready to escort the action that day on his motorcycle. Hilman had earlier notified the security forces that on 20 March there would be a theatrical action by Backsilmove outside the parliament gates. He had also arranged for security so the activists would be safe during the Long March. The Backsilmove photographers, Adel and Ratu, had already identified the best angles to take pictures during the march. 30 minutes before the start, Hadi warned that all activists should take care of each other and not get out of line, to ensure their safety. Before the march, Canny gave a brief oration:

Friends, in today's action we aim to defend this beloved urban forest (she raised her head up as if praying and inhaled the fresh air). Try and grasp that on either side of you are green creatures that breathe and dance like us. They have lives like human beings and we ought to defend them. So, do not hesitate to be loud later on the street. We defend nature today. Be convinced that the God Almighty is with us.

When she finished speaking, they yelled 'Long live Babakan Siliwangi! Long live Backsilmove! Long live youth!'

When all was ready, the young activists walked out of Babakan Siliwangi together wearing orange vests. These orange vests made them easily identifiable as a solidarity group. In addition, it served to grab the attention of the public passing by in Dago Street because of the striking colour. The journey began with alternating

speeches by the young activists. For example, Canny, with full euphoria of spirit, shouted: 'Reclaim our urban forests from the grip of capitalism'. Wirdan continued with, 'nature which is the breath of our future has been shattered because of the greed of the capitalists and the government's blindness!' Nadia, who spends every Sunday morning in the forest jogging, also provided her call: 'We have told the city authorities that it's about time they paid attention to the future of Babakan Siliwangi for young people of Bandung!' Then the megaphone moved into the hands of Hadi. He called out: 'Restore urban forests for the sake of environmental justice in Indonesia'. Without hesitation, all the marchers raised their hands into the sky, yelling repeatedly: 'Long live Babakan Siliwangi!' Immediately, the flow of motor vehicles coming from the west slowed down and many motorists stopped to enjoy the visual spectacle of the march, capturing the journey with smartphone cameras. Motor vehicles behind the march slowed down. Melodi said that the road users did not express any objection to the young activists marching along, and it seemed as if they enjoyed the orations. Wildan and Raja were distributing leaflets that read: 'Save Babakan Siliwangi city forest. Your forest will be turned into hotels and restaurants by the government and PT EGI. Defend it now or we lose it!' While walking towards the Gedung Sate, they distributed leaflets to the road and pathway users. While distributing the leaflets, the young activists opened a discourse with the public.

A three-metre long black banner that read: 'Backsilmove: Back to Babakan Siliwangi' was held aloft during Long March. According to Wirdan as coordinator, the slogan 'Back to Babakan Siliwangi' implied the government should restore the function of the city forest as social and political space used by Bandung youth to develop and set up creative communities. Following international Greenpeace practice, Backsilmove preferred the banners to be written in English. Using English, according to Canny, meant that the moral message of Backsilmove in defending the city forest could be exposed to the international mass media. The English language in Backsilmove slogans did seize public attention. Lentia admitted that many of the journalists from national media interviewed her after they saw the banner 'Back to Babakan Siliwangi!' Lentia asserted that these journalists were impressed and interested by the phrase: 'Back to ...', as if it was implying an instruction for war. In Bourdieu's terms, the use of English by Backsilmove operated as a powerful form of symbolic capital connecting activists to media agencies in the 'field of struggle'. In the field of social movement protest, Zentz (2015) claims that young people in public spaces in Indonesian cities, after the emergence of social media, prefer to use English to communicate their thoughts; thus engaging a global cosmopolitan view. For such reasons, the use of English in Long March banners was effective in attracting national media attention.

Pantomime

When the Long March was nearing the Gedung Sate gates, the carnival sequel action of the pantomime took place. The mime dancers were walking backwards with contorted facial expressions. These facial expressions, according to Wanggi,

symbolised individuals contesting the threat to the forest. There were three white-face mime artists dressed in camouflage, four people in plain clothes, and Wanggi himself with his face disguised with white powder. Others wore black and white striped clothes like prisoners. They symbolised the corrupt group in government who were greedy for money. This personification was a form of satire against the city mayor of the time Dada Rosada, who had originally signed the contract with PT EGI. Other performers wore costumes that represented people who use the Babakan Siliwangi forest every day, including one dancer who wore a sarong with the traditional ethnic Sunda head cover. The presence of traditional Sundanese costume implied the deep meaning of Babakan Siliwangi as a cultural and historical site for Sundanese people. All the pantomime performers moved slowly backwards with their heads down as they approached the Bacsilmove activist ranks marching up the road. All of them variously competed for an inflated 1.5 diameter earth globe as a symbol of the green space that was being contested. As the full group assembled outside the gates, two activists began a dual oration, while three mime dancers dressed in green as living plants paraded the earth globe. Later, the globe was deflated by each of the many dancers snatching it from various sides. Shortly after the globe was deflated, the dancers all flopped into various positions overlapping one another. This scene narrated a story about the daily struggle for the Babakan Siliwangi urban forest by people, youth, government, and investors. It signified that when all the parties contest for the urban forest according to their respective values and there is no unity to save it, the urban forest will not mean anything and will eventually disappear. After all the dancers fell down, the activists who were carrying Bacsilmove banners in the Long March approached the scene and gently laid the banners over the collapsed dancers.

