

RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

**Peri-urban Planning in Indonesia**  
Contexts, approaches and institutional capacity

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To **Putri, Zeidra, and Zhafira** for their presence, patience, support and love.



‘I swear by the time, most surely man is in loss, except those who believe and do good, and enjoin on each other truth, and enjoin on each other patience’.  
(*Qur’an Surah 103 Al-Asr* : 1-3)



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Groningen, January 2010

## List of Abbreviations

Bappeda	: <i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah</i> (Regional Development Planning Board)
BMA	: Bandung Metropolitan Area (= Greater Bandung)
Bermartabat	: <i>Bersih, Makmur, Taat dan Bersahabat</i> (Clean, Prosper, Obedient and Friendly)
Bopunjur	: Bogor-Puncak-Cianjur (The upland located in the south of Jakarta)
BSD	: Bumi Serpong Damai
CBO	: Community-Based Organisation
DPRD	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah</i> (Regional Legislative Assembly)
DPKLTS	: <i>Dewan Pemerhati Kehutanan dan Lingkungan Tatar Sunda</i> (The Assembly for the Forestry and Environmental Observers of the Sundanese Region)
DUS	: Dam Utama Sakti
EIA	: Environmental Impact Assessment
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
FPLH	: <i>Forum Penyelamat Lingkungan Hidup</i> (Forum for the Environmental Protection)
GALIB	: <i>Gabungan Aktivis Lingkungan Bandung</i> (Bandung Environmental Activists Union)
HGB	: <i>Hak Guna Bangunan</i> (Building Rights on Land)
HGU	: <i>Hak Guna Usaha</i> (Cultivation Rights on Land)
ITB	: <i>Institut Teknologi Bandung</i> (Bandung Institute of Technology)
Jabodetabek	: Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang-Bekasi (Jakarta Metropolitan Area = Greater Jakarta)
Kasiba	: <i>Kawasan Siap Bangun</i> ( <i>Planned Area for New Residential Development</i> )

KBU	: <i>Kawasan Bandung Utara</i> (= NBA)
KMBB	: <i>Komite Masyarakat Bandung Bermartabat</i> (Committee for the Civilised Bandung Society)
KPJB	: <i>Komisi Peduli Jawa Barat</i> (Committee for Good West Java Governance)
KPP	: <i>Komisi Peduli Punclut</i> (The Association for Ex-veteran Families Owning Land in Punclut)
Lemlit	: <i>Lembaga Penelitian</i> (Research Institute)
Lab Rangkot	: <i>Laboratorium Rancang Kota</i> (Laboratory for Urban Design)
Lisiba	: <i>Lingkungan Siap Bangun</i> (Planned Site for New Residential Development)
LPPM	: <i>Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian Masyarakat</i> (Research and Social Service Institute)
NBA	: North Bandung Area (= KBU)
NGO	: Non-Government Organisation
Pemilu	: <i>Pemilihan Umum</i> (General Election)
Pemkot	: <i>Pemerintah Kota</i> (Municipal Government)
Pemprop	: <i>Pemerintah Propinsi</i> (Provincial Government)
PT	: Perseroan Terbatas (Inc., Ltd.)
RDTR	: <i>Rencana Detail Tata Ruang</i> (Detailed Spatial Plan)
REI	: <i>Real Estate Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Developers' Association)
RTRW	: <i>Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah</i> (General Spatial Plan)
Tahura	: <i>Taman Hutan Rakyat</i> (Great Public Park)
TKPRKP	: <i>Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut</i> (Coordinating Team for the Punclut Project)
Unpad	: <i>Universitas Padjadjaran</i> (Padjadjaran University)



# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Overview

*Peri-urban areas* can be defined as areas around or outside the city proper that are ecologically and socio-economically integrated into their core city (Simon, McGregor, & Nsiah-Gyabaah, 2004). They function as a transitional zone between the city and its hinterland and countryside, characterised by intensive flows of natural resources, goods, and people from and to the city. They also serve as the interface between urban, rural and natural areas with relatively rapid growth, dynamic and mixed physical and socio-economic attributes (Allen, 2003).

*Peri-urbanisation*, which refers to the process of urban transformation in peri-urban areas, is becoming an important spatial phenomenon in our informational and globalised society. Peri-urbanisation can be triggered by the development of irregular settlements, new towns, industrial estates and other forms of large-scale urban functions around big cities. The phenomenon is increasing rapidly in fast-growing economic regions such as East Asia. In the next two decades, around 200 million people are predicted to reside in peri-urban areas of East Asian metropolitan regions, making up 40 percent of the total population of the metropolitan regions (Webster, 2002).

Peri-urbanisation has created new opportunities as well as challenges for metropolitan planning and governance in Indonesia and other developing and transitional countries in East Asia. First, peri-urbanisation may create new economic activities, attracting massive employment thus contributing to regional development (Lin, 2001). However, it is also found that the development of exclusive middle-class residential and other urban functions in rural areas has created gated communities, reinforcing colonial-inherited socio-spatial segregation (Firman, 2004; Leisch, 2002). In addition, industrial estate developments often transform extensively fertile agricultural land

thus decreasing a region's rural productivity (Chunnasit, Pages, & Duangngam, 2000; Firman, 2000). Furthermore, the emergence of second homes, private villas and recreational facilities often encroach on protected areas thus threatening regional sustainability (Douglass, Ginsburg, Koppel, & McGee, 1991; Firman, 1996; Firman & Dharmapatni, 1994; Goldblum & Wong, 2000; Leaf, 1996).

The most fundamental challenge is the fact that peri-urban areas, as transitional zones, are often governed by complex and often overlapping institutional structures. For example, the peri-urban area of North Bandung Area (NBA) is administered by four autonomous urban and rural governments with different visions and governance styles and capacities. Besides, some planning tasks are shared with the province which is responsible for coordinating inter-local planning issues. Such conditions might result in uncoordinated private and local initiatives, which contributed to the increased physical as well as institutional fragmentations in peri-urban areas (Dijkgraaf, 2000; Mattingly, 1999).

This study examines and addresses the emerging challenges of rapid and unforeseen physical change, spatial divides, social exclusion and conflicts, and institutional fragmentation in peri-urban areas. It first sketches out the institutional contexts for peri-urbanisation and planning in East Asia, with a special reference to Indonesia. Emphasis is given to the impact of the global economy, neo-liberalisation and domestic institutional arrangements on peri-urban transformation and planning and governance system and practice. In understanding how to deal with these institutional forces, it draws on network, discourse and opportunity approaches, especially from a sociological institutional viewpoint. Each approach is developed into an institutional capacity building framework to understand how planning, in the face of irresponsive formal institutional arrangements, could respond to the peri-urban challenges and contribute to the improvement of governance capacity. The conceptual frameworks are enhanced through the empirical cases of urban and environmental conflicts in North Bandung Area (NBA).

## **1.2 Past studies on peri-urban planning**

Peri-urbanisation is not a new issue in the planning literature. Since the beginning of modern planning history, urban and planning theorists had been aware of the emergence of this form of spatial reality. For example, Ebenezer Howard (1898) introduced the 'garden city', a conceptual design to deal with growth and expansion of European cities by making clear the boundaries between city and countryside.

However, the current urbanisation challenge is far more complex than Howard ever predicted. There is now a seemingly boundless growth and expansion of cities throughout the globe. As a consequence, a peri-urban area can no longer be perceived as a locked gate or a sharp borderline between city and countryside.

This increasing complexity of the peri-urbanisation phenomenon has become an integrated outcome of transport and communication technological revolution and the global neo-liberal economy. In studying networked cities in Germany, Sieverts (2003, p. x) argues that ‘the speed of information and travel connections has blurred the notion of space, in which the old contrast between city and country has dissolved into a city-country continuum’. Furthermore, he maintains that the emergence of international institutions, transnational firms and the global market has undermined the traditional role of nation-states, cities and communities as the sole drivers of spatial change in peri-urban areas.

In dealing with the peri-urbanisation around German historic cities, Sieverts (2003) suggests that planning systems should move away from their old tradition of maintaining and controlling urban-rural separation through, for example, compact city policy. He contends that ‘at present, only undemocratic societies can still enforce a compact city’ (Sieverts, 2003, p. 123). Instead, living in peri-urban areas should be accepted as a part of reality of large cities and, thus, needs to be accommodated in planning. In this context, Sieverts (2003, p. 122) emphasises that ‘planning must change from being a predominantly restrictive, controlling and distributive activity into an active and creative one’. In Sieverts’s conception, planning should equip the core cities better in order to be able to compete with peri-urban areas. This must be combined with large-scale and sustained protection and development of important landscapes around the cities. Furthermore, the region must be seen as the most appropriate spatial and institutional scale for managing peri-urbanisation. For this reason, regional governance should be strengthened politically, administratively and financially in order to make development control possible again.

Compared to this Western viewpoint, planning the peri-urban areas of developing and transitional countries is even more challenging. Peri-urbanisation grows much more rapidly in these countries. Besides, their planning’s institutional arrangements tend to be old-fashioned, with a lack of capacity to comply with this relatively new form of urbanisation phenomenon. In addition to the decrease in environmental quality, rapid and uncontrolled peri-urbanisation in developing countries often results in a deeper social differentiation and acute poverty (Tacoli, 1998).

The distinctive and increasingly challenging peri-urbanisation phenomenon in developing countries has invited scholars to develop new planning and management approaches and tools. According to Allen (2003), the current models of intervention can be divided into three broad categories: *rural*, *urban*, and *regional* planning perspectives. The rural planning perspective attempted to counteract a perceived 'urban bias' in government-led rural programmes and policies. This can be seen for example in rural-urban migration control measures through strengthening rural production. Such programmes tend to focus on localised and discrete actions with a lack of regional and long-term planning perspectives.

The urban planning perspective focuses on managing the relationship between urban systems and their rural hinterlands (Allen, 2003). According to this approach, the urban planning system needs to extend its influence outside the limits of built-up areas in order to be more pro-active in managing flows of resources required and produced by the city. Such an attempt entails a shift of emphasis from local government and environmental issues towards local governance and sustainability issues; from pragmatic stakeholders' participation towards strategic and long-term actions affecting the city and its hinterlands. As an alternative, the urban planning perspective may also focus on improving the quality of life of peri-urban dwellers in an attempt to integrate peri-urban areas into the urban fabric (Allen, 2003). It includes, for example, programmes of promoting decentralised provision of infrastructure and services, low-cost sanitation technologies, participatory methodologies for project design, community labour and micro-financing schemes. The challenges for both focuses have arisen, according to Allen (2003), because most peri-urban issues work beyond the scope of local government decision making and the nature of power relations at the municipal level tends to be biased towards urban-based interests.

The regional planning perspective seeks to respond to rural-urban pressures and flows by developing mutual linkages between rural and urban areas (Allen, 2003). This rural-urban linkage perspective views the regional territory as a network in which planning and policy initiatives are developed for multi-sectoral, interrelated and complementary activities. Emphasis is on the infrastructure connectivity of the region as a system of rural, peri-urban and urban areas. Tacoli (1998) underlines that, instead of the city cores, this perspective views small towns and peri-urban areas as playing a key role in linking the rural hinterlands with both domestic and global markets and creating non-farming employment opportunities for the rural population. However, in giving more room for market-led development, such a neo-

liberal perspective tends to generalise society thus moving away from addressing the needs of the most vulnerable groups and planning issues in both rural and urban areas (Tacoli, 1998).

Another emphasis of the regional planning perspective attempts to respond to the problem that peri-urban areas tend to be remotely governed and framed by fragmented, disconnected and often overlapping institutional arrangements (Mattingly, 1999). As mentioned earlier, the current arrangements have been dominated by the dichotomies of the state vs. local governments, public authority vs. private sector. Since major issues lie between the two dichotomies, peri-urban areas experience the 'missing middle' (Storey, 2003), the intermediary institutional arrangements that link the divides between urban and rural issues, between formal rules and local custom, between local and national/global interests, and between public and private interventions. Therefore, the new regional planning approach needs to focus on creating new institutional arrangements that encourage inter-local cooperation to address these political and spatial imbalances resulting from the core city primacy and global market hegemony.

The design of the new institutional arrangements in peri-urban areas needs to be coupled with the building of institutional capacity, or the improvement of governance consciousness, styles and cultures. Therefore, this study aims to explore how such a capacity can be built innovatively by planners and wider participants, who are situated in complex contextual environments characterised by institutional fragmentation, social exclusion and spatial divides. Illustrated by several cases of peri-urban environmental conflicts in Indonesia, the main analyses of this study show that the project of institutional capacity building or transforming governance can be started in day-to-day and informal planning policy practice as part of broader socio-political processes.

### **1.3 The three new institutional approaches and planning theory**

The previous section leads us towards the conclusion that one of the key issues in planning the peri-urban areas is how to deal with plural, irresponsive and fragmented institutional arrangements hampering the achievement of sustainability objectives at a broader (regional) scale. Major new institutional and planning theoretical approaches have the potential to address such institutional/contextual issues, including *rational institutional approach*, *historical institutional approach* and *sociological institutional approach*.

First, the rational institutional approach focuses on human instrumental behaviour aspects based on strategic calculation in which individuals seek to maximise the attainment of preferred goals (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutions affect behaviour by providing certainty about the behaviour of other actors. In this approach, institutions are defined as the 'rules of the game' by which agency/action is enabled and constrained. Institutions are seen as an instrument to enhance the efficiency of action by reducing transaction costs of undertaking the same action without such an institution (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Planning's application of this approach has focused on *institutional design*, referring to 'the devising and realisation of rules, procedures, and organisational structures that will enable and constrain behaviour and action so as to accord with held values, achieve desired objectives, or execute given tasks' (Alexander, 2005, p. 213). It is essentially a technical, purposive, and experimental process of designing institutional arrangements (Bolan, Mandelbaum, Mazza, & Burchell, 1996; Gualini, 2001). As another application, Sager (2001a, 2001b) uses social choice theory to explain the relation between types of planning styles and organisational contexts in which planning is practiced. The main weaknesses of applying such a rational approach are due to taking the institution out of its context. The approach treats institution as external to action thus simplifying and reducing the ambiguity and complexity of human motivation and preference into sets of predefined rules, procedures, and organisational structures (Hall & Taylor, 1996).

In the historical institutional approach, institutions are defined both as 'formal and informal procedures, routines, norms, and conventions embedded in the organisational structure of the polity or political economy' (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 938). Institutions are associated with organisations, rules, and conventions promulgated by formal organisation. The approach emphasises institutions as unintended consequences of history, path dependence and uneven power relation and distribution.

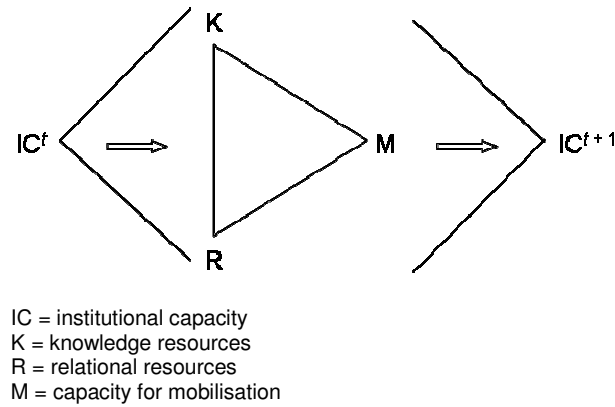
The historical institutional approach has played a significant role in some variants of postmodern planning approaches, in which planning is seen as a 'struggle for power' in the context of politically rationalised institutions (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; P. M. McGuirk, 2001). The problem with this approach is apparent in its structural analytical perspective. First, the approach tends to overstate the uniqueness of particular cases and contexts thus compromising its contribution to general theoretical building (Immergut, 1998). Furthermore, it treats the institutions prevailing in that particular case as an external, given and passive factor for

planning action thus lacking normative and practical implications (Rydin, 2003).

Anticipating the weaknesses of both rational and historical approaches, as an alternative, the current study is built on the sociological institutional approach. According to this approach, institutions share meaning with ‘culture’, comprising ‘not just formal rules, procedures, and norms, but the routines, symbols, cognitive scripts, and moral templates that provide the “frames of meaning” guiding human action’ (Hall & Taylor, 1996, p. 947). Institutions function not just to reduce transaction costs (rational institutional approach) or to give context (historical institutional approach) but also to build social legitimacy of action (W. W. Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

The sociological institutional approach emphasises an interactive and mutually-constitutive relationship between institutions (structure) and action (agency) (Giddens, 1986). It is a process-oriented view on institutions in which, according to Powell and DiMaggio (1991, p. 7), institutions ‘do not merely reflect the preferences and power of the units constituting them; the institutions themselves shape those preferences and that power’. Following this, the notion of institutions, institutional change and institutional transformation fundamentally shifts their focus from formal organisations towards informal rule-like forms of institutions; from static and stable to dynamic and contesting characters of institutions; from holistic to incremental institutional change; and from top-down, independent and hierarchical to bottom-up, embedded and relational institutional formation (Lowndes, 2001).

Planning’s application of the sociological institutional approach has concentrated on *institution building*, referring to a gradual and socially constructed ethos of transforming institutional aspects that affects the nature of planning policy space (Gualini, 2001). According to Gualini (2001), the process involves mobilising and pursuing shared commitment, contingent unity of meanings, and constitution of collective actions. As can be seen in Figure 1.1, in Healey’s collaborative planning, emphasis has been given to the notion of *discourse* (knowledge resources) and *policy network* (relational resources) as two important mobilising aspects of ‘building an *institutional capacity* focused on enhancing the ability of place-focused stakeholders to improve their power to “make a difference” to qualities of their place’ (Healey, 1998, p. 1541, emphasis added).



