

## *Tri Lulu*: Community Resistance to Source-Based Waste Management Policies in Badung Regency Bali

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24843/JKB.2024.v14.i02.p10>

**Abstract:** Bali encounters a waste emergency due to the amplification in the type and volume of the population's waste. The Bali government has initiated community resistance, particularly in Badung Regency, Bali. This study aims to critically reflect on this circumstance from the lens of the qualitative method using a cultural studies approach. Field research was performed by implementing the critical ethnography model. The study reveals that community resistance is categorized into three waste management dimensions called *Tri Lulu*, i.e., individual and public resistance, hyperregulation conflict, and disruption of local concepts. Individual and public resistance, both open and covert, reflects the failure of dialogue between subjective awareness and regulative practice in finding practical solutions. Hyperregulation in waste management causes policies to overlap and triggers conflicts of interest. Local concepts are disrupted due to increasing pressure on demographic and economic infrastructure. Pentahelix synergy is required to implement waste management policies in Bali.

**Keywords:** *Tri Lulu*; community resistance; source-based waste management

### 1. Introduction

The world community's concern about waste conditions led to the dawn of several international commitments, i.e., *Agenda 21*, the *Dublin Rio Principles*, and the *Kyoto Protocol*. These commitments intend to intensify the effectiveness of the waste management system in each country (Amien, 2012). The waste problem is linked to other ecological problems, i.e., climate change,

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Submitted: 31 July 2024; Accepted: 22 September 2024; Published: October 2024



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carbon emissions, and the greenhouse effect, and it potentially triggers the most terrifying natural disasters on Earth. Wallace-Wells (2019) predicts that a major catastrophe will occur due to worsening environmental conditions, making the Earth inhabitable for humans.

Waste and environmental threats are becoming critical problems in Indonesia. The National Waste Management Information System (2021) released that in 2020, Indonesia produced 67.8 million tons of waste with a handling rate of 48.5%, 4% reduction, and 47.5% have not been managed. The central and regional governments have issued several waste management regulations but have not effectively addressed this problem. To date, waste management mechanisms depend on the final disposal location (locally known as the 'TPA'). Apart from frequently experiencing overcapacity issues, this mechanism also negatively impacts environmental quality, aesthetics, safety, and health of the surrounding community. The tragedy of the TPA Leuwigajah in Cimahi, West Java, killing 143 workers and residents, shows that this mechanism is life-threatening (Mahendra, 2003).

Bali Province also encounters a waste emergency. The Ministry of Environment and Forestry (2021) states that Bali produces 915.5 thousand tons of waste and is ranked 8<sup>th</sup> in the largest waste-producing province in Indonesia. The Sarbagita (derived from the 'Denpasar, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan') area accounts for more than 60% of the waste volume in Bali. Waste management in this area relies on the TPA Suwung (44%) and can only manage 4% of the waste, while 52% are unhandled. The limited land for the TPA Suwung is a severe problem, with the amount of waste reaching 1,200-1,400 tons per day; it is estimated that this landfill will soon reach its maximum capacity (Muliantari, 2022).

To anticipate these problems, the Governor of Bali issued Governor Regulation No. 47 of 2019 concerning Source-Based Waste Management. This policy prioritizes community participation and awareness to manage waste at its source, households, industry, and residential areas. However, the waste produced in Bali remains increasing until the end of 2022 – three years after this policy was implemented. This problem also occurs in Badung Regency, producing 119,474 tons of waste in 2022 and can only manage around 11% of the total waste (Dihni, 2022). This condition has a counterproductive impact on the quality of the environment, health, social, culture, economy, and especially the tourism industry as the primary source of regional income.

Nevertheless, this policy also triggers community resistance in Badung Regency. Resistance reflects all forms of defiance, rejection, neglect, and reaction from the lower class against the rules of the upper class (Scott, 1993; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Dwipayana & Arthajaya, 2018). In the context of tourism-related development in Bali, open public resistance is not something new, as can be

observed from a series of severe protests of the reclamation megaproject plan in Benoa Harbour (Wiranata & Siahaan, 2019; Rainy et al., 2018). Community resistance is demonstrated by the rejection of plans to build TPS 3R (waste processing site by reduce, reuse, recycle) in several places and waste management behavior, violating the policy mandates. Community resistance to source-based waste management is crucial to study because the community considers the policy ineffective. Besides, resistance also causes the policy not to work effectively.