As indicated earlier, following standard Greenpeace practice, the Bacsilmove activists had made arrangements for the national media to attend the event. Media cameras continually recorded the march and the pantomime. After the pantomime concluded, reporters swarmed the activists to ask for interviews. Wirdan utilised the post-action time for interviews with several journalists from Kompas, RCTI TV, Media Indonesia, Tribun Jawa Barat, and so forth. As Stoddart, Ramos and Tindall (2015, p. 77) point out, even in the era of social media, news media coverage remains important because 'television and newspaper coverage (whether accessed via print or online formats) reaches broad general audiences, which may lack sufficient "motivation" to seek out and engage with movement-produced web content'. On the 20 March 2013, with the presence of many reporters and cameras to witness and perpetuate their peaceful protest, Bacsilmove successfully achieved the goal of bringing their campaign to national attention, which automatically gained greater political traction in Bandung itself. Members of Bacsilmove said they had been thrilled by the media coverage, which amplified the potency of their protest repertoires, especially the pantomime,

With this theatrical pantomime, we actually engaged in politics by way of everyday satirical commentary on elements in the parliament who have no

critical awareness of the negative impact of the loss of Babakan Siliwangi (Wanggi, m, activist, interview, March 2015).

There was general agreement among Backsilmove members about the strategic success of the Long March and the pantomime in mustering community support for the campaign, for example,

We won without losing. You see, demonstrations in the New Order [authoritarian rule] were like we were trying to terrify the authorities. But now with this pantomime action we try to influence society with surprising and spectacular actions. Smarter! (Melodi, f, activist, interview, January 2015).

Another activist made the same point about the success of the protest day overall,

The action cannot be compared with others. Clearly, this is a political action, but it was classier than the usual protests. Perhaps if it were the usual protest the government would have already closed their ears, but with this action even though with only 30 people it has proven that the mass media came to us (Adel, m, activist, interview, January 2015).

This claim supports the contention of Castells (2004, p. 370) that 'outside the sphere of the media there is only political marginality'. A protest organized by a small group of fully trained and experienced environmental activists was able to draw national, and even international attention to their cause. Their victory was first demonstrated by success in attracting the attention of the mass media and second, when the commercialisation contract for the forest was withdrawn.

Greenpeace Praxis and Radical Habitus in Everyday Life

The analysis of data above demonstrates that the Long March and the pantomime performance was experimental and creative actions that built on a repertoire of activism previously deployed in campaigns organised by Greenpeace Indonesia. Significant social and cultural capital was displayed by Backsilmove activists as a group of young people from an educated middle-class background. They mobilised creative models of critical thinking in opposing the planned urban forest development. In this way, they demonstrated a 'radical habitus' (Crossley, 2003, p. 44), sustained through an intensive history of environmental activism, and daily interactions with fellow activists.

The activists interviewed for this study displayed radical ecological habitus not just in their activist work, where the influence of their experiences in Greenpeace was very evident. They also embodied that habitus in aspects of their everyday life. Their cultural norms as environmental activists were reflected in negotiations with ethical consumption, mobility and leisure practices, and by participation in public events. For

example the study considered things like their diet choices, their patronage of certain cafes, their clothing and accessories. Even in these details, their previous experience and identification with Greenpeace was apparent. For example, all the activists interviewed for this study wore or used the Greenpeace logo, or a campaign symbol. They proudly showed their wristbands boldly inscribed with 'Greenpeace'. During interviews in cafés, they folded up long sleeves, despite the air-conditioning. 'So I can let the Greenpeace logo pop out', one of the activists said, rolling up sleeves while being interviewed at a café in Bandung CBD. All the activists chose to carry a brand name hiker backpack with Greenpeace key chains hanging from it. Furthermore, rejecting plastic bottles, wherever they went they brought a tumbler filled with water along in their backpack. Often stickers on these tumblers displayed the Greenpeace logo or a sticker such as: Save the Sumatran Tiger from the Grip of Palm Oil Capitalism. Those symbolic practices suggest that the activists interviewed for this study saw themselves as agents of Greenpeace along a continuum of activist practice in the field of environmentalism. They also point to the overlap between manifest signs of identification with Greenpeace and other aspects of their ecological habitus lived as a taken-for-granted background to everyday life.