**Figure 1.1** Institutional capacity building as a function of knowledge and relational resources  
 (source: Healey, 1998, p. 1541)

However, in Healey's later works (Coaffee & Healey, 2003; Gonzalz & Healey, 2005; Healey, 2007a, 2007b), it becomes apparent that discourse and policy network *per se* hardly result in successful institutional capacity building. Therefore, in order to overcome this weakness, the current study combines discourse and network, as the main resources internal to actors, with moment and structure of *opportunity*, as the main resource external to actors. The opportunity enables the actors to read cracks in power relations, to recognise contradictions and conflicts, which encourages these actors to realise that they need to reflect on what they are doing, that they need to work with others, and that they need to evolve different processes (Healey, 1997). More specifically, by employing the idea of moment and structure of opportunity into the existing framework, the current study attempts to maintain the normative dimension of Healey's institutional capacity building while strengthening its contextual intelligence.

#### 1.4 Objectives/ questions

This study provides institutional perspectives on peri-urbanisation and its planning and governance. The main objective is to understand the institutional contexts for peri-urbanisation and planning policy of Indonesian cities and, by using the sociological institutional approach, to further explore emerging planning approaches/strategies in order to be able to improve planning's institutional capacity in peri-urban areas. These general objectives can be divided into two groups of operational questions:



- 1) *What are the institutional factors for peri-urbanisation in Indonesia? How do these contextual factors influence planning policy and governance affecting peri-urban areas?*

The study views peri-urbanisation as a global phenomenon that at the same time is contextually shaped. Prior to questioning emerging approaches/strategies to peri-urban planning, it is important to know how global and domestic, indigenous institutional factors have influenced the uniqueness of the peri-urbanisation phenomenon and planning and governance system and practice in Indonesia. The institutional factors analysed are extracted from the elements of global economy, neo-liberalisation and domestic planning and governance cultural and institutional arrangements.

- 2) *How have planning approaches been constructed to deal with peri-urban environmental conflicts? To which extent have they contributed to the building of institutional capacity in peri-urban areas?*

With these questions, the study aims to explore approaches/strategies to managing environmental conflicts and building of institutional capacity in peri-urban areas. Particularly, it compares and combines discourse, network and opportunity approaches as aspects of institutional capacity building in peri-urban areas. Based on the sociological institutional approach, *institutional capacity* here is defined as the ability of governance to promote social acceptance and legitimacy of planning ideas, strategies, frameworks, and action affecting peri-urban areas. The main proposition is that, in the face of fragmented peri-urban institutional arrangements, the building of such capacity can be started from informal day-to-day practices of governance process, including the building of policy network, discourse formation and the exploration of moment and structure of opportunity.

## **1.5 Theoretical contributions**

This study aims at understanding peri-urban and environmental change and its planning process from the view of sociological institutionalists. First, it is expected to help urban and planning theorists, academicians and researchers to develop a better understanding of peri-urbanisation and its planning process in Indonesia. To a lesser extent, it could also be used as a conceptual resource for policy makers and practitioners in Indonesia to develop policy adaptations and planning strategies to deal with peri-urbanisation and environmental degradation in fast-growing metropolitan regions in Indonesia.

The contributions of this study to the theoretical development of peri-urbanisation and planning approaches can be identified as follows:

1) *Providing an Indonesian perspective on peri-urbanisation and planning in developing countries*

The current study can enrich the results of past studies of peri-urbanisation and planning in developing countries, which have largely concentrated on Africa, South Asia and other East Asian countries (Brook & D vila, 2000; Leaf, 2002; McGregor, Simon, & Thompson, 2006; Shaw, 2005; Simon, et al., 2004; Storey, 2003; Webster, 2002). The uniqueness of the case of Indonesia can be related to large-scale peri-urbanisation around big cities, a considerable role of the market and clientelist governance tradition in peri-urban planning system and practice, and the impact of societal and institutional transition towards democratic society.

2) *Development of new institutional approaches in planning theory*

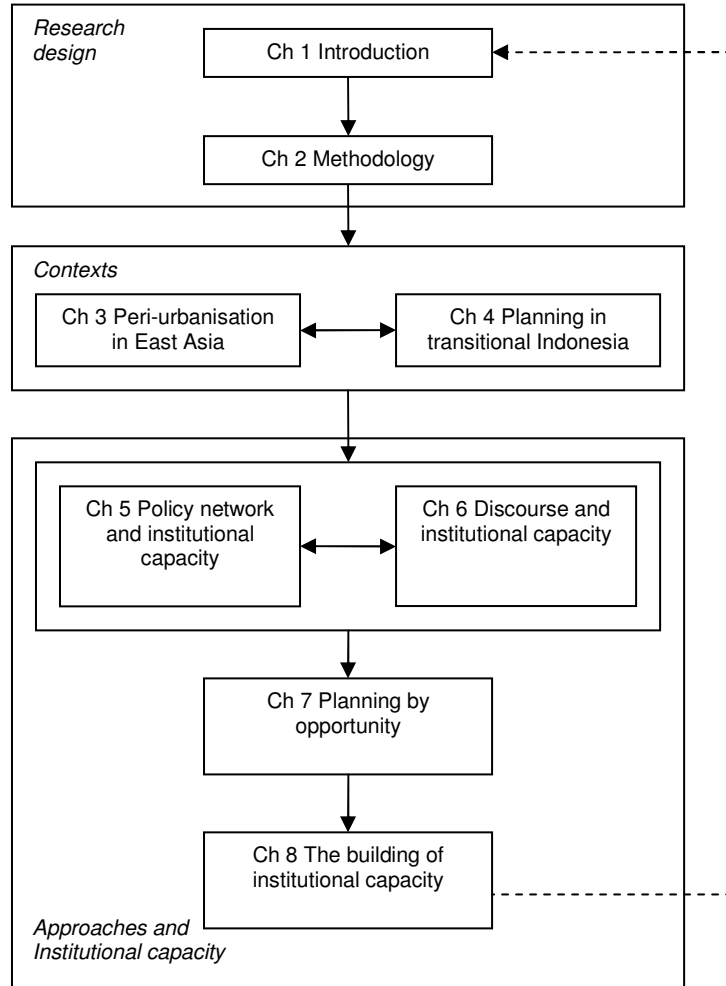
Past studies on new institutional approaches in planning have focused on Western-industrialised countries (Alexander, 2005; Gualini, 2001; Healey, 1998, 2007a; Meyerson & Banfield, 1955). Meanwhile, institutional fragmentation, social exclusion, and neo-liberalising policy practices as the underlying contexts for institutional approaches can be found more explicitly in developing countries such as Indonesia. As such, richer and more significant empirical findings on how institutional approaches work in practice are expected to emerge from this study.

3) *Application and enhancement of the sociological institutional approach in planning theory*

The application of this variant of institutional approaches in planning has so far emphasised the role of social resources internal to actors, especially in the forms of discourse and network, as a means of building institutional capacity (Gualini, 2001; Healey, 1998; Rydin, 1999; Vigar, Healey, Hull, & Davoudi, 2000). This agency-centred sociological approach has been criticised for giving inadequate accounts on the role of contextual forces such as the economy, power relations and the state (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; P. M. McGuirk, 2001; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1999). As a response, this study emphasises that discourse and network need to be coupled with moment and structure of opportunity, as a key resource external to actors.

## 1.6 Structure of the book

This book is divided into three main parts. The first part represents the research design, which outlines the state of the art of the study. It includes Chapter 1 and 0.



**Figure 1.2** Organisation of the thesis

The second and third parts mainly consist of the analytical chapters, which are presented as a collection of papers/articles. Most of the chapters were reproduced from papers formerly presented at international conferences

and/or articles published in internationally recognised academic journals. In order to maintain fluency in their argumentation, the chapters are presented as much as possible in their original versions as formerly presented papers and/or published articles. Although they are not rigidly ordered, the chapters are organised in such a way so they can address the three interconnected themes in question: institutional contexts, approaches and institutional capacity (Figure 1.2).

The second part comprises Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, which discusses the contextual factors for peri-urbanisation and planning in Indonesia. It underlines some key challenges for peri-urban planning: formal institutional dynamics, clientelist governance, and global neo-liberalisation. They include, on the one hand, global trends of peri-urbanisation and, on the other, the planning practice and domestic planning system, culture and institutions.

First, Chapter 3 identifies the characteristics of peri-urbanisation in Indonesia and other three East Asian countries. It also explains the institutional factors shaping peri-urbanisation in this growing economic region. Whilst Chapter 3 focuses on the impacts of global and domestic institutional forces on peri-urbanisation and planning practice, Chapter 4 concentrates on the impacts of these forces on the planning system. It mainly discusses the current transition in the planning system marked by a massive enactment of laws and regulations, including the formulation of a new spatial planning law. It particularly explains the extent to which domestic institutional arrangements as well as global neo-liberalisation have influenced this transition process.

Based on this contextual understanding, the last part of this book identifies approaches to managing peri-urban environmental conflicts, which includes opportunity, network and discourse approaches. It also explains how and to which extent these approaches might contribute to the building of institutional capacity of planning in peri-urban areas.

0, 0, and 0 discuss approaches to promote the function of North Bandung Area (NBA) as the main water catchment for Bandung Metropolitan Area (BMA), which faces an increasing peri-urbanisation pressure from the main city of Bandung. First, 0 explores the potential of policy networking as an important aspect of capacity building in the metropolitan region. The case of policy debate on the Dago-Lembang regional road development proposal is reconstructed to illustrate how a policy network can be built and how it can contribute to the improvement of governance consciousness to be more responsive towards environmental quality and regional sustainability. In relation to the discussion on policy network, 0 examines how discourses can play a role in the building of institutional capacity of planning in peri-urban

areas. It uses a contested urban development planning project in the protected fringe area of Punclut as the study case. In this area, planning discourses have concentrated on market-led housing and agro-tourism development in contrast with green environmental improvement as strategies to support and challenge the project respectively. In supporting the discussion about the role of policy network and discourse, 0 combines political opportunity structure and Kingdon's policy window in order to develop a sociological institutional approach to the meaning and utilisation of opportunity in collective action. Using the study cases analysed in 0 and 0, 0 argues that in order to make institutional capacity building work, the social resources internal to actors in the forms of policy network and discourse need to be coupled with moment and structure of opportunity, which function as a resource external to actors.

Finally, Chapter 8 synthesises and concludes the results of all case studies. It focuses on understanding the building of institutional capacity as a deliberative ethos of transforming undesirable governance styles and cultures in peri-urban areas by interactively linking policy networks, discourses and moments and structures of opportunity.



## Chapter 2 Case studies and methodology

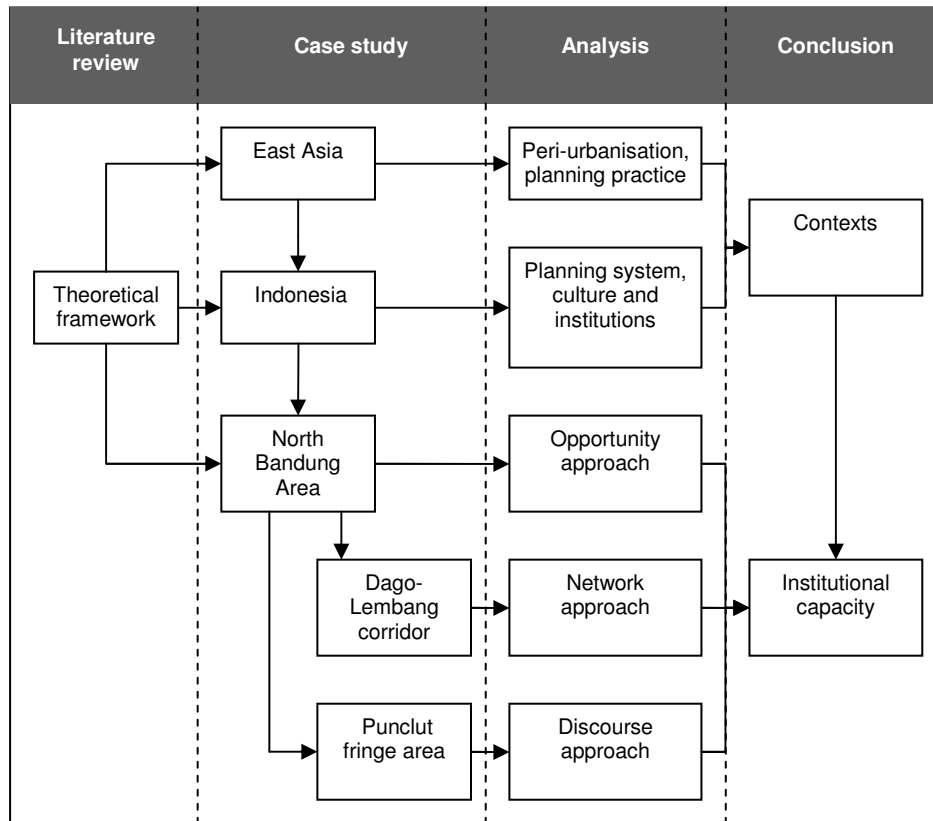
In order to achieve its objectives, the study mainly adopts *case study research*. This research approach explains causal links, namely to answer the question ‘how’, in a situation that is too complex for survey as well as experimental research approaches (Yin, 1994). According to Yin (1994, p. 13), ‘a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’. Accordingly, this is a powerful methodological approach for researching urbanisation phenomena and planning intervention in an open and complex society such as Indonesia.

### 2.1 Cases selection

The most crucial step in case study research is, certainly, selecting cases. Following Yin (1994), the cases for the current study are selected on the basis of the possibility for *analytical/ procedural replication* rather than *statistical/ result generalisation*. For this purpose, the selection process is oriented towards acquiring the *richest* possible – rather than the representativeness – of information for the researched phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

The study follows a multi-level case selection process including *international, nation-state, functional peri-urban, regional, and local* levels (see Figure 2.1). The main cases used for answering the first group of research questions (the contexts) can be found at the international and nation-state levels. Meanwhile, in answering the second group of research questions (planning approaches/strategies and institutional capacity), the case study analyses focus on a functional peri-urban area where urban development and environmental planning practices frequently emerge. Urban and environmental conflict management is used as the focus for the analyses as it has become one of the most pressing challenges for peri-urban planning (Douglass, et al., 1991; Firman, 1996; Firman & Dharmapatni, 1994; Goldblum & Wong, 2000; Leaf, 1996). Furthermore, around a selected

functional peri-urban case, embedded cases at the regional and local levels are more closely analysed.



**Figure 2.1** Overall methodological procedure

### 2.1.1 East Asia and Indonesia

In order to understand the wider context of peri-urbanisation and planning practice, East Asia was selected as the case at the international level. What we mean by East Asia might better refer to what so called 'Greater East Asia', an economic sub-region consisting of countries in eastern and south-eastern part of Asia (Figure 2.2). This study focuses on four countries with fast-growing urbanisation and increasing linkages with global economy: Indonesia, China, Thailand and the Philippines.





**Figure 2.2** Map of (Greater) East Asia

(Source: [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle\\_east\\_and\\_asia/asia\\_east\\_pol\\_2004.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/asia_east_pol_2004.jpg), accessed on 1 July 2009)

The reason for up-scaling into the case of East Asia is because there are commonalities of stage and complexity of urbanisation and planning practice among the countries in this economic sub-region. In the first place, the

urbanisation in this region is typified by rapid transformation around big cities, particularly impacted by structural adjustment (neo-liberalisation) and decentralisation policies. As a major outcome, in the next two decades, it has been predicted that around 200 million or 40 percent of East Asian metropolitan residents will live in peri-urban areas (Webster, 2002). In addition, the four countries mentioned also share some common governance and political cultural practices characterised by pragmatism and clientelism. By comparing different countries with similar institutional features, richer and more valid results can be obtained.

Meanwhile, in order to study domestic planning system, institutions and culture, the national case of Indonesia was selected. The nation-state is considered the most relevant level since major policy systems, formal institutional arrangements and political cultures are reproduced at this level. For historical reasons, Indonesia can be used to evaluate the significance of the transition towards democratic and neo-liberal economy on urban development and planning.

First, during the peak of Soeharto's New Order Era, the political economy was shifted from state-controlled towards market-oriented economic development policy. A significant change in urban development trends was triggered by a series of deregulation and debureaucratisation measures of the 1980s. This market-oriented policy was aimed at accelerating economic growth by promoting domestic and foreign private participation in finance and industries. The policy has boosted the real estate industry as well as FDI in manufacturing, leading towards an uncontrolled growth of large-scale land development around major cities such as Jakarta and Bandung (Firman, 2000).

It has been argued that such uncontrolled land development and global investments in manufacturing triggered the economic crisis of the 1997 that badly affected major Asian developing countries, including Indonesia (Winarso & Firman, 2002). In Indonesia, the economic crisis (*krismon*) was not the end of this difficult period since it further brought the country into a deeper socio-political turmoil, which unavoidably forced Soeharto's paternalistic, authoritarian and militaristic regime to end its 32 years' leadership. Out of this chaos, with the outbreak of the Reform Era in the late 1990s, the country attempted to completely make a new beginning. The new era endorsed a holistic reformation in major aspects of governance including democratisation, decentralisation and rule of law. The socio-political reformation happened so quickly, which soon after Indonesia became the third biggest democratic country in the world. The current study explains the impact of these fundamental changes on the planning system,

which to a large extent can be represented by the formulation of new spatial planning laws and other principal regulatory frameworks affecting urban development and planning practice.