## 2. Literature Review

The current waste condition in Bali downgrades tourist comfort and disrupts overall tourism performance. The conundrum must be handled by synergizing government, society, the private sector, and tourists (Sutrisnawati & Purwahita, 2018). Normatively, the aspects studied correlate with the waste problem in Badung Regency but do not specifically examine community resistance to source-based waste management policies.

Previous studies related to aspects of source-based waste management that highlight the Sarbagita area are performed by Armadi et al. (2020), Putra & Dwipayanti (2020), Irawan & Adhimastra (2021), Armadi (2021), and Widianara (2022). These studies suggest several obstacles in implementing this policy, i.e., low public awareness, weak law enforcement, lack of facilities and infrastructure, and poor synergy between sectors. However, there is no study regarding community resistance to this policy as a form of state hegemony in handling waste and community criticism of structural hegemony in handling waste problems in Bali.

Further, Ganesan's (2017) empirical work depicts community resistance to waste problems. Local mobilization against waste management marks a new social movement taking place in the city of Kerala, India. Community resistance is designed at unsustainable development models, pursuing only increased material production and rising discrimination to the lower levels of society. This counter-hegemonic movement pushed for large-scale reforms, making urban centers battlegrounds for local communities against the economic projects of capital owners who colluded with the government. The waste management system in Kerala only benefits capital owners, ignoring the impact on the environment and surrounding community.

Conversely, community resistance to source-based waste management policies in Badung Regency does not lead to massive protests. However, this resistance appears in conflict, rejection, sabotage, protests, avoidance, non-compliance, and slow response in waste management, indicating that community resistance is direct or indirect as a power strategy built on rationality. The community resistance in this study is the community has its rationality

interpreting the policy rather than unconscious behavior. When people do not comply with managing waste according to applicable policies, their act of resistance is based on a certain rationality, not their lack of awareness.

### 3. Method and Theory

#### 3.1 Method

This study used a qualitative method underpinning the cultural studies approach. The principles of multidisciplinary and efforts to uncover the hidden realities behind regulatory practices are the primary concerns of the cultural studies approach as a critical scientific discipline that rejects positivist-deterministic explanations in interpreting reality. This approach gravitates toward emancipatory and participatory studies intended to build reflective thinking and mobilize transformative awareness (Creswell, 2014).

Accordingly, this study implemented a critical ethnographic model. Critical ethnography prioritizes moral responsibility for injustice and marginalization due to deviant cultural practices that help, encourage, enlighten, and empower marginalized groups (Madison, 2005; Creswell, 2014; Palmer et al., 2015; Wiasti & Suarsana, 2023). Data collection was conducted through observation, in-depth interviews, and document study. The location of this study is the entire Badung Regency area. The study was conducted from 2022 to the end of 2023. Further, a total of 50 informants were interviewed. The primary document studied was Bali Governor Regulation No. 47 of 2019 concerning Source-Based Waste Management.

Data analysis with critical interpretation was through three stages: (1) prefiguration, i.e., the experience stage that has not been formulated; (2) configuration, i.e., when researchers begin to formulate their ideas and knowledge in responding to the data obtained; (3) transfiguration when data is interpreted distinctively through selection or distortion based on specific interests (Gibbons, 2002). In the context of resistance, the analytical framework is focused on daily repertoires of resistance concerning particular configurations of power, linkages between actors, temporal dimension, and the spatial dimensions of resistance (Baaz et al., 2017).

#### 3.2 Theories

Muhadjir (2000) asserts that public policy must fulfill five crucial requirements: (1) improving people's living standards, (2) providing legal and social justice, (3) providing opportunities for individual achievement and creation, (4) encouraging active community participation and (5) ensuring sustainable development. If these conditions are unfulfilled, community resistance will inevitably emerge. Thus, community resistance to source-based

waste management policies in Badung Regency involves individual or public assessment, interpretation, and views on the practice of these policies.

To examine this problem, this study implements the resistance theory, supporting the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and the theory of power and knowledge relations. Scott (1993) explains resistance is all actions taken by the lower class to reduce pressure or reject class claims that delegitimize their rights and freedoms. The leading actor in resistance is the lower class, which fights or opposes the upper class, deemed unfair and oppressive (Baaz et al., 2017). Resistance represents a class struggle grounded on material, intentions, and claims rather than specific consequences. Individual or collective resistance overrides ideological dimensions that challenge superior definitions and standards.