Yet, at the same time their activism was very much of its time and place. The kinds of action they favoured reflect the Indonesian youth trend of 'stylizing revolution' identified by Lee (2011, p. 947). Performance in public space has been a hallmark of political activism for young people in post-1998 Indonesia. The authors propose that as highly developed, innovative instances of a protest repertoire, the Long March and the pantomime performance successfully opened up new participation spaces for young people in the environmental 'field of struggle' (Crossley, 2003, p. 47) in Bandung. It has been illustrated that the informants' involvement in Greenpeace Youth Bandung, including induction training in the NVDA boot camp, encouraged them to become active agents of change with a radical ecological habitus. This meant that they were readily able to jump into a more targeted field of struggle. In the events and actions they launched, it is clear that Baksilmove adopted the ideological praxis promoted by Greenpeace and made it a base to build an organization to mobilise young activists to save the city forest. It can be argued that the creation and success of Baksilmove consolidated the 'common logic' (Kinsella, 2015) of their radical disposition of an ecological habitus. The consolidated commitment of these activists as demonstrated in the highly innovative day of action in 2013 which was a manifestation of the radical disposition vividly ingrained in their ecological habitus.

As Della Porta and Fabbri (2016, p. 181) point out, much research on social movements explains local residents' protests against unpopular spatial development as a reaction to urban policies oriented to 'increasing profits for a small group of citizens, yet decreasing the quality of life for most'. In these types of protests, they claim, citizens mobilize in order to defend the quality of life in their community. This was all true in the case of Baksilmove. The authors saw, that same set of claims also holds true for the rather ineffective Babakan Siliwangi Residents Forum. The

Babakan Siliwangi Residents Forum was composed of political sympathisers and older community leaders, not dynamic people with experience in effective protest actions. In contrast, the Bacsilmove youth were skilled environmental activists. They were much better equipped to 'translate, beyond their own self-interests, the opportunities and constraints that others cannot see and/or seize in the field' (Vélez-Vélez, 2015, p. 543). This recognition indicates that to grasp the salience of the Bacsilmove protest success and the authors must look to the development of a radical (ecological) habitus.

They used their collective experience to create a new and specific environmental movement. They did this by exercising their cultural capital and by transforming their political aspirations into creative public space resistance. What they fought for in the new movement organization was congruent with their earlier cultural trajectory as committed activists. Saunders' (2012, p. 264) findings on committed activists reveal that committed protesters tend to have a structurally long engagement with activism and this can fuel intention to develop other radical movements. In other words, the young activists moved beyond self-conscious decision-making about being an environmentalist into the praxis of an ecological habitus (Lewis, 2015). Their evident radical ecological habitus was built on earlier environmental activism that resulted in cultural capital accumulation, and was further encouraged by highly effective social networking. Such preparation represents significant potential for creating a new movement. The depicted evolution above of consciousness and strategy is congruent with Crossley's notion (2005, p. 22) about how environmental movements evolve: 'the movement habitus constantly evolves as the contexts of activism demand innovation, improvisation and intelligent adaptation'. Any new movement can be thought of as an innovative action performed by embodied agents to reconstruct the existing structure and establish a new assembly of protest through a revised repertoire of actions. Creating Bacsilmove as an independent environmental action group consolidated the evolution of their radical ecological habitus.

Conclusion

Bacsilmove activists took the values they learned in Greenpeace regarding environmental activism and re-activated them, particularly in their specifically public, space-based repertoire. Clearly, their left-leaning immersion in Greenpeace activism served as an effective social learning tool that later helped them to constitute a novel environmental movement. The practice of activist symbolism in the daily lives of Bacsilmove members – for example their dress and consumption practices – confirms that they had internalized Greenpeace's radical disposition. In Bourdieu's framework, each individual who enters a struggle for position comes to understand the regulatory norms of the field through internalisation within their habitus. To gain success in any field, social agents then act according to their 'feel for the game'. Bacsilmove activists had clearly developed their 'feel for the game' during their years of involvement in Greenpeace campaigns.

It seems evident that the successful Backsilmove campaign was one modelled, both consciously and perhaps unconsciously, on Greenpeace's effective environmental campaigns in Indonesia. That finding confirms Greenpeace as a 'pedagogical agent' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), which adds to authors' knowledge about the diffusion of activist knowledge over time. The authors propose that the completely new Backsilmove movement emerged as the sedimentation of a former movement (Greenpeace). Its creation was reinforced by the dispositions developed through the young activists' previous involvement in Greenpeace training and activism. In short, the nascent radical ecological habitus of young activists became a consolidated radical disposition in the new context of protest.

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Notes

1. *Economic capital* is 'immediately and directly convertible into money'. *Social capital* comprises social obligations or social connections. *Cultural capital* refers to assets of cultural knowledge that allow social mobility within significant fields (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 242).

2. This report can be accessed at
https://issuu.com/puspitakamil/docs/report_pembangunan_tanpa_mata

3. The details of the event can be viewed at
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFFLPLLe7bfA>

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