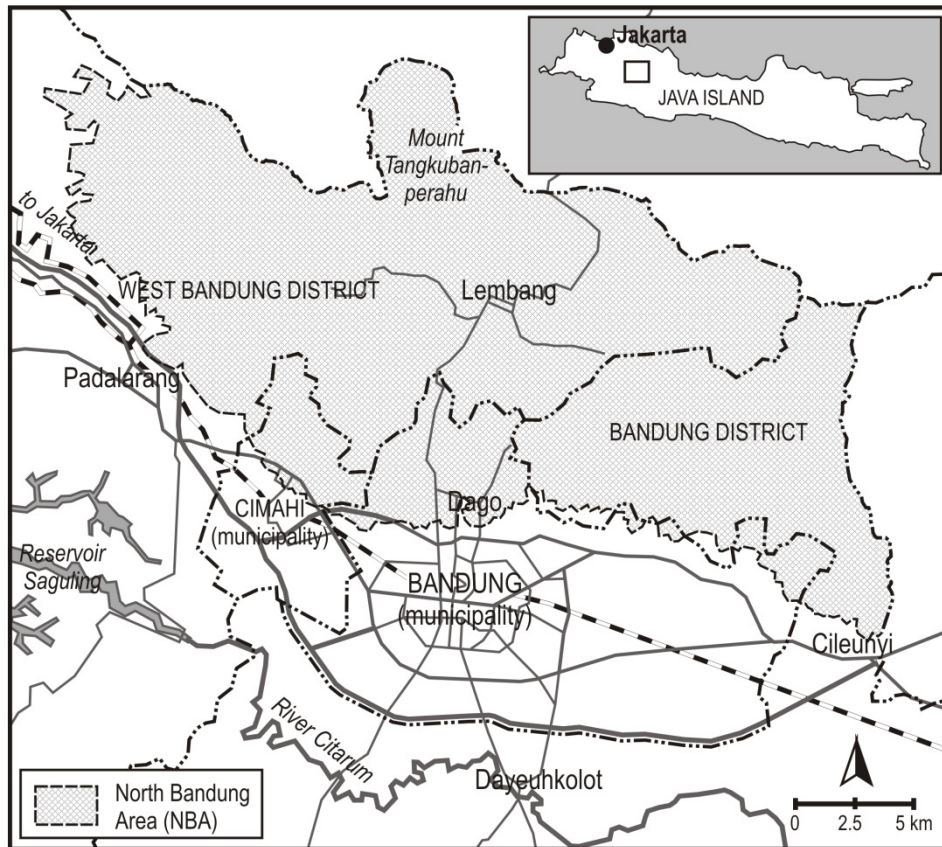
### **2.1.2 North Bandung Area (NBA)**

The empirical exploration of the approaches to institutional capacity building requires a utilisation of an *extreme* case, referring to a deviant, unique case where the problems being examined and the connections between them can be recognised very clearly. Such a case potentially contains rich information, which in turn can provide a powerful lesson learned and insight for replication (Yin, 1994). An extreme case is also helpful for analysing problematic questions (Flyvbjerg, 1998). For these reasons, *Kawasan Bandung Utara* (KBU) or North Bandung Area (NBA) was selected for study at the functional peri-urban level.

NBA refers to the main upland area located in the northern part of Bandung Metropolitan Area (BMA) – currently the third largest metropolitan region in Indonesia with more than seven million inhabitants and around three percent annual population growth. With a total area 38,548.33 hectares, the peri-urban area mainly consists of plateaus and hills surrounded by mountains and delimited by the contour of 750 meters altitude. Since the early 1980s, the upland area has been popular among the middle- and upper-income groups because of its beautiful landscape, good local climate, fresh air and proximity to Bandung City as the core of BMA. These features have increasingly fostered the development of settlements and recreational functions, as will be explained in the following.

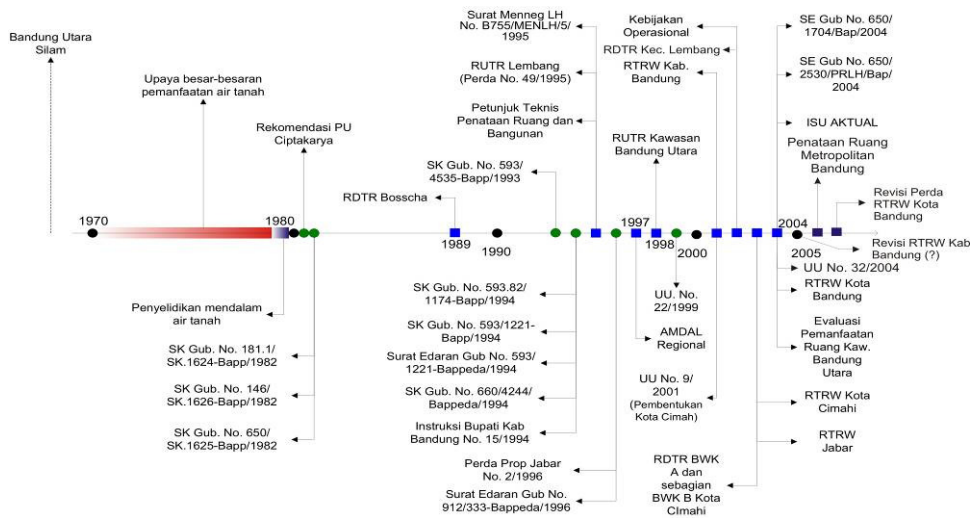
NBA is effectively governed by at least four autonomous local governments: West Bandung District, Bandung District, Bandung Municipality and Cimahi Municipality (Figure 2.3). Following decentralisation policies triggered by Law No. 22 of 1999 – later replaced by Law No. 32 of 2004 – on regional administration, the local governments have the authority to manage urban and regional sectors, including spatial planning, within their own jurisdictions (*Law No. 22 on Regional Administration*, 1999; *Law No. 32 on Regional Administration*, 2004). Meanwhile, with the non-existence of metropolitan institutions, West Java Province by law has been the only tier expected to be able to coordinate inter-local planning issues such as groundwater, the environment and regional transportation in NBA as well as BMA as a whole. However, since Indonesia's decentralisation has emphasised the role of local governments, provincial governments have been criticised for the lack of power and

resources and, thus, their role in managing these inter-local affairs has been very weak.



**Figure 2.3** Map of North Bandung Area (NBA)

NBA has unique ecological functions due to its topographic and geological characteristics. Although NBA covers only 11 percent of the metropolitan area, it is claimed that, due to its soil and rock types and formation, it provides at least 60 percent of the region's groundwater need (*Penataan Kawasan Punclut*, 2004). However, the decrease in vegetation caused by peri-urbanisation has been argued to increase the magnitude and occurrence of floods during the rainy season, especially around the city and lower parts of the region. Moreover, it has contributed to the deepening of the groundwater level in the region.



**Figure 2.4** Historical development of the enactment of plans and regulations related to North Bandung Area 1970s – 2000s  
(source: Natalivan, 2004)

In common with other Indonesian major metropolitan regions, peri-urbanisation in NBA has been largely triggered by Soeharto’s market-led development policies in the 1980s and early 1990s. The most fundamental one was the 1993 Deregulation Measures Package (*Pakto 1993*), which stated that the issuance of development permits (*ijin lokasi*) would be no longer be the sole responsibility of the province but that the local governments and the National Land Administration Board would be responsible. The package in fact triggered the first Indonesian property boom period (1993-1997).

A series of governor’s decrees has resulted in NBA as the region’s main water catchment and conservation area (see also Appendix A Regulations and Plans Concerning North Bandung Area 1982-2004). First, NBA was named after Governor’s Decree of West Java Province No. 181.1/Sk.1624-Bapp/1982 on the Conservation of the Northern Part of Bandung Metropolitan Area. As the main regulatory foundation, the governor’s decree aimed to preserve 25 percent of NBA as protected forests and only allow 15 percent of NBA to be converted into cultivation areas – most likely new settlements. The governor’s decrees were later reinforced by presidential decrees and a number of provincial and national land use plans. Some of

those plans were also renewed and adapted to the changing regional administrative structure impacted by the decentralisation policies.

The enactment of such regulations and plans, however, could not significantly restrain the issuance of land development and building permits as well as the physical development by private developers. The development and planning practice in such peri-urban areas has been characterised largely by discretionary, clientelist and corrupt practices with a strong influence of the markets and private sector (Server, 1996; Winarso & Firman, 2002). In the case of NBA, it was the property developers who initiated urban transformation in the form of exclusive residential and recreational estates, complete with road networks. Meanwhile, the provincial and municipal plans were often forced to adapt to these fragmented private initiatives.

As a result, during the boom period, in the district's part of NBA, the land reserved by private developers increased dramatically from 586 hectares in 1992 to 2832 hectares in 1996 (Natalivan, 2004). For a while, the economic crisis in 1997–98 suddenly restrained the physical development as well as the issuance of new development permits. However, since the economy has recovered, development continues to grow again. In fact, most of the development projects are deemed to violate local and regional land use plans because they have transformed designated protected forests into settlements and recreational functions (Harris, 2008).

In addition, DPKLTS has reported massive physical changes in NBA in the period 1994-2001 (Grahadyarini, 2005). The total area of secondary forest in NBA, which was 39,349.3 hectares in 1994, has been reduced by 5,541.9 hectares in 2001. In contrast, the total area of settlement in NBA has expanded from 29,914.9 hectares to 33,025.1 hectares. A considerable increase was also evident in the total area occupied by industries from 2,356.2 to 2,478.8 hectares.

### **2.1.3 *Dago-Lembang and Punclut projects***

Planning's institutional capacity may be tested and evaluated when episodes of debate between urban growth coalition and environmental advocates emerge. An episode of debate can be defined as a series of interconnected discussion, conflict and strategy and decision making between participants that embody capacity building potentials and are situated in particular socio-political contexts. There are two episodes of debate selected as the embedded cases within NBA: (1) Dago-Lembang road development proposal and (2) the integrated development planning of Punclut. These cases have been utilised by major planning communities,

especially environmental NGOs, political leaders, planners and academicians, as moments of opportunity for improving peri-urban environmental planning and governance in NBA (see Appendix B Chronology of the Dago-Lembang project proposal 2004 and Appendix C Chronology of the Punclut project 2004-2005). Therefore, it is interesting to compare how making opportunities have been practised in both cases. Both cases are further analysed in more detail in the other two approaches explained in the following paragraphs.

First, the Dago-Lembang road development proposal was a crucial episode of debate on planning the corridor between Bandung City and the tourist town of Lembang. It also symbolised the lengthy debate between provincial elites and private developers on the one hand and environmental NGOs, political leaders, planners and academicians on the other about the protection of the ecological functions of NBA at the regional level in the face of increasing tension due to peri-urbanisation. In addition to exploring the practice of creating opportunities, with a considerable mobilisation of relational resources in fuelling the debate, it is useful to analyse how policy network strategy was used at the regional level by the environmental NGOs, political leaders, planners/academicians and journalists to counter the project proposal and to improve *regional* governance consciousness of the state of NBA's environment.

Meanwhile, the integrated development planning of Punclut marked the climax of the debate between private developers and municipal elites on the one hand and environmental NGOs, political leaders, planners and academicians on the other. The issue was about how to improve the environmental quality of Punclut, an urban fringe on the northern edge of Bandung City, in the face of limited local financial and institutional resources capacity. The environmental change on the Punclut fringe area has become an emblem of peri-urban planning performance at the local/municipal level. With a significant mobilisation of knowledge resources in fostering the debate, it seems to be valuable to analyse how discourse formation was used by both sides to strengthen their argument and influence a wider audience. Particular attention is given to the practice in forming environmental planning discourse by the environmental NGOs, political leaders, planners and academicians in order to illustrate how such practice might contribute to the improvement of *local* governance consciousness of the environmental condition of the urban fringe.

## 2.2 Data collection and analytical methods

Following the case study research tradition, data collection and analyses for this study utilise mixed qualitative methods. The data collection methods consist of past studies, formal documents, archives, interviews, and observations. The analytical methods include qualitative content analysis, institutional analysis and standard qualitative techniques (coding-interpretation- conclusion). The first group of research questions is answered through desk studies in the cases of East Asia and Indonesia. Meanwhile, the empirical study in the cases of NBA, Dago-Lembang Corridor, and Puncut fringe area attempt to answer the second group of research questions.

### 2.2.1 Desk study

In answering the first research question, *qualitative content analyses* on past studies, formal documents and archives were conducted. In the East Asian case, selected information and results from separate past studies, combined with relevant formal documents, were used as the main input for a comparative analysis between the four countries, focusing on spatial features, institutional changes and planning and governance. In the Indonesian case, various laws, formal documents, news articles and related studies were analysed to explain how global and domestic institutional and cultural arrangements have shaped the recent transition in the planning system.

The qualitative content analyses aim at reducing unnecessary elements of the textual materials. Following Flick (2006, p. 313), the techniques included in the analyses are:

- 1) *Summarising*: abstracting and reducing overlapping statements;
- 2) *Explicating*: clarifying ‘diffuse, ambiguous, and contradictory passages by involving context material in the analysis’;
- 3) *Structuring*: looking for types or formal structures and connections in the materials.

### 2.2.2 Empirical study

In answering the second group of research questions, *institutional analysis* is used to examine the dynamics of governance processes in the two embedded cases of NBA and to understand their transformative potential. Institutional analysis identifies the formation of governance as an



interaction between agency and structure and between power and institutions.

It is argued that the formation of governance follows several ‘degrees of structuration’ (Giddens, 1986) and several ‘dimensions of power’ (Lukes, 2005). Based on number of dimensions involved, Lukes (2005) and Dyrberg (1997) identify three different views of power:

- 1) The one-dimensional view of power focuses on the influence of individuals/ groups on the behaviour of others in observable conflicts of decisionmaking.
- 2) In addition to the attention on the observable conflicts, the two-dimensional view of power concerns the ‘mobilisation of bias’, which is the ways values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures force or prevent political agendas from being included in the decisionmaking.
- 3) As an extension to the previous views, the three-dimensional view of power explains how the ‘constitution of identity’ such as paradigm, social structure, cultural pattern and form of organisation dominates the exclusion or inclusion of agendas in the decisionmaking.

Healey (2007a) transforms this multidimensional analysis of power into different levels of institutional analysis:

- 1) *Level of specific episodes* or policy process. This is the surface analytical level in which actors are positioned and interact with each other ‘in specific institutional sites or arenas where ideas are expressed, strategies played out, decisions made and power games fought out’ (Healey, 2007a, p. 10). These include interactive strategies of communicative action, participation, partnerships, and community-based initiatives.
- 2) *Level of mobilisation of bias* or governance process. Major parts of institutional analysis start from this deeper level, which consists of underpinning structures that frame debates, conflicts, interests, and strategies. These include the building of contextual, knowledge and relational capacity through the exploration of opportunity, discourse formation and policy network/coalition.
- 3) *Level of cultural determinants* or long-term historical process. This level penetrates deeper into embedded assumptions and habits, including path dependence, national culture, modes of governance, and social capital.

It is argued that an enduring governance transformation occurs when all those levels move towards a similar direction (Coaffee & Healey, 2003).

This study is interested in analysing the interactive dimensions of governance practice, i.e. understanding how actors actively (re-)construct opportunities, networks and discourses. Therefore, the analyses focus on the mobilisation level where open and often conflicting contextual, knowledge

and relational resources play a significant role in fostering the capacity building process. The main task of the institutional analysis in the current study is to track the process of making opportunities and mobilising networks and discourses and to explain their potential contribution to the building of institutional capacity for managing peri-urban environmental change in NBA.

The analysis at the mobilisation level is then illustrated by day-to-day strategy and decision making, relational dynamics and conflicts among participating actors. This illustration takes place at the specific episodes, as represented in both embedded cases of Dago-Lembang and Punclut projects. Furthermore, the case study is then situated and contextualised by connecting the analysis at these levels of mobilisation of bias and specific episode with key issues operating the levels of cultural determinants and external process, for examples, governance culture, national political system, and global neo-liberalisation.

In institutional analysis, *narratives*<sup>1</sup> are essential material for situating and constructing empirical accounts (Healey, 2007a). Narratives are required to reveal complexities and contradictions within the cases investigated (Flyvbjerg, 1998). Narratives are more than just stories. They are sequences of connected events and the relations between events and their consequences (Wiles, et al., 2005). As input material for institutional analysis, narratives provide insights into the experience and meanings of a range of place-based issues (Wiles, et al., 2005). After constructing such narratives, interpretation and conclusion were generated by using standard coding techniques.

To gather such narratives, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants in both episodes of debate, comprising government officials, politicians, NGOs, experts and planners (see Appendix D List of interviews). All categories of interviewees represent two conflicting sides, which are the proponent of environmental protection – thus, opposing the projects – and the proponent of the peri-urban development projects (see Table 2.1). Each interview normally lasted for approximately sixty minutes. For some respondents, there were also clarification steps and/or follow-up interviews.