Accordingly, the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory argues that policies or regulations are 'ideological fraud' that creates a social system following the division of labor and class stratification and the ruling class as the only party who has the right to determine individual goals (Lubis, 2004; Sindhunata, 2021). This policy positions waste management in a technical-instrumental way that seems rational and scientific. Horkheimer (in Sindhunata, 2020) criticized that the 'domination of rationality' reduces human emancipation from nature and society. The policy of making people 'waste managers' and acting according to their wishes causes the government to lose its autonomy in building relationships with its environment. Instead of building awareness to manage waste, this policy presents 'other' irrationality when the policy practices conflict with society's reason and rationality.

Public policy shows the linkage between power and knowledge. This linkage is attached to the will, channeled through discourse. Foucault (2002; Kumbara, 2023) emphasizes that power is not a center of domination that prohibits and punishes (repressive) but rather a productive dual network for changing the face of resistance. Power does not belong to those 'in power' because it mediates all normal and acceptable ideas when exercised. Behaviors that are considered deviant are controlled by particular conventions. Subjects and objects of power are exchanged and work in discourse; thus, its structure and agency encompass everyone instead of an individual (Foucault 2002; Kiersey in Kumbara, 2023). It indicates that community resistance to source-based waste management policies in Badung Regency shows two opposing forces, i.e., the government and the community.

#### 4. Results and Discussions

The three main dimensions of community resistance to source-based waste management policies in Badung Regency are constructed in the local "*Tri Lulu*" concept. In *Balinese-Indonesian Dictionary* (Partami, et al., 2016), *tri* means



three (p. 739), and *lulu* or *luu* means waste (p. 447). *Tri Lulu* means three waste management dimensions: (1) individual and public resistance, (2) total disruption of the *hulu-teben* concept, and (3) hyperregulation of waste management.

#### 4.1 Individual and Public Resistance

The source-based waste management policy commits the community to managing waste at its root. The operational definition of source-based waste management is stated explicitly in Bali Governor Regulation No. 47 of 2019, in Article 1 paragraph 9, i.e., systematic, comprehensive, and sustainable activities, including reducing waste, reusing waste, recycling waste, and handling waste by sorting, collecting, transporting, processing and final processing of waste. This policy provides household waste management similar to household waste, specific waste management, waste management by producers, and residual waste management. It requires household, industrial, and residential waste management at the source.

Public awareness in waste management, reducing and sorting waste by applying the 3R principles (reduce, reuse, and recycle), is significant to success. Subsequently, the residual waste is collected using a waste bank system and the 3R waste management site (TPS 3R). However, data reveals that in December 2023, there were only 72 active waste banks out of 545 sub-villages (*banjar*), with only 31 TPS 3R units out of 64 villages in Badung Regency and only 29 TPS 3R units implementing waste processing mechanisms using the 3R system. However, their capacity is not commensurate with the amount of waste. It is inseparable from the community's resistance to building TPS 3R in several areas.

Several communities, including the people of Banjar Tegal, Sembung Village (2022), Banjar Tegehe, and Sempidi Village (2023), have shown open and direct resistance. The resistance is displayed directly and openly, with banners of rejection placed in public spaces (Photo 1, Photo 2).



Photo 1 (Left), Photo 2 (Right): Residents at Banjar Tegal and Banjar Tegehe are showing rejection banners against the plan to build TPS 3R in their area (Photos: Dalem, 2023).

Photo 1 and Photo 2 show that residents reject the plan to build TPS 3R in their area. These banners are a statement of their rejection of the government as the institution planning the construction of TPS 3R. Scott (1993) describes open resistance as fighting or contestation between upper and lower groups through open confrontations without protection or restrictions. Apart from banners, resistance was also conducted by sending letters and direct dialogue with the Badung Regency government. The government responded to this resistance by delivering rational statements and actions through power intervention.