During the fieldwork, the researchers were not just passive interviewers but also close observers of each episode for around half year by following

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<sup>1</sup> Narratives, as the main material for institutional analysis, can be distinguished from *narrative analysis*. The latter deals with not only the content but the hidden (linguistic) structure of narratives in order to uncover deep motivation for telling a subjective story and to reveal its embedded, contextual meanings (Wiles, Rosenberg, & Kearns, 2005).

relevant discussions and meetings arranged by experts and the activists/NGOs objecting the projects. It was difficult to directly follow the discussions arranged by the actors supporting the projects. This difficulty might be due to non-transparent and clientelist decisionmaking process and corruption practices – or, at least, hidden agendas – between the government and the private sector.

**Table 2.1** Interviewees by category

Category	Projects opposition	Projects proponent	Unclear position
Government	3	2	2
Expert	4	1	1
Politician	4	1	1
NGO/CBO	6	1	

Following Flick (2006), the interviews aimed to acquire historical data and to uncover subjective experiences of the key informants who followed and/or were involved in the debate on Dago-Lembang and/or Puncut projects. Emphasis was given to the extent to which network, discourse and opportunity were important for the informants in creating governance that is more responsive to the issues of environmental protection and regional sustainability. Furthermore, the interviews explored how the informants constructed network, discourse and opportunity in both episodes of the planning debate. Further explanation of the interview protocol is provided in Appendix E Interview protocol.

The information resulting from the interviews was analysed using standard coding techniques and compared with other supporting data such as field observation, official documents, minutes of meetings and articles in recognised regional newspapers.

It should be made clear that in the empirical case study of NBA we do not aim to conduct an in-depth and purely inductive analysis. Instead, we use the cases as instruments for illustrating how the proposed network, discourse, and opportunity frameworks work in an extreme situation. Consequently, the narratives presented in the analyses are restricted to certain time periods when the episodes of debate were escalating and at their peak. The stories uncovered by this study might be not enough to describe comprehensively the complexity of real situation on the ground. Nevertheless, hopefully, at least they can provide a helpful illustration from which we can apply the conceptual frameworks thus can be understood, enhanced and replicated in other cases.



## Chapter 3 Peri-urbanisation in East Asia: A new challenge for planning?<sup>2</sup>

### 3.1 Introduction

Peri-urbanisation, implying the development of mixed land uses outside designated city boundaries, is a newly emerging challenge for planning including in the planning of East Asian cities and regions. Webster (2002) predicted that, over the next twenty years, around 200 million people will reside in the peri-urban areas of East Asian metropolitan regions – 40 per cent of the total urban population in these countries. Furthermore, the peri-urban areas of these countries, as in coastal China, may extend up to 300 kilometres from the major cities. This extension is much greater than that of African peri-urban areas, which usually fall within 30–50 kilometres beyond the existing city boundaries. In addition, peri-urbanisation around fast-growing large cities of East Asia is distinctive due to the rapid socio-economic transformation in such areas from rural towards urban livelihoods. At the same time, it is also characterised by the dynamic physical co-existence of rural and urban functions.

There have been many empirical studies on peri-urbanisation, particularly in the developing world (Aguilar, Ward, & Smith Sr, 2003; Browder & Bohland, 1995; Simon, et al., 2004; Webster, 2002). The implications for its planning and management have also been formulated (Allen, 2003; Brook & D vila, 2000; McGregor, et al., 2006). Indeed, the growing phenomenon of peri-urbanisation has resulted in new emerging urbanisation theories (McGee, Ginsburg, Koppel, & McGee, 1991; Tacoli, 1998). However, since most studies have been conducted in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America, there is still limited account of East Asian perspectives.

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<sup>2</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was published as Hudalah, Winarso and Woltjer (2007)

This chapter aims to provide guidance towards a general understanding of peri-urbanisation in the context of developing and transitional East Asian countries, and to make suggestions for its planning and governance. We propose that the complexity of both spatial features of and institutional forces for peri-urbanisation should be first understood as an underlying basis prior to the drawing of any policy recommendation. In order to examine this proposition, several questions are formulated:

- (1) What are the unique features of peri-urbanisation in East Asia?
- (2) How can we explain peri-urbanisation in East Asia from an institutional perspective?
- (3) How should planning and governance anticipate and respond to the emerging phenomenon of peri-urbanisation?

To answer these questions, we revisit studies carried out since the 1990s, mainly conducted in major metropolitan regions in Indonesia, China, Thailand and the Philippines. Moreover, we reframe and integrate the findings of these separate studies. We collect and select the information and results provided by the studies and use them as an input for comparative analysis between the four countries, focusing on spatial features, institutional changes and planning and governance. In addition, qualitative content analysis is also conducted on relevant policy documents to support the arguments for planning and governance adaptation. A more detailed account of the analytical methods is provided in Chapter 1.

Following this introduction, the chapter is divided into five sections. First, we describe peri-urbanisation as a global phenomenon and point out what makes the context of East Asia unique. We then identify the manifestations of peri-urbanisation in terms of the economy, socio-spatial relationships, spatial structure and physical environments of East Asian metropolitan regions. Furthermore, we explain the driving forces of this emerging phenomenon, mainly from an institutional perspective. Following this, we analyse what lessons can be learned from the past and from current planning and governance practices and put forward a number of suggestions for the improvement of planning and governance in the peri-urban areas. Finally, we conclude the discussion in the last section.

### **3.2 From a global perspective to East Asia**

We have introduced in Chapter 1 that the emergence of urban development outside designated city boundaries has become a global phenomenon but grows faster in developing countries. Studies in North Africa and South Asia since the late 1990s have looked increasingly at ‘the

peri-urban interface', a transitional zone between urban and rural activities (Allen, 2003; Simon, et al., 2004). In a broader scale, McGee (1991) has studied the *desakota* (the Indonesian term for 'rural-urban'), revealing an intensive coexistence of agricultural and non-agricultural activities within the extended East Asian metropolitan regions. These studies imply fading boundaries between city and countryside and blurring divides between urban and rural livelihoods.

Peri-urban areas can be considered as an extension of the designated cities they surround. They are not only ecologically but also socio-economically integrated into urban functions within the cities (Simon, et al., 2004). In addition, intensive flows of natural resources, goods and people from and to the cities also occur in the peri-urban areas. Moreover, based on the cases in South East Asia and Latin America, Browder and Bohland (1995) have proposed a concern for the 'metropolitan fringe', describing the demographic integration of peri-urban areas into the metropolitan systems.

In spite of the spatial integration with the designated urban areas at the macro level, peri-urban areas can be differentiated from both urban and rural areas due to their rapid growth and dynamic and mixed physical, environmental, and economic as well as social attributes (Simon, et al., 2004). Although the occupations of the majority of the residents in peri-urban areas can officially be classified as agricultural or rural in character, there is an intensive mixture and growing integration of urban and rural economies that makes the urban/rural dichotomy less apparent (Lin, 2001). In addition, population growth has been greatest in the peri-urban areas. Population in East Asia's peri-urban areas grows 2 – 7 per cent annually. In the case of Eastern Sea Board, Thailand, this implies that the peri-urban population growth is about four times higher than that in the cities (Webster, 2002).

Peri-urban areas in East Asian metropolitan regions are rarely a unified spatial feature. Instead, they are a fuzzy phenomenon evolving between urban and rural characteristics. It has been suggested that in the case of Jabodetabek (the Jakarta metropolitan region), peri-urban areas can be classified into three types (Soegijoko, Winarso, & Hudalah, 2007). First, those areas that have been socio-economically incorporated into the main city are classified as *predominantly* urban areas. Second, *semi*-urban areas are those dominated by manufacturing and other large land-consuming industrial activities. Finally, *potential* urban areas are those experiencing early land conversion and residential development.

Transformation in peri-urban areas of East Asian metropolitan regions has become a complex phenomenon. The areas are also much more dynamic

than just the *desa-kota*. This draws our attention towards the *process* of peri-urbanisation rather than to the *characteristics* of peri-urban areas. Following Webster (2002, p. 5), peri-urbanisation can be defined here as ‘a process in which rural areas located on the outskirts of established cities become more urban in character, in physical, economic, and social terms, often in piecemeal fashion’. It is characterised by changing local economic and employment structures from agriculture to manufacturing, rapid population growth and migration, rising land values and mixed land use.

Previous studies in the late 1980s perceived peri-urban areas in developing countries, particularly in the northern parts of Africa, as characterised by poverty and informal economies with strong links between urban and rural activities (Browder & Bohland, 1995). However, East Asian peri-urbanisation has rather undermined this traditional conception. In this region, peri-urbanisation tends to be triggered by formal land development, often in a large scale. To some extent, this development has been a result of the growing networks of global capitalism (Goldblum & Wong, 2000; Leaf, 2002).

### 3.3 Spatial manifestations

In the previous section, we have identified unique features of peri-urbanisation in East Asia, including its substantial dependence on metropolitan centres, capital accumulation and dynamic coexistence of urban and rural livelihoods. This section will describe the scale of these features, which is manifested in the following spatial dimensions: (1) contribution to the regional economy; (2) spatial segregation; (3) structural fragmentation and infrastructure deficiency; and (4) rural productivity and environmental sustainability.

First, there are some indications that peri-urban areas contribute increasingly to the improvement of regional economy. As Lin (2001) has pointed out, this can be seen in (among other factors) the proportion and growth rates of industrial and agricultural production, retail sales and foreign investment in peri-urban areas, which are high and in some cases outstripping those in the designated urban areas. Lin maintained that peri-urban areas function as centres of industrialisation, regional economic development and rural–urban interaction. As an illustration, the peri-urban areas of the Pearl River Delta (PRD) region in China produced 55 per cent of the region’s total industrial and agricultural output and received 70 per cent of the realised foreign capital flowing into the PRD region between 1980 and 1997 (Lin, 2001).



However, global capital flowing into the peri-urban areas not only increases regional economic growth but also widens socio-economic disparities. This vast economic opportunity has merely benefited the middle (and upper) classes, who are only a small part of the peri-urban communities. As their socio-economic systems have been integrated into the regional and global networks, the middle classes tend to be cut off from the neighbouring poorer communities, which remain the largest parts of the peri-urban communities. This has been manifested in the construction of walls, gates and exclusive infrastructure networks and the development of high-class residential areas and high-technology industrial enclaves (Connell, 1999; Firman, 2004; Leisch, 2002; Wissink, Dijkwel, & Meijer, 2004).

An increasing gap between the socio-economic classes may raise security and other social issues, which in turn force the creation of gated communities. To the private developers, the construction of gated communities has become a promising and marketable solution to these issues. Therefore, large-scale enclave development projects have dominated the landscape of the peri-urban areas in major East Asian metropolitan regions (Firman & Dharmapatni, 1994; Webster, 2002; Winarso, 2007). Leisch (2002) shows that such large-scale development has been a manifestation of the new prestige and lifestyles, and has to a large extent copied the development of gated communities in North America. However, he emphasised that, in East Asia, the security issues, as a result of the increasing gap between the socio-economic classes, have become a more important reason for the minority to live in 'gated communities'.



**Figure 3.1** Lippo Cikarang, one of biggest private new towns in peri-urban Jakarta  
(Source: [http://www.tatamulia.co.id/Data%20Project%20List/Mall/Citimal\\_Lippo\\_Cikarang.jpg](http://www.tatamulia.co.id/Data%20Project%20List/Mall/Citimal_Lippo_Cikarang.jpg), accessed on 1 July 2009)

These gated communities have created spatial separation by race, social group, and economic class in peri-urban areas of East Asian metropolitan regions (Connell, 1999; Leisch, 2002; Wissink, et al., 2004). For example, Firman (2004) concludes that in peri-urban Jakarta the development of exclusive new towns has reinforced the spatial segregation inherited from the colonial past. Through the construction of the new towns, the colonial race-based separation has been virtually replaced by the current socio-economic segmentation, although the two are in many cases still interchangeable. The spatial segregation occurs mainly between the new town areas and their neighbouring informal settlements, and is liable to result in social conflicts and riots, as happened during the economic crises of 1997 (Winarso, 2005). To a lesser extent, a systematic separation is also brought into the project areas, often represented in different blocks associated with particular groups and classes (Firman, 2004).

Spatial segregation can also be reflected in the growth and distribution of land prices in the project areas and their surroundings. For example, Winarso (2007) reports that land prices have increased significantly following more than fifteen years of construction of *Bumi Serpong Damai* (BSD), the largest new town project ever built in Indonesia. He emphasises an unresolved gap in land prices between the project area and its surrounding regions. As a result, the dynamic of the market-driven land prices has violated the tax-based land prices as regulated by the local government (Winarso, 2007).

Whilst at the local level peri-urbanisation may cause socio-economic segregation, at a higher level this transformation may result in fragmented regional structure and infrastructure network. Spatial fragmentation occurs among different new towns built by different developers as well as between the new towns and their surrounding areas. Winarso (2002a) shows that the large-scale housing developers, in proposing new developments, searched for locations where there was abundant and cheap vacant land. The developers may not consider the adequacy of the existing infrastructure since, as he argues, they are financially able to create new infrastructure subsequently. As the result, the new urban infrastructure built independently by the private developers is often not integrated into the existing regional infrastructure network provided by the governments. For example, new sections of roads can be disconnected from broader transportation network systems (Dijkgraaf, 2000).

Uncontrolled peri-urbanisation may also cause infrastructure deficiency, particularly at the regional level. The lack of transport infrastructure, especially integrated public transportation, is its classic example that can

isolate the peri-urban areas from their surrounding regions. It can also be more expensive to deliver an adequate environmental infrastructure (e.g. solid waste and waste-water systems and watershed management) to the industrial estates at long distances from cities (Webster, 2002). Furthermore, the construction of the environmental infrastructure is often not a policy priority, since public investment is largely allocated to other types of infrastructure that can directly facilitate the industrial activities. For example, 88 per cent of public investment for the development of Eastern Sea Board, Thailand, was allocated to major industrial-support infrastructure, including two world-class seaports and an expressway (Webster, 2002).

Another impact of peri-urbanisation is presented by Chunnasit et al. (2000) who demonstrate that there is a strong negative correlation between the economic value of the peri-urban agriculture and the distance to the urban areas within a metropolitan region. As urban sectors are emerging following the development in the new areas, the economic value of peri-urban agriculture is also falling. As the result, the traditional rural sector can no longer function as a major income generating activity in the peri-urban areas. In turn, this socio-economic transformation may reduce the rural productivity of the whole metropolitan region. This argument can be strengthened by the fact that most peri-urban areas in East Asia are located on highly productive agricultural land (McGee, et al., 1991). As an illustration, Firman (2000) shows that an uncontrolled land conversion has been responsible for the loss of fertile agricultural land in Bandung Metropolitan Area (BMA), Indonesia. In this metropolitan region, peri-urbanisation has reduced the productivity of the remaining paddy fields from 4.5 to 3.4 tons per hectare (Firman, 2000).

In addition to the reduced rural productivity, peri-urbanisation may also challenge the environmental sustainability of metropolitan regions. Urbanisation pressure in peri-urban Jakarta, for instance, has severely encroached on the Puncak–Cianjur corridor, an upland area with the vital function of water catchment area for Jakarta. As a result, periodic flooding downstream, i.e. in Jakarta, is getting worse (Firman & Dharmapatni, 1994). According to Firman (1996), similar problems have also been faced by BMA, in which urban development is moving towards the northern upland with altitude more than 750 m above sea level, which were designated as water conservation areas. Furthermore, industrialisation with high consumption of water in the southern part of BMA has caused air and water pollution and the falling of groundwater levels (Firman, 1996).

### 3.4 Institutional rationale

Similar to the planning system to be discussed in Chapter 4, peri-urbanisation is not an *isolated* spatial transformation process. It cannot be separated fundamentally from major institutional changes occurring at local, regional and global levels. In relation to the notion of institutional forces used in Chapter 4, *institutional changes* can be defined as the restructuring of both formal and informal rules, procedures, cultures and other types of social framework that constrain and enable actors' decisions and behaviour (Hudalah, 2007). In this section, we will explain how institutional changes playing at various spatial levels have underpinned peri-urbanisation in East Asia. The multi-level institutional changes discussed in this section include: (1) the growing influence of global capitalism and markets; (2) the rise of middle-class culture; (3) the reinforcement of clientelist governance tradition; and (4) the weakening of formal and centralised governance and legislation.

Global capitalism in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI), particularly in manufacturing, has actively searched for large areas of vacant land, good access to major cities and cheap labour (Leaf, 2002; Webster, 2002). For this reason, over 90 percent of FDI in Thailand, for example, flows to the designated large industrial estates located in the extended Bangkok Metropolitan Region. Meanwhile, some industrial estates in the Lower Yangtze Region are pushed 300 kilometres away from the main designated cities. As another illustration, between 1990 and 1995, there were 28 industrial estates developed in peri-urban Surabaya with sizes between 15 and 900 hectares (Firman, 2000).

According to Firman (2000) and Winarso and Firman (2002), the uncontrolled peri-urbanisation surrounding Indonesian large cities was particularly triggered by a series of deregulation and debureaucratisation measures during the 1980s. The authors argue that this market-oriented policy was aimed at accelerating economic growth by promoting domestic and foreign private participation in finance and industries, which later boosted the real estate industry as well as FDI in manufacturing. After the boom period of the early 1990s, the economic crises in 1997–98 suddenly restrained peri-urbanisation to two-thirds slower than before (Firman, 2000). However, since the economy has now recovered, the development continues to grow again (Winarso, 2005).

In addition to large-scale housing and industrial investments, global capitalism has also facilitated the concentration of economic growth enjoyed by small parts of the society. For example, Winarso and Firman (2002) reveal that, in the case of Jabodetabek (the Jakarta Metropolitan Region), a

high economic growth, which was 15.2 per cent annually during the 1980s and 1990s, had increased the number of middle- (and upper-) income people significantly. This fuelled the rise of middle-class consumption culture, expressed in an emerging need for private security and amenity and exclusive lifestyles. This new need boosted the demand for large-scale housing development, constructing gated communities in the peri-urban areas (Firman, 2004; Leisch, 2002). In order to fulfil this need, within only twenty years, the private developers have transformed more than 16,600 hectares of rural land outside the built-up areas of the Jakarta Metropolitan Region into 25 large residential areas and new towns ranging from 500 to 6,000 hectares (Firman, 2004; Winarso & Firman, 2002). As another illustration, large scale housing development has also boosted the population growth of peri-urban Manila, particularly Cavite and Laguna, by 7 per cent annually (based on 2000 census) (Webster, 2002).



**Figure 3.2** The Master Plan of Bumi Serpong Damai (BSD) phase 1  
 (Sources: <http://ptpede.co.cc/images/bumi-serpong-damai-1.jpg>, accessed on 1 July 2009)  
 BSD (6000 hectares) is the largest private new town project ever planned in Indonesia.  
 It was first constructed in 1989 and is now still being developed.

In line with the emerging middle class culture, the existence of few but strong, concentrated and large property developers has significantly influenced the scale of peri-urban development in major East Asian metropolitan regions (Sajor, 2003; Webster, 2002). According to Winarso and Firman (2002), this powerful position allows the private developers to build enduring patron-client relationships with financial sectors as well as the government, including the political elite. According to the explanation in Chapter 4, such a clientelist governance tradition has in fact long persisted within Indonesian society. Currently, this tradition may be reinforced by concentrated growth, resulting in the undesirable spatial outcomes described in the previous section. Through informal lobbying, the developers with the help of corrupt officials can simplify, can manipulate the established plans and development procedures so they can reduce the transaction costs of realising large-scale integrated urban land development projects (Server, 1996; Winarso & Firman, 2002).

Such hidden and corrupt practices can be more apparent in the issuance of development permits. Actually, the permit system in Indonesia was designed as an essential systemic mechanism for controlling land use development. In practice, however, it has been widely misused to reserve land exclusively for the approved developers (Firman, 2000). In fact, due to high transaction costs and complex inter-organisational procedures, the issuance of land development and building permits has become a prime field of attraction for collusion and corruption, especially in large-scale urban development on conflicting land (Server, 1996). Such practice has encouraged uncontrolled speculation particularly in remotely-governed places such as peri-urban areas.

Apart from this informal governance practice, peri-urban areas cannot transform fundamentally without a weakening power of the governments. For instance, Webster (2002) recognised that in Thailand, the national government, backed up by FDI, has promoted peri-urbanisation through the provision of industrial-support infrastructure. It can be seen in the construction of major seaports, railways, expressways and industrial estates in the Eastern Sea Board (ESB), which is the largest designated agglomeration of industrial estates in peri-urban Bangkok. Moreover, Webster and Muller (2002) identified that the government in China, through local state enterprises, has played an active role not only as the initiator but also the developer of economic and technological development zones (ETDZs) or major industrial estates, for instance within the Hangzhou–Ningbo corridor.

Recently, jurisdictional and political fragmentation following decentralisation policies has added a new challenge for implementing strong and integrated strategies and policies, since such strategies are not preceded by an integrated institutional adaptation at sub-national levels. For example, the role of national government in Thailand is now weakening, due to fiscal decentralisation since 2006. Meanwhile, Webster (2002) found that the sub-national governments have responded slowly to peri-urbanisation. He particularly underlined a low capacity of local governments in the rural regions or *tambons* in Thailand to deal with large-scale developments. Furthermore, the *tambons* are spatially fragmented and serve only small areas, with inexperienced staff (Webster, 2002).

A similar situation can be found in the Philippines. Following the Local Government Code of 1991, the national government has been reducing its resources compared to local government in relation to peri-urban management. The institutional landscape is therefore characterised by very strong cities and *municipios* (municipalities). They have greater fiscal and administrative power than the provincial government. They have been responsible for low-income housing provision, clean river programming, land use planning, site and services projects for low-income housing and local traffic improvements (Webster, 2002).

### **3.5 Planning and governance practice**

Various planning and governance measures have been applied as both direct and indirect adaptation to the growing complexity of spatial transformation and institutional changes in peri-urban areas of East Asian metropolitan regions. In this section, we first identify lessons from both the successes and failures of the past and current practices in three fields: (1) land use and comprehensive plans; (2) private and community participation; and (3) strengthening of regional institutions. Furthermore, for each of these three fields, we also make suggestions for the improvement of planning and governance in the peri-urban areas.

#### **3.5.1 Land use and comprehensive plans**

In Indonesia, as in most of other East Asian countries, the issue of peri-urbanisation has been regulated implicitly within a broader traditional planning framework including regional plans. As described in Chapter 4, in fact, such blue-print frameworks build the main foundation for planning systems Indonesia. In 1989, for example, Bandung District introduced the

concept of *dekonsentrasi planologis*, a counter-magnet strategy to redistribute urban activities from Bandung City to the designated surrounding smaller cities (Firman, 1996). This concept implied that it was necessary to reduce the undesirable impacts of uncontrolled urban extension (urban sprawl), which began to threaten the environmentally sensitive areas. Substantially, this concept is still adopted in later plans, including the Bandung Metropolitan Plan (2005).

In most land use plans, peri-urban areas tend to be defined based on formal political-administrative boundaries. Meanwhile, the functional boundaries of peri-urban areas are dynamic and often cut across these traditional and rigid boundaries. Nevertheless, only few plans have explicitly considered the importance of involving the functional boundaries of peri-urban areas. In Indonesia, a special provision can be made for environmentally sensitive areas prone to urban land use conversion. For instance, through spatial plans and zoning regulation, the West Java Province showed its commitment of protecting the North Bandung Area as the region's main water catchment by strictly forbidding physical development on the areas higher than 750 m above sea level. Another example is the enactment of Presidential Decree No. 114 of 1999 to preserve the function of the *Bopunjur* (Bogor–Puncak–Cianjur) corridor as the water catchment for Jabodetabek (the Jakarta Metropolitan Region).

In addition to allocating future land uses through these top-down and rigid land use plans and regulations, longer-term spatial and sectoral integration has also been promoted through the making of comprehensive plans. For example, in the Philippines, a comprehensive plan was made in the late 1980s in order to guide new developments in Cavite-Laguna, a peri-urban area around Manila. Unfortunately, its realisation failed since there was no single institution that was politically capable of implementing and monitoring the plan (Webster, 2002).

### **3.5.2 Private and community participation**

In large, fast-growing metropolitan regions of East Asia, there has also been a shift in planning and governance practices away from traditional land use and comprehensive plans towards collaborative approaches. These innovative approaches have been an inevitable consequence of the increasing role of the actors beyond government agencies in decision-making processes and the implementation of spatial development frameworks in the peri-urban areas. For example, since 1980, in the Eastern Sea Board, Thailand, a comprehensive plan has been prepared, monitored and evaluated in



cooperation with major international financial institutions, namely the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). Following this initiative, various infrastructure development programmes, involving national and multinational investors, have emerged to support the implementation of this plan.

Webster (2002) has recognised that the private sector in East Asia, including multinational corporations, has played a key role in responding to peri-urbanisation through localised adaptations. Such corporations acted to fill the gaps caused by the shortcomings of local government. However, they tend to take action only in the areas that are directly connected to their interests. For example, the industrial estate managers in the Eastern Sea Board, Thailand, have worked with the local governments to undertake environmental functions including water supply, waste-water management and social services, but only within their project locations (Webster, 2002).

At a higher level, the private sector mainly focuses on the optimisation of the existing regional infrastructure delivered by the government. For example, in the Hangzhou–Ningbo corridor, China, large firms and industrial estates provide shuttle buses in order to facilitate daily commuting from and to the gated communities (Webster & Muller, 2002).

Webster and Muller (2002) argue that, in addition to the private sector, the role of local collectives (community-based authorities) and local government can also be significant in adapting to rapid peri-urbanisation. In fact, they recognise that the role of local collectives is even more significant in China compared to other East Asian countries. One reason for this is that the local collectives in China have more control over the land than comparable collectives in other countries. The local collectives in the peri-urban areas in particular have a coordinated power with respect to the formulation of community's decisions upon the future utilisation of their land. As a result, the peri-urban communities have a stronger bargaining position in facing the growing tensions from the market-driven peri-urbanisation. In addition, the local government support for the local economy is more pronounced in China. Locally owned firms are encouraged, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises.

### ***3.5.3 Towards stronger regional institutions?***

As made clear above, the comprehensive spatial plans are unable to redistribute the spatial development in the metropolitan regions of East Asia. The fundamental reason for this is that there is often no institutionalised mechanism for inter-local coordination and inter-sectoral

integration of planning and development at the regional level. In China, the local government particularly has a strong position compared to higher tiers of government with regard to official mandates and budget resources (Webster & Muller, 2002). However, in this country there is a greater potential for peri-urban coordination and urbanisation control at the regional level. The reason is that many municipalities in China cover larger areas including not only the urban areas but also their surrounding hinterlands. Moreover, the annexation of surrounding hinterland territories by the main city is a common phenomenon in China. Besides, the current administrative system also still allows a vertical coordination between county and townships.

However, we should look at the Chinese experience more as an exceptional case, rather than as a best practice. This is because a hierarchical command-and-control style, to a certain extent, is still possible within the Chinese communist government system, which cannot be applied anymore in many other East Asian countries. Besides, the global neo-liberalisation and decentralisation pressures, as discussed in Chapter 4, may further complicate the challenge for preferring such approach in the future.

As an alternative, many metropolitan and urban regions in Indonesia have since decades ago initiated the establishment of ‘coordinating forums’ (*forum koordinasi*) involving respective provincial and local governments around the regions. For Jakarta Metropolitan Area, this cooperation is called BKSP (*Badan Kerjasama Pembangunan* or Cooperation Board for Development), which was first created in 1973 (Oetomo, Winarso, & Hudalah, 2007). Similar institutions have also been initiated in Bandung Metropolitan Area, Greater Jogjakarta, Greater Surabaya and Bali. Unfortunately, the establishment of these institutions tends to be voluntary and symbolic in character without any clear agenda for a systematic collaborative action. Their presence is politically weak and not supported by sufficient resources. They can only provide communication arenas through coordination meetings. They have no legal authority to coordinate the local governments in order to improve urbanisation control at the regional level. Their functions and authorities also often overlap with those carried out by the local governments.

### 3.6 Conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter, we have discussed the characteristics of peri-urbanisation in East Asia’s developing and transitional countries. In these countries, peri-urban areas have unique features due to their substantial dependence on

metropolitan centres, capital accumulation and dynamic coexistence of urban and rural livelihoods. Furthermore, peri-urbanisation has largely characterised the spatial transformation in the countries' major metropolitan regions. The potential contribution of peri-urban areas to the improvement of regional economic performance might begin to emerge. However, we should be aware of its undesirable consequences, including spatial segregation and fragmentation and reduction of rural productivity and environmental sustainability, which may follow this spatial transformation.

We have argued that the undesirable implications of spatial transformation in peri-urban areas have reflected the fragmented institutional landscape prevailing in these areas. As transitional zones between rural and urban administrations, those areas face a weakening governing power. While the national governments are too remote to reach those areas, the local governments have an inadequate capacity to formulate and implement required planning policies. At the same time, regional authorities are still poorly established. Ineffectiveness also occurs as fragmented rural authorities are pushed to adapt to an earlier urbanisation. All these institutional conditions encourage the private enterprises, which have strong links with global capitalism and the markets, to take over parts of physical development and planning, which are often uncoordinated at higher levels.

Considering the above institutional fragmentation, we have raised some planning policy issues as a basis for building new planning perspectives and approaches. First, we have seen that the traditional land use and comprehensive plans have had only limited success in addressing early urbanisation, mainly due to inconsistencies in their implementation and weak enforcement and control (Firman, 2000). These are due to a weakening capacity of the current planning systems to continue playing their traditional role as the 'trend-setter' of future spatial development, by promoting rigid norms and standards (see Chapter 4). Meanwhile, the increasing complexity of peri-urbanisation implies a pressure to transform these systems to be more flexible and adaptive, by accommodating the dynamic, multi-level spatial and institutional drivers of peri-urbanisation. It is also increasingly difficult for the planners and decision-makers to deal with peri-urbanisation without involving different actors outside the governments, including the private sector and the community, whose role is becoming more significant in shaping the future of East Asian peri-urban landscapes.

The current inclusive planning practices in the peri-urban areas of East Asia tend to take the forms of localised action. These practices are mostly

reactive in nature and appear to be fragmented or not integrated at higher levels. Meanwhile, various planning issues in peri-urban areas emerge at the regional level, including infrastructure, environmental sustainability, employment and economy. Therefore, the building of institutional arrangements operating at this higher level seem necessary in order to build an integrated policy adaptation that can meet the cross-local border challenges of spatial development in peri-urban areas.

Collaborative institution building, as initiated in Indonesia, can be conceptually more desirable, compared to the Chinese top-down practices, considering the dynamic characteristics of peri-urbanisation and the global trends of decentralisation and neo-liberalisation. However, the current practices still need major improvements in order to better promote sustainable development in the peri-urban areas. In this respect, exploration of shared visions and interests may be crucial so that the political commitment of the participating local governments and authorities can be enhanced. As Oetomo (2007) suggests, such institutions should focus on the strategic issues emerging at the regional level, such as growth management, good governance and participation, sustainable development and sharing of authorities between the local governments and the sectoral bodies. In addition, the current collaborative initiatives must be coupled with a stronger and continuous stimulation, mediation and monitoring by the national/ provincial government. By combining the bottom-up and top-down approaches and promoting multi-level governance, the existing 'coordinating forums', as being experimented with in Indonesia, should be open to transformation into the inter-local or supra-local institutions with a stronger authority and a higher social legitimacy in order to gain more power in decision-making processes at the regional level.

In order to gain social legitimacy, the building of such institutional capacity should be grounded in day-to-day governance practice. As will be discussed in 0, 0 and 0, the process may start with the practice of capturing the emergence of opportunities and addressing the complexity of social networks and the diversity of discursive knowledge. Such innovative institution building is expected to be able to deal with clientelist and neo-liberalised institutional forces underlined in Chapter 4.

## Chapter 4 Planning system in Transitional Indonesia<sup>3</sup>

### 4.1 Introduction

There has been considerable discussion among scholars concerned with international perspectives on domestic urban development and planning cultures (de Vries & van den Broeck, 1997; Sanyal, 2005). More specific discussions include the comparison of planning systems and practices across nations (Kaufman & Escuin, 2000). This chapter takes a similar approach. It takes, as a starting point, the perspective that planning systems are a crucial aspect for understanding the planning culture in a particular country since they are closely linked with the country's domestic institutional forces.

Planning systems can be defined as 'systems of law and procedure that set the ground rules for planning practice' (Healey, 1997, p. 72). It is argued that in the face of growing complexity of current society, planning systems cannot be seen as an independent phenomenon but more as a product of wider institutional forces (Booth, 2005). Following the discussion about peri-urbanisation and planning practice in Chapter 3, a planning system is also not an isolated system but rather it is embedded in domestic institutional and cultural traditions that form it (de Vries & van den Broeck, 1997). Besides, it is recognised that globalisation has facilitated a freer transfer of policy ideas, including planning ideas, across nations (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996). Many studies have shown how neo-liberal ideas in the framework of globalisation have influenced the form and structure of domestic planning systems (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Healey & Williams, 1993; Sanyal, 2005). As a result, a planning system is not a stable but a relatively dynamic phenomenon, whose evolution cannot be fully understood without reflecting on these complex domestic and global institutional changes.

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<sup>3</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was published as Hudalah and Woltjer (2007)

Chapter 3 discussed the role of domestic and global institutional forces in explaining peri-urbanisation trend and planning practice. This chapter, by focusing on the case of Indonesia, seeks to investigate whether both forces are linked with each other and whether they work simultaneously in reshaping the planning system. It is also equally important to examine whether their influences on the system are pervasive in countries experiencing institutional transition and rapid societal change such as Indonesia.

Indonesia entered a transitional process after being hit by the financial and economic crisis of 1997 (*krismon*). Consequently, Indonesia faces rapid institutional changes in major policy fields, including spatial planning. The former law on spatial planning ("Law No. 24 on Spatial Planning," 1992) was thought to be no longer relevant with the new emerging institutional settings. As a result, a new spatial planning law was discussed in 2005–2006 and it was finally enacted in 2007.

The analysis of this chapter tends to focus on the formulation of this new spatial planning law and other regulatory elements of the planning system, in the view of current institutional forces, cultural traditions, and globalisation related to neo-liberal ideas. While cultural traditions can be better accommodated, this chapter suggests that pragmatic adoption of neo-liberal ideas in the current system needs to be analysed more critically.