For instance, the statement repudiates the community's concern and convinces the residents that TPS 3R will benefit them. Although the rationality behind this statement is debatable, this narrative is a crucial discursive function to naturalize the authority's interests to reduce societal resistance (Carette (Ed.), 1999). It confirms Foucault's idea (in Kumbara, 2023, p. 317) that discourse is a power channel to control society through domination, hegemony, and ideological power that sneaks into cultural practices (social, political, and economic) and science. Scott (1993) further states that the dominant group has more significant resources and power to weaken the situation and break the movements of subordinate groups. Consequently, community resistance subsided after the meeting, and the construction of TPS 3R in the area entered a new phase.

Unlike Sembung and Sempidi villages, direct and open resistance was not found in other areas. However, constant resistance appears in various places, institutionally and individually. Scott (1993) states that resistance is when subordinate groups resist the dominant structures in daily activities and interactions. The village government's response in executing source-based waste management policies reveals constant resistance in the institutional dimension, especially the construction of TPS 3R. More than 50% of villages in Badung Regency are passive in responding to the policy and are slow in overcoming obstacles in constructing TPS 3R. It also reveals that the pretended resistance acts to obey the rules and orders to build TPS 3R yet is reluctant to realize it. This resistance becomes a weapon for submissive groups; thus, they are not labeled dissidents (Scott, 1993; 2000).

The failure to build a TPS 3R is resistance to source-based waste management policies at the institutional level because responsibility and authority are delegated to the village government and synergize with traditional villages. This resistance results in unresolved problems, hindering the implementation of source-based waste management policies, for instance, the reduction in the post-management process for household waste, i.e., the availability of a place to dispose of residual waste. It triggers constant resistance at the individual level in waste management, i.e., wanting to avoid sorting

and throwing rubbish carelessly and dependence on third parties to manage household waste. To illustrate (Photo 3, Photo 4), the unavailability of TPS 3R encourages residents to throw rubbish in empty land around their houses, even though prohibition banners have been installed.



Photo 3 (Left) and Photo 4 (Right): Residents behavior of throwing rubbish on empty land that already has prohibition banners (Photos: Dalem, 2023).

Photo 3 and Photo 4 show that residents deliberately throw rubbish in places where prohibition banners have been placed. Residents appear to be intentionally ignorant. Disobedience and loss of individual respect for the government are exhibited with rationality. Regulative practices are a dialectical arena of public rationality, determining their attitudes toward power (Habermas in Hardiman, 1997). The availability of waste facilities and infrastructure, certainty, and enforcement of regulations, efforts to build public awareness, and other rational power actions reciprocate with individual attitudes in source-based waste management. Therefore, individual resistance to government policy is inevitable when policymakers fail to show consistency. It is related to covert resistance, disagreement, or rejection by disrupting or hindering the process or flow of work, which is challenging to detect (Scott, 2000).

An informant stated that initially, he was attentive in sorting waste, but because the waste transporter re-mixed the waste that had been selected, he became reluctant. Residents' protests of the performance of unprofessional waste haulers often take covert resistance, i.e., intentionally throwing rubbish in front of their houses after a rubbish truck has passed. This action was used as an excuse to protest the performance of paid waste transportation services, hoping there would be no delays in the future. Covert resistance due to residents' dissatisfaction with the performance of waste has also been identified, i.e., residents intentionally throwing rubbish that potentially causes an unpleasant smell, then complaining about it by uploading it to social media, throwing rubbish carelessly into drains, or piling it up on the side of the road.



Community and individual resistance to source-based waste management policies occurs in various social domains, openly and covertly. This resistance reflects the failure of dialogue between subjective awareness and regulative practice in presenting practical solutions. Principally, waste management will run optimally if individuals and communities know how to manage their waste independently, supporting productive regulatory practices. The connection of these two aspects creates a practical solution for waste management in a holistic, integrative, and sustainable manner.

#### ***4.2 Hyperregulation of Waste Management***

The government's efforts to create a harmonious and balanced environment are attained by establishing various regulations to encourage private, community, and government involvement in environmental management (Manik, 2016). The tragic incident at the TPA Leuwigajah in Cimahi, West Java, is a momentum for awareness among all parties to manage waste rigorously throughout the region. The central government stipulates Law No. 18 of 2008 concerning Waste Management, which becomes the legal basis for establishing derivative regulations from the central to regional levels, causing hyperregulation in waste management.