The current chapter is divided into several sections. The first section describes the progress of the planning system in Indonesia as the contextual arena for our discussion. After summarising the conceptual framework and methods for the study, the next three sections explain the influences of formal institutional forces, informal cultural forces and neo-liberal ideas on the planning system. Later, interactions among these influences are discussed. Finally, the last section provides some remarks and recommendations.

## 4.2 Indonesia's modern planning history

The history of Indonesia's modern planning system can be tracked back to the first quarter of the twentieth century, during the late Dutch colonial period. Through the enactment of the Nuisance Ordinance of 1926, the colonial government designed permit and zoning systems for regulating industrial installations in specific areas (Niessen, 1999). However, the first comprehensive planning regulatory framework was not created until the outbreak of the World War II. The regulatory framework was introduced in 1948 through the promulgation of *Stadsvorming Ordonantie* (SVO) or Town

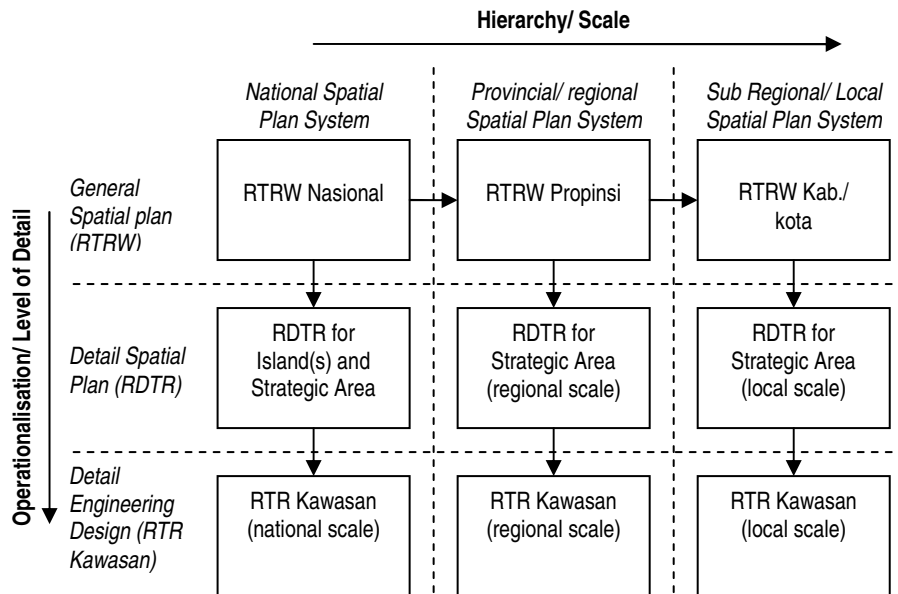
Planning Ordinance followed by its implementing regulation known as *Stadsvormings Verordening* (SVV) of 1949 (Dirdjosisworo, 1978). It was focused on improving urban housing conditions (Winarso, 2002b) and was designed for municipalities in the most densely populated island of Java, where problems of urbanisation were already evident at that time (Niessen, 1999). After the independence, this first integrated planning law continued to be enforced by the Indonesian government. In fact, in this period, it was not applied only in Java but in all regions in the country.

The inherited Dutch planning law was increasingly criticised for its irrelevance due to colonial and Java-centric biases. Besides, there has been a growing inter-departmental rivalry and urbanisation complexity, increasing the need for a purely Indonesian planning law. As the result, Law No. 25 on Spatial Planning ("Law No. 24 on Spatial Planning," 1992) was enacted. Compared to the previous Dutch planning law, this first post-colonial planning law was simplified and provided only general rules and classifications for carrying out spatial planning at the national, provincial and local levels. Following this law, detailed guidelines and standards were expected to be prepared by the national government and respective ministries.

Whilst the required operational guidelines have not yet been completed, the Asian financial and economic crisis of 1997–1998 hit the country severely, triggering wider socio-political crises. The crises led to the birth of the reform era, marking the beginning of the country's institutional transition into a democratic and decentralised political system. The transition period was characterised by a massive production of laws and legislation, including laws on regional administration, regional fiscal balancing, water resources and housing and human settlement. This massive production meant that the Soeharto-era spatial planning law was outdated vis-a-vis the new laws and legislations. Therefore, a new spatial planning law was drafted in late 2005 and finally enacted in 2007.

In general, the Indonesian planning system, as reflected in the last two planning laws of 1992 and 2007, fell short of an integrated-comprehensive approach, unlike the Dutch model. As reported by the European Commission (*The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*, 1997, pp. 36-37), in the integrated-comprehensive approach, 'spatial planning is conducted through a very systematic and formal hierarchy of plans from national to local level, which coordinate public sector activity across different sectors but focus more specifically on spatial coordination than economic development'. The Indonesian system adopts such a hierarchical structure, in which spatial plans are made at the national,

provincial and local governmental tiers (Figure 4.1). Each tier is required to prepare several plans with different scales, namely general spatial plan (RTRW), detailed spatial plan (RDTR) and detailed engineering design (RTR Kawasan). However, in the Indonesian system, the role of the public sector in the realisation of planning frameworks and plans is not clearly spelt out. In fact, related sectoral policy systems such as housing and water management tend to encourage privatisation rather than government participation (Government of Indonesia, "Law No. 4 on Housing and Human Settlement," 2004; Siregar, 2005).



**Figure 4.1** Spatial plan system in Indonesia

Furthermore, through the promulgation of the new spatial planning law of 2007, the system started to adopt the North American planning system style of land use management. In this system, growth management and development control through rigid zoning and codes are encouraged. Nevertheless, in Indonesia, the role of spatial plans made by all tiers of planning authorities is still important. Besides, the land use management in Indonesia is the responsibility not only of the local government as in the US, but also of the provincial and central governments.



### 4.3 Institutional forces and the planning system

Following the transition period, the Indonesian planning system has become more complex thus requiring a comprehensive explanation of its persistent as well as changing characteristics. This section, therefore, attempts to investigate the extent to which recent spatial planning laws and other major regulatory elements of the planning system have been situated in broader institutional forces in effect at both national and international levels. The analysis focuses on the following key aspects of the planning system: (1) goals; (2) scope; (3) concept; (4) structure and approach, (5) process and procedure; and (6) instruments.

Institutional forces are defined as sets of organisational structures, rules, procedures as well as embedded cultural values and norms underlying social attitude and action. Analytically, such institutional forces can be divided into two main categories:

- 1) *endogenous* (or internal, domestic) institutional forces; and
- 2) *exogenous* (or external, global) institutional forces.

The endogenous institutional forces can provide an *intentional* explanation on the development of the domestic planning system as a product of culture (Booth, 2005; de Vries & van den Broeck, 1997). These forces consist of formal and informal institutional forces. The formal institutional forces are focused on form and structure of government and legal aspect in land and property affairs. Meanwhile, the informal institutional forces are associated with the national political culture, state–society relations and governance tradition. Compared to the formal forces, these relatively path-dependent forces tend to be more stable since they are influenced by long-term historical developments of the nation.

The exogenous institutional forces are regarded as *unintended* structural determinants that may dictate how a planning system ought to be. The analysis of external factors in this chapter focuses on the potential influence of neo-liberal ideas on the planning system. These neoliberal ideas are divided into three main aspects: (1) efficient government; (2) rule of law; and, (3) decentralisation. In the context of the increasingly globalised world society, it is argued that such neoliberal ideas are more easily transferred across nations (European Commission, *The EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies*, 1997; Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Healey & Williams, 1993; Sanyal, 2005).

The data and information for the analysis are mainly gathered from textual materials. These include laws, legislations, government documents and publications in relation to government administration and spatial

planning going back to the early history of independent Indonesia (1945). Furthermore, previous studies on the political, governance and planning cultures in Indonesia during the pre-colonisation, colonisation and independence periods were collected. Other literature included studies on the impact of neoliberal globalisation on spatial planning in other countries.

During the data collection on the preparation of the new spatial planning law, as the central issue for analysis, the researcher was not only an outside investigator but also a close observer and participant in relevant formal and informal discussions in relation to the preparation of the new spatial planning law. These included informal discussions among experts, feasibility study discussions and public seminars held from 2004 until 2006. Being both spectator and participant in the drafting process, the researcher benefited from producing an objectively-motivated investigation while at the same time strengthening the richness and situatedness of the results. A more detailed account of the analytical methods is provided in 0.

#### **4.4 Formal institutional forces**

There are some legal frameworks underlying the form and structure of government and the legal framework for land and property affairs in Indonesia. These legal frameworks include the 1945 constitution, the basic agrarian law, and the regional administration laws.

In relation to land and property affairs, the 1945 Constitution requires the role of the state to control the uses of land, water, space, and natural resources for the greatest benefit of its citizens. The constitutional statement of promoting 'the greatest benefit of the citizens' is an important rationale for the state's strong control over the exploitation of land, waters, space, and natural resources ("The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945," 1945, Art. 33, par. 3). This justifies the government's ambition to promote comprehensive goals of spatial planning comprising spatial quality, sustainable development, environmental protection, and national security. A good spatial quality is difficult to achieve in the absence of such pervasive government.

Following the constitutional statement, the Law No. 5 ("Law No. 5 on Basic Agrarian Regulation," 1960) on Basic Agrarian allows a broad state capacity in land administration and policy, including the authority to use and cultivate the land and to regulate legal relations between the citizens and the land and between citizens' legal action in relation to the land. The law also requires the protection and maintenance of land resources and

special attention on the poor, thus specifically explaining the spatial planning objective of promoting broad sustainability principles.

In order to further accommodate the strong role of government in land and property affairs, the scope of the planning system has been developed comprehensively. This comprehensive scope can be seen in the integration of three planning policy aspects, which are the plan-making process (*perencanaan ruang*), land utilisation (*pemanfaatan ruang*), and land utilisation control (*pengendalian pemanfaatan ruang*) (Government of Indonesia, "Draft of Law on Spatial Planning," 2005; Law No. 24 on Spatial Planning," 1992). The strong role of government is especially recognisable in the aspects of plan-making and land utilisation control. The spatial planning law requires all government tiers to prepare spatial plans in order to direct spatial development in their regions. It is also mentioned that spatial plans per se are not sufficient to control change in land use. Therefore, planning control instruments are also required to make spatial plans more realistic.

The comprehensive scope of the Indonesian planning system is then followed by its centralised approach. These are a manifestation of the unitary form of government, in which the central government is the only tier authorised to make laws to be applied throughout the whole country. Furthermore, the central government tends to promote universal, top-down planning approaches and standards. Geographical diversity among regions and islands is still poorly accommodated. Pragmatic variations are merely designed when it is considered necessary to prevent technical problems on the ground. For example, different resolutions of planning map are required for different level of plans and planning areas ("Government Regulation No. 10 on Criteria for Spatial Planning Map," 2000). As another example, requirements for urban residential facilities are classified based on the scale of services and statistical parameters of planned area such as population, area, and density (Ministry of Public Works, 1987). The uniqueness of local cultural systems is given limited consideration in spite of the prevalence of such systems in the country.

Regardless of its centralised approaches, the system's institutional structure gives a degree of authority to the local and provincial governments to carry out spatial planning functions in their regions. Although the decentralisation policy has not been effective until the implementation of the Law on Regional Administration of 1999 in 2001, its principle in spatial planning has been anticipated since the promulgation of the Law on Spatial Planning of 1992. For example, according to the law, spatial plans made by all tiers are required to conform to each other, and to higher and lower tiers.

A further outcome of this decentralised structure is that citizen involvement is increasingly considered an important element in the planning process and procedure. In the previous spatial planning law, it was stated that ‘every citizen has the rights: to be informed about spatial plan; to be involved in spatial plan making, land cultivation process, and land cultivation control ...’ (“Law No. 24 on Spatial Planning,” 1992, art. 4). The role of citizen in spatial planning is strengthened by the Government Regulation of 1996 (No. 69), Art. 2:

‘In spatial planning, the citizen has the rights: to participate in the processes of plan-making, land cultivation process, and land cultivation control; to be informed about general spatial plans (*rencana tata ruang wilayah*), detailed spatial plans (*rencana detail tata ruang*), and detailed engineering design (*rencana teknis ruang*) transparently; to obtain the utility of space and its added value resulting from spatial planning; to obtain a fair compensation in the event of being affected by the implementation of development projects based on a spatial plan’.

The role of citizens in planning has been improved following the enactment of the 1999 law on regional administration in 2001, based on which the government structure shifted from a centralised into a highly decentralised structure. Most of the governmental tasks, including spatial planning, are now transferred from the central government to the provincial and local governments (Government of Indonesia, *Law No. 22 on Regional Administration*, 1999). The newest law on regional administration (*Law No. 32 on Regional Administration*, 2004) reinforces this decentralisation trend by introducing the notion of regional autonomy (*otonomi wilayah*), referring to ‘the rights, authorities, and obligations of autonomous local and regional tiers to regulate and to manage their own governmental affairs and citizen interests’ (*Law No. 32 on Regional Administration*, 2004, art. 1). The importance of these local and regional aspirations were later adopted in the draft of the new spatial planning law, for which ‘spatial planning is carried out by the government through promoting community participation . . . conducted at least through public consultation’ (“Draft of Law on Spatial Planning,” 2005, Art. 57). It implies that the decentralisation policy transition contributes to the improvement of the level of citizen participation in the spatial planning system from the level of informing to the level of consultation.

#### 4.5 Informal institutional forces

With thousands of islands, hundreds of ethnic groups and languages, and at least five major influential religions, Indonesia is truly a plural country without any single basic national as well as political culture. According to Liddle (1996), there are at least three significant political cultures that so far have influenced the institutional forces in modern Indonesia: *Javanese*, *Outer Islands*, and *Dutch colonial* cultures (Table 4.1). The Javanese statecraft and culture is rooted in the pre-colonial kingdoms, which have constructed paternalistic social relations and hierarchical social structures. It brought pervasive and centralistic characteristics into the public administration system. The seemingly arbitrary decision making has also illustrated the Javanese tradition, contributing to the building of acute clientelist and corrupt governance traditions in Indonesia's modern planning and governance history (Cowherd, 2005). In comparison, Liddle (1996) recognises that the Outer Islanders have not developed any rigid political culture and social structure. Their pluralist governance culture, however, has produced some important socio-political values such as an egalitarian social structure and decentralised and democratic institutional arrangements. In addition, he maintains that Indonesian society also inherited the Dutch colonial culture. Built on a corporatist style of governance and influenced by imperialist ideas, the Dutch colonial culture was characterised by a hierarchical social structure and extensive bureaucratic, administrative and legal systems.

First, the Javanese style is one of the most hierarchical-minded in the world (Liddle, 1996). It is reflected in the maintenance of a centralistic and hierarchical style of government. To some extent, this centralistic governance culture explains the persistently strong role of the modern central government in major policy fields, including spatial planning. According to the law on regional administration of 2004, spatial planning is actually no longer a main policy field for the central government. The law indeed encourages most of policy fields to be transferred to the provincial and local governments as part of decentralisation measures. However, the draft of the new spatial planning law still maintains the role of the central government in all planning policy aspects, including plan-making, land cultivation and land cultivation control, especially in the cases of national spatial planning (*RTRW Nasional*) and spatial planning for national strategic regions (*RTRW Kawasan Strategis Nasional*) ("Draft of Law on Spatial Planning," 2005).

**Table 4.1** Major political cultures in Indonesia

	Javanese	Outer Islands	Dutch Colonial
<b>Origin/reflection</b>	Pre-Islamic caste, wet rice feudalism, court tradition, <i>wayang kulit</i> (leather puppet) plays	Trade culture, Islamic religious culture, global interaction	Protestant tradition of prosperous welfare state, Napoleon Codes of administration, colonialism
<b>Social structure</b>	Birth caste-like	Egalitarian	Racial and socio-economic classes
<b>Role of state</b>	Very strong	Weak	Strong
<b>Public decision making</b>	Discretionary	Discretionary	Bureaucratic
<b>Public management</b>	Centralism	Decentralisation, democratization	Hierarchical system
<b>Governance culture</b>	Clientelism	Pluralism	Corporatism
<b>State – society relation</b>	Strong paternalistic	Paternalistic	Paternalistic

Another key feature of Javanese statecraft is the principle that the rulers and their officials have the ultimate power in the decision making (Liddle, 1996; Moertono, 1981). Principally, the rulers cannot take any wrong decision. Such a benevolence–obedience political culture has contributed to the development of arbitrary policy making and implementation as reflected in the law and court cultures. In the modern planning history, this has resulted in a strongly *politicised* planning cultural practice, reflected by widespread discretionary and patron-client practices in land use planning and development permit procedures (Cowherd, 2005; Winarso & Firman, 2002). Nevertheless, these cultures have never been brought into the planning policy system.

In addition to the Javanese political culture, it is remarkable that the Dutch colonial culture has also largely shaped major administrative and policy, including planning, systems in modern Indonesia. Their corporatist governance tradition has resulted in extensive bureaucratic machineries, rules and norms (Cowherd, 2005; Liddle, 1996). Dutch technical policy

approaches have also long been dominating the policy making and implementation procedures. These governance and policy traditions lead towards a *depoliticised* planning cultural system, fuelling the development of normative-binding concepts in the planning system.

The current binding system entails the requirement that development activities are guided by legalised spatial plans. These plans range from general to detailed spatial plans and, indeed, detailed engineering plans. Such normative-positive instruments function as legal guidance for the governments in making decisions about location, type, and scale of proposed urban development. These blueprint planning documents bind not only the governments but the community and the private sectors, which want to be involved in urban land development. In principle, no land development proposal will be approved without conforming to spatial plans. Development proposals violating formulated spatial plans are subject to rejection by the governments.

#### 4.6 The influence of neo-liberal ideas

The influence of exogenous institutional forces, particularly globalising neo-liberalism, has impacted the characteristics of domestic spatial planning everywhere, regardless of state boundaries (Lai, 2004; Sanyal, 2005; Wadley, 2004). Dominated by US's influence, neo-liberal globalisation has become a universal economic and political framework, which promotes free markets as the sole effective system (Pieterse, 2004). In this framework, the ideas of efficiency, rule of law, and decentralisation originating from the industrialised liberal countries are now spreading all over the world.

The neo-liberal concept of efficiency in the administration system entails the retreat of government's role in major policy fields. In the current Indonesian planning system, it can be seen in an undefined role of government in land cultivation, indicating a weak capacity of government in realising plans. The government is only required to prepare development programmes and projects in order to guide private investment and financing in land cultivation ("Draft of Law on Spatial Planning shall Separate Residential Areas Clearly", 2006). There is no clear, specific requirement for the government to invest or to finance the proposed land clearance and development. In principle, the government, private sector, and the community have the same opportunity to be involved in the development process in order to realise the formulated plans.

One of common arguments forwarded is that spatial planning is a *coordinative* policy field. As such, the realisation of planning frameworks is

more a responsibility of *sectoral* policy systems rather than the spatial planning system (Ministry of Public Works, "Draft of Law on Spatial Planning shall Separate Residential Areas Clearly ", 2006). The planning system cannot be perceived as an independent system but one that is connected to other policy systems. Therefore, in order to understand the impact of the retreat of the role of government in the spatial planning system, it is helpful to first examine their influence on related sectoral policy systems: housing (*cipta karya*), road infrastructure (*bina marga*), and water resources (*sumber daya air*) (Dardak, 2005; Niessen, 1999; Winarso, 2002b). In Indonesia, these three interlinked systems fall under the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works.

In the housing policy system for example, particularly in relation to housing provision for low-income earners, enabling strategies such as public-private partnership and mortgage system are preferable to the provision of massive public housing development (Winarso, 2002b). Such private involvement can in fact be very proactive, especially in large-scale housing development (*Kasiba/Lisiba*), which allows the private parties to develop not just massive numbers of houses and neighbourhood facilities but also main urban road and infrastructure (Government of Indonesia, "Law No. 4 on Housing and Human Settlement," 2004). This increased role of private parties in the housing policy implies a significant role of the market in the policy system.

Another obvious retreat of government through privatisation is evident in the water management system through the enactment of Law No. 7 on Water Resources (Government of Indonesia, "Law No. 7 on Water Resources," 2004). Replacing the former law on irrigation, this law effectively legalises privatisation in water management, whose implementation is financially supported by major influential international institutions including the World Bank (Walhi, "Water Privatisation," 2003). According to Siregar (2005), the law might lead towards an uncontrolled participation of the private sector, replacing the role of the state. Meanwhile, since water is one of people's basic needs and vital for the country, full privatisation in water management is actually undesirable according to the 1945 Constitution. However, the international institutions strongly promote the commodification of water possibly in order to foster global capitalism (Walhi, "Campaign to Reject the Water Resource Privatisation and Commercialisation," 2005).

As a consequence of the minimised role of government, the rule of law is an important aspect of government intervention in neo-liberal countries. It attempts to ensure that information as much as possible is provided in



advance in order to help the market make investment decisions properly. For this reason, binding instruments such as zoning system, as part of land development control measures, replacing bureaucratic procedures in the permit system, are often suggested as a means to provide certainty and a deregulatory framework (Allmendinger, 2002; Lai, 2004).

In Indonesia, the zoning system is officially introduced in the draft of new spatial planning law. In addition to the long-established permit system, the new law requires the governments to prepare zoning regulation (*petunjuk teknis rencana tata ruang*) supported by environmental and building codes as key instruments for controlling land development. According to the Annex of new spatial planning law:

‘Zoning ordinance consists of stipulations that should or should not be carried out in certain land use zones, which can consist of stipulations concerning buildings, provision of services, utilities, settlement and other stipulations needed to realise convenient, productive, and sustainable space. Other stipulations needed are sectorial such as stipulations concerning flight safety zone and high voltage electrical network’.

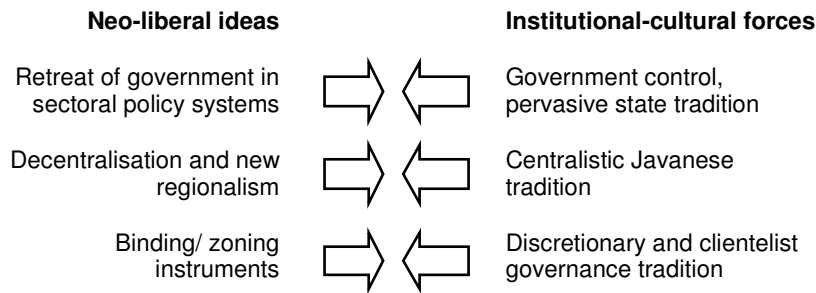
As a further aspect of neo-liberalism, the idea of decentralisation encourages the transfer of the central government’s responsibilities to the lowest possible tiers of government, where it is easier to promote democratic and participation processes. In planning, this idea is closely linked with the current trend of regionalisation, promoting the region as the most appropriate scale for building cohesive institutional forces oriented towards economic development (Lovering, 1999).

In line with the neo-regionalist ideas, the draft of a new spatial planning law facilitates planning for urban regions (*kawasan perkotaan*), which includes the urban/metropolitan region shared by more than one local government (*kabupaten* and/or *kota*) (Ministry of Public Works, "Draft of Law on Spatial Planning shall Separate Residential Areas Clearly ", 2006). Metropolitan/ regional planning is often required to promote regional specialisation, particularly to separate growth centres and political centres at the national and provincial levels. Therefore, according to the draft, the urban regions made up of two or more *kabupatens/kotas* shall be planned integrally by involving respective local governments. As part of coordinative instruments, structure plans and development plans need to be prepared for such regions. It is necessary to encourage coordination in the formulation of urban and infrastructure development programmes. Furthermore, the existing local governments must cooperate with each other in managing urban development in their regions. Such regional cooperation, rather than

designing fixed regional institutions, is preferred in order to promote efficiency, flexibility, and decentralisation.

#### 4.7 Discussion and conclusion

We have seen in the analysis that both endogenous and exogenous institutional forces attempt to reshape the basic characteristics of the Indonesian planning system. First, the formal institutional forces have resulted in the comprehensive goals and scope, universalised structure and a degree of participation in planning processes. Meanwhile, the informal institutional forces have characterised the normative approaches and instruments and maintained the role of the central government in the planning institutional structure. Finally, the influence of neo-liberal ideas can be seen in the development of binding approaches, the growing necessity for metropolitan/regional planning, reduction in government participation and the zoning instruments. With a sustained role of informal institutional forces, the influences of neo-liberal ideas tend to be fragmented and cannot alter the system comprehensively.



**Figure 4.2** Potential clashes between the institutional forces of Indonesian planning system

In fact, the neo-liberal ideas tend to conflict with the endogenous institutional forces that have long influenced the planning system (Figure 4.2). First, the reduction of government participation from the urban development process has undermined the 1945 Constitution assertion, which requires the government to actively redistribute the cultivation of land and space. In practice, however, it is difficult for the government to redistribute such vital resources since they lack institutional as well as financial capacity to control these resources. In addition, the neo-liberal idea of minimising the role of government also tends to deviate from the long-standing Javanese

political culture of maintaining a strong and pervasive state. Besides, the decentralisation of spatial planning might to some extent clash with the centralised tradition of Javanese statecraft. Finally, the introduction of binding development control and zoning instruments should confront the pragmatic, discretionary, and clientelist governance traditions of the Javanese political culture.

In the context of the globalised society and increasing tension for structural adjustment, Indonesia cannot escape from the influence of neoliberal ideas. However, the country can minimise their negative effects through critical internalisation and adaptation of the ideas with the existing endogenous institutional forces. In transferring planning policy ideas, the policy makers could promote hybridising or synthesis, rather than instant copying or adoption, in order to encourage better coordination with the endogenous forces and to develop a more cohesive planning system.

Chapter 3 implied that the current planning system is still ineffective in managing peri-urbanisation in fast-growing metropolitan regions. Based on the analysis of this chapter, it can be argued that one of the reasons for this is that the system has not appropriately taken into account globalising as well as domestic institutional forces that have been embedded within the society and governance practice. First, major aspects of the formal institutional forces are detached from the current reality grounded in planning practice. Meanwhile, the pragmatic process of transferring neoliberal ideas seems to be dominated by partial copying or adapting, narrowly importing new ideas without involving necessary adaptation of the long-persistent informal institutional forces. These result in an inconsistent and fragmented system, in which elements may clash with each other. 0, 0 and 0 essentially attempt to address such fragmentation issues in planning and governance, focusing on the cases of managing urban and environmental conflicts in peri-urban areas.



## Chapter 5 Policy networking and institutional capacity: an analysis of peri-urban environmental and infrastructure planning conflicts in Indonesia<sup>4</sup>

### 5.1 Introduction

Network approaches are not new in planning and policy studies. Earlier studies have focused on their functions as a framework for defining policy measures (Glasbergen, 1990) and for understanding long-term policy change (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999), as an alternative organisational device (Alexander, 1993), as a medium of power exercise (Booher & Innes, 2002; Bull & Jones, 2006; Pauline M. McGuirk, 2000; Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006), as an infrastructure for social movements (Batterbury, 2003; Wekerle, 2004) and as criteria for assessing democratic planning systems (Torfing, Sorensen, & Fotel, 2009). Nevertheless, little attention has been given to the institutional potential of networks. As a relational resource in transformative planning processes, networks have the potential to contribute to the improvement of governance capacity. As Healey (1998, p. 1541) argues, such relational resources function as an important mobilising aspect for ‘building an institutional capacity focused on enhancing the ability of place-focused stakeholders to improve their power to “make a difference” to qualities of their place’.

It is argued that network forms of social relations are an appropriate basis for effective collective action in the context of increasingly decentralised and fragmented places and society (Castell, 1996). This changing context of space and distance is currently emerging in Indonesia and it exerts a considerable effect on spatial change in its peri-urban areas. First, with the commencement of the Reform Era, since 1998 the country has radically transformed its centralised and hierarchical political system of

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<sup>4</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was presented at *The 10th European Network Association of European Researchers on Urbanisation in the South (N-AERUS) Conference: Challenges to Open Cities*, Rotterdam, 1-3 October 2009 (Hudalah, Winarso, Woltjer, & Linden, 2009b); forthcoming in *Planning Theory*.

Soeharto's New Order into a democratic and decentralised one. As the result, urban and regional policies can no longer be easily formulated based on the rigid hierarchical order. The current open and democratic political system and social order provide more room for parties at local and regional scales to push government to consider various alternatives in their plans. This pressure on a more innovative planning process might be more apparent in peri-urban areas such as NBA due to its rapid spatial and socio-economic changes, inter-local jurisdictional character and the increasingly fragmented role of private and other non-governmental initiatives (Chapter 1 and Chapter 3).

This chapter aims to understand how a planning policy network is constructed and how it can contribute to the building of planning's institutional capacity in the face of fragmented spatial, social and formal institutional relations. It is illustrated by an episode of the planning debate in the peri-urban area of NBA, in which institutional capacity concerned the issue of improving regional governance consciousness to effectively involve stakeholders and consistently implement agreed planning frameworks aiming at enhancing the quality of the peri-urban environment and promoting sustainable urban and regional development.

The chapter first reviews the literature on network approaches, especially from new institutional perspectives, resulting in a conceptual framework for capacity building. Following the overview of land development, planning and governance contexts in Indonesia in general and NBA in particular (0, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), the debate on the Dago-Lembang road development planning project will be examined to illustrate how the network approach to capacity building framework may work in practice. It further identifies the actors participating in the debate and reconstructs how those actors were connected with each other forming a planning policy network. It reveals that the network strategy was not used merely to prevent the project's realisation but, on top of that, to contribute in transforming the governance attitudes in order to be more responsive towards the sustainability issues in the peri-urban area. In conclusion, the chapter stresses aspects of institutional capacity that were inherent in the policy networking: mobilisation, empowerment, and learning.

## **5.2 Towards an institutional approach to networks**

A (social) network can be broadly defined as 'a regular set of contacts or social connections among individuals or groups' (M. Granovetter & Swedberg, 2001, p. 11). With this broad definition, networks, particularly in

sociological economics, may refer to all kinds of social relations (Yeung, 1994). However, this chapter restricts the scope of enquiry to a comparison of their unique characteristics with the characteristics of other major forms of social relations, especially markets and hierarchies.

Powell (1991) identifies these unique characteristics as follows. First, networks emphasise horizontal and decentralised – rather than hierarchical and centralised – social relations as they bring together actors of relatively equivalent role and status. These networks are typified by informal, implicit and reciprocal – instead of transactional (in markets) or employment (in hierarchies) – patterns of communication and exchanges. They promote interdependent – as opposed to independent (in markets) and dependent (in hierarchies) – relationships among actors. Another important feature is that networks imply moderately flexible relationships. These networks produce enduring but rather ‘loose coupling’ relationships. Such relationships preserve the autonomy of connected actors and prevent them from being ‘locked into’ specific rigid relationships (Grabher, 1993a).

By comparison, rational planning literature on social relations has emphasised hierarchical organisational arrangements as a means of reducing transactional costs resulting from the gap between the planning formulation process and the complexity of its implementation (Alexander, 1993). Fundamental shifts of attention in the literature towards network forms of social relations did not appear until the rise of the issue of social and political fragmentation, which increasingly characterises planning in the informational and globalised society (Healey, 1997). From a systemic viewpoint, for example, networks are defined as open, dynamic and self-organising social systems taking the form of sets of interconnected actors with certain communicative codes, values or goals. This form of network is later adopted in communicative planning as a medium of spreading ‘informational power’ in collaborative processes (Booher & Innes, 2002). Yet, this informational perspective on networks still maintains the rationalistic view as it assumes the pre-existence of universal and perfect diversity, interdependence and mutual dialogue among participating actors. These assumptions are hardly evident in the social relations that have been unequally bounded by fragmented socio-cultural and institutional contexts. In short, this idealistic viewpoint hardly takes power as well as institutional/governance dimensions into account in planning practice. For this reason, some scholars have suggested treating networks under more structural theories such as regulation theory, Bourdieu’s theory (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006) and the Latourian approach (Pauline M. McGuirk, 2000). The problem with this approach is, since its analysis tends to be structural

and historical, that it results in descriptive, if not destructive, suggestions, providing very limited opportunities for agency to reconstruct the networks. As an alternative, this chapter argues that new institutionalism in sociology can more effectively address the governance inadequacies that often typify planning processes on the edge of cities in developing and transitional democratic countries.

New institutionalism is a social theory dealing with the cognitive and cultural analyses on the interactive relations between institutions and action (W. W. Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). As emphasised in Chapter 1, institutions are defined as more than just 'visible' structural properties constraining behaviour such as formal bodies, rules, procedures or norms such as the state, constitutional writings and the policy systems. Away from this modern definition, the new institutionalism stresses 'the importance of particular common forms of understanding that are seldom explicitly articulated – classifications, routines, scripts, and other rationalising and rationalised schemas or, in other words, institutional myths' (Amin & Thrift, 1994, p. 12). According to Hall and Taylor (1996), such institutions may also include abstract templates such as social symbols and cultural values and function not just to constraint but to enable, frame and legitimise action. Furthermore, these institutions are not predetermined but socially constructed in daily practices. In fact, there is a mutually constitutive process between institutions (structure) and action (agency) in which the reproduction of institutions influences and is influenced by action (Giddens, 1986).

From this sociological perspective, which was later adopted in regional economics, the institutional dimensions of networks can be explained through the concepts of social capital, embeddedness and/or institutional thickness. First, as a process in the building of social capital, networking may take a considerable social construction effort in the forms of enduring interdependent and reciprocal relationships (Putnam, 1993). Networks do not guarantee that actors attain tangible and short-term objectives but rather provide them with a reputational, taken-for-granted and cultural frame of reference that constrains as well as enables their action. As an alternative explanation, if a firm (or an actor in the broadest sense) is embedded within a network, its action and opportunities are shaped by this social relationship and, thus, its motivation moves away from the narrow pursuit of profit (or other short-term, tangible and material) gains towards the enrichment of this relationship through trust and reciprocity (Uzzi, 1996). In another conceptual understanding, if a given region (or a society) has a 'thick' network form of social relations, there may be high levels of



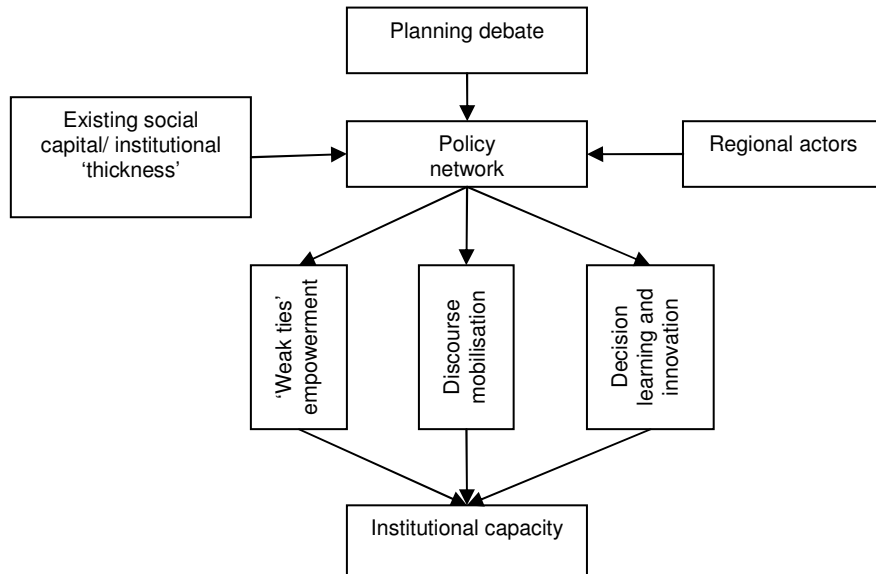
contacts, cooperation and interchanges embodied in shared rules, conventions, and knowledge which serve to constitute a supporting contextual environment for regional development (or social progress) (Amin & Thrift, 1994). In short, these three overlapping concepts lead us towards the perception that networks can be regarded as a form of institution and, accordingly, networking can be seen as an important aspect of institution building.