By the end of 2023, the Badung Regency Government will refer to at least 32 waste management regulations, ranging from laws to regent regulations. Susskind (2010) elaborates that hyperregulation does not refer to the large number of regulations but the large number of mechanisms for the same regulatory object. Hyperregulation leads to overlaps, inconsistencies, multiple interpretations, and unconformities, causing regulatory rules not to work optimally (Sedyawati, 2021). Hyperregulation is also a primary factor causing community resistance to source-based waste management policies.

Every policy expects conformity, i.e., social influence encouraging individuals to change their attitudes and behavior to conform to established social norms (Baron & Byrne, 2005). However, the source-based waste management policy reflects an inability to change people's attitudes and behavior in waste management. Inadequate socialization, insubstantial enforcement of rules, and overlapping regulations cause the policy to be nonoptimal and trigger resistance from the community. Kumbara, et al. (2023) explain that the public knowledge level in Badung Regency regarding source-based waste management is only 50.5% on average. As stated by the following informant, the low level of public affirmation influences how they perceive policy.

It's useless to keep having new policies and not solve anything. In my opinion, we do not need many policies. What is crucial to be done is how the policy is implemented. It must be clear. There must be sanctions

for residents who violate it, and this waste problem will be resolved. If regulations keep changing, the community will be confused and reluctant (Suarda, waste management activist, interview June 20, 2023).

The informant's statement above suggests that the many regulations cause public resistance, i.e., apathy, the belief that these regulations will not solve the problem. The public prefers rigorous regulation with clear rules, including strict sanctions for each violation. It shows that of the 62 villages in Badung Regency, only Tanjung Bena Village shows conformity to these regulations. Changes in source-based waste management behavior have consistently grown in people's daily lives. They are used to sorting food, activity, and residual waste and throwing them at TPS 3R Panca Lestari in the middle of the settlement.

Enforcement of rules and providing sanctions for violations are also problems behind the hyperregulation of waste management in practice. Using power to exercise domination could be public officials' sense of responsibility for implementing policies. Foucault (in Kumbara, 2023) states that domination techniques enable the definition of individual behavior, the imposition of finality or certain goals, and self-discipline, allowing individuals to carry them out through a series of actions. However, it shows that supervision and sanctions for violations of waste policy in Badung Regency are deficient. Consequently, various community violations, i.e., littering, do not get sanctions, and rising 'intrusion of indifference', infiltrating an attitude of indifference that spreads to other societies because disobedient behavior is considered collective normality (Sharon & Koops, 2021).

Hyperregulation also causes overlaps that contradict each other, i.e., policies regarding waste banks and TPS 3R. The waste bank is considered not noticeable in supporting the performance of TPS 3R and contradictory to the expected behavioral changes. Waste banks encourage people to care only about waste that has economic value, while other waste is ignored or taken to landfills. The residual waste brought to TPS 3R, apart from causing piles of waste that exceed capacity, does not provide added financial value to support operational costs for its sustainability. The participation of traditional villages in source-based waste management also generates ambiguity in the government's performance in determining which agency is most responsible, whether the culture service or the environment and hygiene service.

Overlapping regulations cause the waste management process to stop, which is counterproductive to changes in people's attitudes and behavior. Hyperregulation also generates conflicts of interest involving central and regional governments, communities, and the private sector (Susskind, 2010). It allows certain groups to articulate their respective interests, conflict with

each other, and take protection in existing regulations. Conflicts of interest occur at various levels of power in a circular, reciprocal, and hidden manner, obstructing policy implementation and causing the waste not to be managed properly. A conflict of interest that emerges is the plan to close TPA Suwung, which is suspected to be related to business development in the surrounding area, although TPA Suwung is required to solve the waste problem in the Sarbagita area, while there are not yet other alternatives. It raised community resistance as a reaction to dissatisfaction with source-based waste management performance.

Consequently, hyperregulation in waste management creates overlapping policy practices and opens opportunities for conflicts of interest. Overlapping regulations create confusion and ambiguity in society's source-based waste management. Other regulations can cancel policy implementation. Thus, planning and processes that are already underway cannot be continued. Hyperregulation also creates conflicts of interest between conflicting parties in various social domains. Certain parties safeguard their respective interests by utilizing or taking refuge in the most profitable regulations. Thus, hyperregulation worsens waste management in society.

### ***4.3 Total Disruption of "Hulu-Teben" Concept***

Waste is perceived as a dirty object and causes many problems in people's lives. Therefore, the ideology underlying waste management is almost always material and instrumental. Consequently, waste management tends to lead to mechanisms for reducing the amount produced, processed, or disposed of in a place. This material and instrumental effort produce contradictions, i.e., residents' houses and the surrounding environment appear clean and tidy, but in other areas, there are piles of garbage that smell bad and are horrible. Ideology presents an imaginary linkage with the real world as a driver for individuals to act according to certain powers (Suseno, 2004; Faqih, 2007). Ideology is just a channel of hegemony used by dominant groups to suppress submissive groups.

It verifies that materialism and instrumentalism, emphasizing space-time-material and instrumental actions in waste management, have been used as regional government tools to build TPS 3R in every village, as if it is the only solution. Whether consciously or not, this ideology is also trying to be infiltrated into the Balinese customary system through the Governor's Decree No. 381/03-P/HK/2021. Juridically and sociologically, this regulation positions traditional institutions (*desa adat* or customary village) as government partners. Thus, they must support the realization of the construction of TPS 3R in every village area. This infiltration of power is massive because all regions in Bali are *wawengkon desa adat* (traditional village areas). However, in contrast to

government powers that use the ideology of materialism-instrumentalism as a perspective and solution to the waste problem, traditional villages in Bali rely on traditional values. Therefore, waste management must be following it. Realistically, traditional participation in source-based waste management has counter-ideological potentials that control the dominant ideology.

The ideological position of *desa adat* opens space for dialectics of social, cultural, and religious control in source-based waste management policy. First, all TPS 3R, successfully built and operated without community resistance, show the synergy of administrative village and traditional village. Second, the construction of TPS 3R, which received community resistance, is based on counter-ideological discourses following the customary system. Third, the failure or success of villages in realizing the development of TPS 3R is inseparable from the role of *desa adat* to integrating and contrasting. Counter-ideological resistance to source-based waste management related to the construction of TPS 3R is observed in the second and third cases.

The residents of Banjar Tegal, Sembung Village, resist the plan to build TPS 3R because its location is at the *hulu* of the village. Similar resistance based on customs also occurred in the Desa Adat Tuban, Kuta District. Desa Adat Tuban already has a processing site in the form of a hangar and incinerator. This land used to be TPS 6 but is no longer operational. Its location close to the temple caused controversy in the community; thus, the operations were stopped. In 2022, the former TPS 6 land is planned to be converted into TPS 3R, and the plan is that it will also be used temporarily by Kuta Village before it has its own TPS 3R. Desa Adat Tuban resists the conversion of TPS 6 to TPS 3R because they are unwilling trucks carrying rubbish to pass through the temple.

*Hulu-teben* is a Balinese local wisdom that regulates space division by its sacred value. The concept of *hulu* in Balinese ideology is interpreted as the 'top,' 'center,' or 'sacred' area, as a pair of opposites from *teben*, 'bottom,' 'periphery,' and 'profane.' *Hulu-teben* in the space-time-action concept of Balinese society is based on a spirit of religiosity, positioning the *hulu* direction as a sacred area that should not be polluted with profane activities. Sukawati (2008) stated that the distribution of land use for sacred religious activities is positioned in the *hulu* area in the northeast, which is generally higher topographically. Conversely, land for non-religious activities is placed in the *teben* area, opposite the *hulu* area. This local wisdom provides a value system that Balinese people refer to in every activity related to space use. Consequently, space uses contrary to the *hulu-teben* concept will meet community resistance (Sukawati, 2008).

This conception underpins the counter-ideological resistance of Banjar Tegal and Desa Adat Tuban residents because the TPS 3R construction site will diminish the sacred value of the area. The construction of TPS 3R in a location

deemed to be contrary to these cultural values has triggered rejection from residents. Accordingly, Kumbara (2021) stated how important it is for power to make knowledge the basis for discourse distributed to society as the basis for self-discipline. Misconceptions of knowledge can have counterproductive consequences for power in the context of disciplining society. The community's disapproval of the plan to build TPS 3R contradicts the values of the *hulu-teben* space, as stated by the following informant.

Several points concern the community: the location of TPS 3R is at *hulu*, not at *teben*, and there is a *beji* to the west of the planned TPS 3R. It contradicts the vision of *Nangun Sat Kerthi Loka Bali*, and our residents are worried about the *sakala* and *niskala* impacts. Occasionally, garbage entering the ground will contaminate the *beji* water used for *tirtha* in sacred ceremonies. If the *tirtha* is littered, the effect is unimaginable (Putra, community figure, interview July 29, 2023).

The informant's statement emphasizes that activity must be considered holistically and abstractly in the cultural view of the Balinese. Purity in Balinese culture is a core value that determines human activity spaces. Many conflicts in Bali involving power and capital with indigenous communities are triggered by sacred factors (*niskala*) and become a complex basis for resistance to compromise (Suryawan, 2021). Consequently, the contradiction between *hulu-teben* cultural values and the government's decision to choose the location for the TPS 3R construction caused community resistance. Artatik (2004) found that the natural-physical environment is often neglected in waste management in Bali.

Local wisdom, which the government should consider in making policies, was not implemented, especially in selecting the location for the TPS 3R construction. It contradicts the source-based waste management policy, which seems affirmative of Balinese cultural values, i.e., *Nangun Sat Kerthi Loka Bali*. The government's repressive and non-repressive 'coercion' to succeed in planning TPS 3R and receiving community approval in the three locations (Sembung, Sempidi, Tuban) suggests the degradation of traditional values due to the government's misunderstanding of sacred space.

The government appears not to be concerned with the voices of people to maintain sacred values, i.e., *hulu-teben*, and even the concept of upstream sanctity in determining waste processing locations is being 'exploited' for the sake of power. Instead of looking for other alternatives, the government (power) continues to try to secure its interests because failure to execute policies will create a bad image for the government. It aligns with Foucault's (in Kumbara, 2023, p. 242) view that when power is exercised, its forms will be based on current conventions and become an ideal strategy for dealing with deviations.



Increasingly uncontrolled land and space use makes finding representative land to build a waste processing site problematic. Sukawati (2008) stated that the *teben* space, functioning as a place for waste management, undergoes function changes for commercial purposes, making it challenging to find representative land in the *teben* area as a place to process waste. For example, in Kuta, the *teben* space in the southwest of the village is now the front terrace of the Kuta Beach tourist attraction. Thus, it is unfeasible to build TPS 3R in that area. The logistical shift from this situation is that if TPS 3R is forced into the *teben* space, it will degrade the tourism space, and economic opportunities will be absent. It is unattainable to stop spatial changes in capitalism, as Marx stated (in Singer, 2021), that the value of products contains the fingerprints of a society whose production process has mastered humans and is no longer controlled by humans.

When the *teben* space, supposedly used by the community to process waste, becomes a productive economic space, the *hulu* space becomes the only choice. Consequently, when this is forced, it will trigger community resistance. The critical question is, “Does the government not understand the concept of *hulu-teben*, even though the majority of government officials in Bali and Badung are Hindu?” The misconception of *hulu-teben* suggests that the government is ‘turning a blind eye’ and compensating for it with other policies that seem to support the preservation of Hindu culture and religion in Bali. Formal authorities tend to interpret sacred space religiously. However, the *hulu* space, which is close to the temple as the holy area, is neglected and treated arbitrarily for non-religious purposes.

The total disruption of the *hulu-teben* concept is inseparable from the strengthening pressure on demographic infrastructure and the capitalistic economy. These pressures are characterized by large-scale land conversion for housing development and productive business premises targeting residential areas. Eventually, the *teben* space supposedly used for waste management is converted for other material purposes. It causes adversity in each village when preparing land to build waste facilities, i.e., TPS 3R. The availability of land close to settlements also potentially triggers resistance from local communities.

## 5. Conclusion

The conclusion of this study are formulated using the local term *Tri Lulu*, which reflects three pivotal dimensions of waste management in Bali. Public and individual resistance, both overt and covert, demonstrates the failure of dialogue between subjective consciousness and regulative practice to provide practical solutions. Hyperregulation of waste creates overlapping policy practices and opens opportunities for various conflicts of interest, worsening waste management in society.

Subsequently, the total disruption of binary opposition *hulu-teben* due to the strengthening pressure of demographic infrastructure and capitalistic economics caused *teben* space, supposedly a place to manage waste, to be converted solely for material interests and desires. These findings confirm that governmentalism creates instrumental determinism, hindering the transformation of individual awareness and autonomy in waste management. Waste management must involve penta helix synergy integrally and sustainably.

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