Networks have the ability not merely to channel shared (informational) power but moreover to function as institutions. As Castell (2003, p. 427) concludes, 'these networks do more than organising activity and sharing information. They are the actual producers, and distributors, of cultural codes', which may construct new institutions. In explaining this argument, transactional and historical institutionalism has focused on the reasons how the existence of such networks may increase the potential costs for opportunist action and manifest past success in collaborative action (Putnam, 1993). Meanwhile, sociological institutionalism, as far as the current study is concerned, moves away from this pre-existent feature and constraining functions of networks towards its reflexive construction and framing functions.

How do the constructed networks transform into those functioning as institutional reference gaining the capacity of framing action? First, Granovetter (1973) describes the unique capacity of these networks through the concept of 'weak ties', referring to ideal open, horizontal, informal network forms of social relations. Weak ties tend to link weak groups of actors rather than strong ones. Different and fragmented strong ties are not linked altogether but bridged through indirect contacts promoted by these weak ties. This contextual richness of weak ties builds a cohesive community thus collaborative action more likely to happen (M. S. Granovetter, 1973). Furthermore, the 'loosely coupled' relationships promoted by networks combine this contextual richness with a degree of flexibility. Both unique features may increase the ability of networks to learn and change (Amin & Thrift, 1994). This learning capacity is required to produce innovative social action. These combined features also facilitate the construction as well as mobilisation of knowledge. It is argued that the knowledge passed through networks is relatively 'freer' than that which flows in formal organisational hierarchies and 'thicker' than that captured through independent external resources (Grabher, 1993b).

Potential application of this new institutional approach to networks in environmental planning and management as the capacity building process is presented as the conceptual framework of the current study (Figure 5.1).

First, network forms of social relations might already exist among actors resulting from a long period of interdependent and reciprocal interactions. When a planning debate is emerging, escalating and extending beyond formal decision-making boundaries, these networks are (re)constructed, activated, coordinated and strengthened by participating actors. Furthermore, the networks channel and mobilise discursive knowledge, empower the role of marginalised actors, and encourage learning and innovation in the decision making. These three aspects result in an enhanced institutional capacity of governance that is more inclusive, adaptive and responsive to the unique challenges of peri-urban change.



**Figure 5.1** A policy network approach to peri-urban capacity building

### 5.3 Dago-Lembang road development proposal

Planning's institutional capacity may be tested and evaluated when episodes of debate between urban growth coalition and environmental advocates emerge. An episode of debate consists of a series of interconnected discussion, conflict and strategy and decision making that embody capacity building potential and that are situated in particular socio-political contexts. As

introduced in 0, a rich history of such episodes can be found in the peri-urban area of NBA. The episode of debate on the Dago-Lembang road development proposal, as an integrated part of the lengthy debate on preserving the ecological functions of NBA, was chosen as the case for this particular study because of the significant role of policy networking in reshaping the formal decision making process.

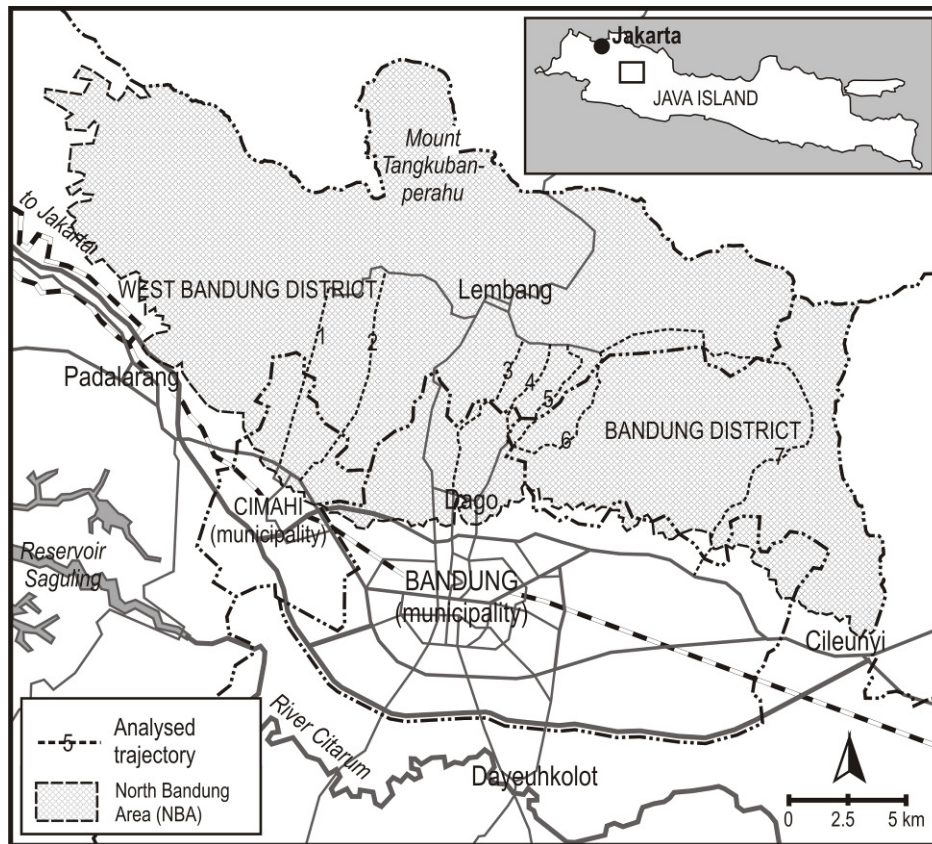
Lembang is a tourist town located at the heart of NBA, 15 kilometers to the north of Bandung City. Currently there is only one major road – Jalan Setiabudi – connecting Lembang and Bandung City. The provincial government has long argued that the capacity of the existing road could no longer meet the transport demand along the Bandung-Lembang corridor. Therefore, an alternative road was frequently suggested by the province in order to solve the traffic jam along the road. The road development idea was also aimed at reducing the fragmented, sporadic and uncontrolled road development by private developers. Furthermore, since Lembang functions as the main tourist destination in BMA, the road development was also expected to further stimulate economic growth and regional development.

Land use along the proposed trajectory was dominated by protected forests with steep elevation, followed by agricultural areas and irregular settlements (*kampongs*). In 2003, around 4,763 families lived along the corridor with 20.74 percent of them categorised as very poor families. Most of them worked in the agricultural and service sectors. Around one-fourth of the working-age groups were unemployed or worked on an irregular basis.

The province's discourse to build the alternative road took shape since 1976. However, it was never realised into a detailed project proposal due to resistance from the environmental society, lack of budget and leadership transitions in the provincial executive and legislative bodies (Hardiansah, 2005). The discourse was revisited in the early 2000s and first proposed formally to the provincial legislative assembly in 2002. Later the government also identified seven possible trajectories for the proposed alternative road (Figure 5.2). Those trajectories were built on the existing networks of local roads. The government wanted to transform one of those networks into a new major/regional road.

In a further attempt, a feasibility study (*Kajian Rencana Pembangunan Jalan Alternatif Bandung-Lembang*, 2002) was prepared by the province's Regional Development Planning Board (*Bappeda*) in direct consultation with LPPM (now LAPI), a business company owned by ITB – a leading research university in the region. The study was aimed at suggesting the most feasible alternative among the seven possible trajectories. Included in the study were environmental, accessibility, regional, social, and cost-benefit

analyses. Based on this technical study, Trajectory 5 (Lembang-Tahura-Dago-Bandung) was selected as the best alternative. It was considered as the shortest route with the least socio-economic costs.



**Figure 5.2** Map showing possible trajectories for the new Dago-Lembang Road

Next, the provincial executive resubmitted the road development proposal to the assembly, to be included in the province's annual budget of 2004. Paralleling this formal procedure, the executive also actively made public statements, conducted information sessions, and held meetings with a number of NGOs and experts. The meeting with NGOs could be seen as an attempt to gain public support and clarify the position of the project within the broader society.

Public reaction to the proposed plan was very strong. It started from outside of this parliamentary arena where a number of environmental NGOs

and academicians pushed the assembly to reject the plan. They accused the road development plan of paving the way for the private developers, whose uncontrolled action might harm the ecological functions of NBA. This project was also considered unnecessary, since the traffic jam along the existing road could be solved by improving traffic management at its critical locations. Their particular opposition to the selected Track 5 was because it would pass through the Great Park of Juanda (*Tahura*), which functions as the region's important buffer zone and wildlife preservation area. Together with the legislative members, planners and journalists, they built an informal policy network and actively constructed and mobilised this counter-discourse through legislative hearings, informal forums, news articles, public speeches, and demonstration.



**Figure 5.3** A middle-income residential area along Dago-Lembang Corridor

#### **5.4 The emergence of environmental policy network**

The current analysis attempts to understand the dynamics of the governance process in the debate on the Dago-Lembang road development proposal. It is focused on exploring the transformative potentials of the environmental policy network in improving planning's institutional capacity. For this reason, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants involved in the debate on the project proposal, comprising government officials, politicians, planners/ academicians, and NGOs. Here the main researcher was not just a passive interviewer but also a close observer of the debate for around half a year, through which he followed relevant

discussions and meetings. The information resulting from the interviews was analysed using standard qualitative analytical techniques and compared with other supporting data such as field observation, official documents, minutes of meetings and articles in recognised newspapers. After situating the actors participating in the planning debate, the analysis further identifies the network forms of relationships among them. It also explains the aspects of institutional capacity of the identified network, represented in mobilisation of discursive knowledge, empowerment of weak ties, and learning in decision making process.

#### **5.4.1 Background of participating actors**

Before analysing the network-building strategy, it is important to know the background of its participating actors. Whilst the actors who promoted the road development project centred on the provincial executive – with potential support from private developers, those who actively opposed the project tended to be more dynamic and spread among different actors. They were affiliated with members of the provincial legislative assembly, environmental NGOs, universities, and the media.

In general, the legislative assemblies in Indonesia function to enact laws and to pass the budget plan, monitor the performance of executive bodies, and accommodate and channel society's aspirations. The authoritarian regime of the New Order era systematically undermined the representative functions of this legislative body. Meanwhile, democratisation euphoria of the reform era tended to exaggerate its authority. Since then, every major planning project proposed by national, provincial or local executives needed to be approved, either legally or politically, by their respective legislative assembly.

The effective provincial legislative assembly during the road development debate was formed after the 1999's National Legislative Election. This first election in the reform era was considered the first democratic election in the nation's history since 1955. The assembly mostly consisted of the parties that won the election. Each party or coalition of (smaller) parties formed a political faction in the assembly. There were five factions formed by the parties. In the beginning, the political factions tended to be divided into those who supported the project proposal (three factions) and those who rejected the proposal (two factions).

In Indonesia, universities, especially big or public research universities, are more than just academic institutions. The universities have major responsibilities in three areas (*tridharma*), which are higher education,

research and social service. Social service is a means through which the universities use their knowledge and experiences, through their business sector and research institutes, to contribute in solving broader societal problems. There were two major (public) universities in the region whose institutes and business sectors were involved in the debate on the road development proposal: ITB and Unpad. They were divided in their position. First, LPPM, the business sector of ITB, served as a private planning consultant for the provincial executive body thus backing up the project. Meanwhile, the Research Institute for the Environment (Lemlit) Unpad and the Urban Planning and Design Laboratory (Rangkot) ITB opposed the project.

In addition to these modern organisations, following democratisation policies of the reform era, NGOs and the media grew dramatically both in number and size and played an increasing influence in Indonesian society. Some environmental NGOs were built on weak idealism and thus pragmatic in their action. In Indonesia, such NGOs are called *plat merah*, implying a relative reliance on government's financial aid and political backing in their operation and thus tended to support every government project. Nevertheless, their number in the region was relatively small because most of the leading environmental NGOs originated from within the society. According to the assembly's research team, among 15 NGOs formally invited to the hearings, only one supported the project. The rest led the resistance. Their self-motivated idealism was built on relatively independent socio-political positions and strong grass-root support.

Finally, the press, considered as the fourth pillar of democracy, was also equally important in shaping public opinion due to its wide audiences and its perceived reputation of neutrality. It was rather difficult, at least based on their news contents, to categorise which newspaper agencies in the region supported the project and which opposed it. This vagueness was partly because maintaining the principle of 'both sides should cover the story' was important for any media in order to survive. Fortunately, each media had a level of subjectivity and was amenable to influence by others. This potential was used by the resistant NGOs to reshape the public opinion.

The preceding paragraphs show that each of these organisations had their own unique and complementary functional strengths in their attempts to thwart the proposal. They also make clear that these organisations tended to be divided in their positions thus not all of their elements proactively opposed the project.

### 5.4.2 *The networking strategy*

In responding to the project proposal, the actors identified in the previous section did not act independently but tended to link with each other through a multi-scale network. The relationships emerging within the network can be divided into intra-, inter-, and extra-organisational relationships. Intra-organisational relationship, for example, characterised the connection between members of the legislative assembly. Meanwhile, inter-organisational relationships predominantly constructed the network of environmental NGOs. At the highest scale, the four different types of actors were bounded by extra-organisational relationships. At this scale, the NGOs tended to act strategically as a *bridge* between the legislative assembly, the research institutes and the press.

Against this network form of relationships, there were formal/hierarchical relationships between the provincial executive and the legislative assembly. Meanwhile, market/professional relationship was likely to occur between the executive and the university's planning consultant (LPPM ITB). From the interviews conducted, there were indications of a potential clientelist relationship between the executive and the private sector, especially private developers. Nevertheless, since the chapter focuses on the role of networking, the last three types of relationships are treated as a context for this study and, thus, not identified further in the analysis. The interactions between these four different types of extra-organisational relationships are presented in Figure 5.4.

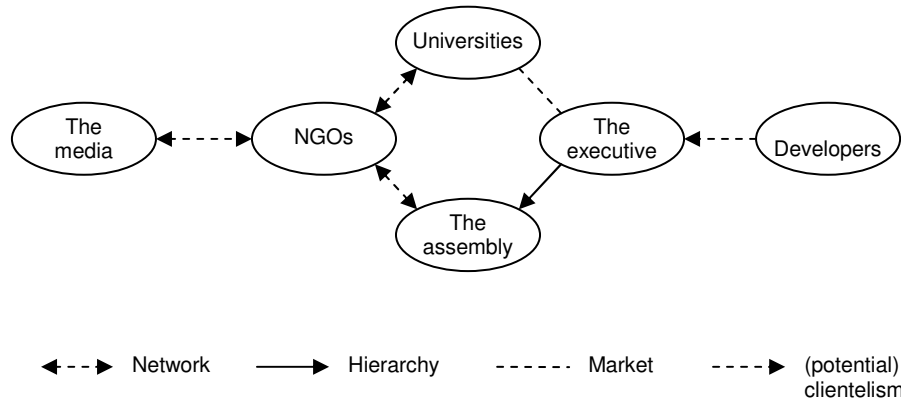
The building of this network was often triggered by conflicts of policy values in the planning debate and evolved as the debate escalated. The network was first initiated in the form of a discursive-coalition between actors (key persons) rather than in the form of formal-hierarchical and contractual cooperation between the organisations to which the actors affiliated to. As one of the NGO's leaders recognised:

‘The relational pattern we developed in the coalition building was not between institutions but was rather by “person-to-person”, between individuals who had the same vision and moved towards the same direction ... I spoke with the persons who concerned, not with their organisations ... because the organisation's policies sometimes didn't in line with the individual's policies’ (Interview 3).

In the legislative assembly, it was not the political factions but their members who actively started relationships with the environmental activists and observers (and not with their affiliated NGOs). The activists also



networked with the academicians and planners (and not necessarily with their universities) and the journalists and editors (and not formally with their agencies).



**Figure 5.4** Dominant extra-organisational relationships in the debate on Dago-Lembang road development planning proposal

As an extension to the formed coalition, the network also attempted to reach a broader range of participants by encouraging more loose coupled relationships. For instant, some NGOs within the coalition continued to keep good contact with other NGOs that had the same understanding but hesitated to proactively join in. This ‘weak’ relationship is indeed considered as a major strength of networks (Grabher, 1993b; M. S. Granovetter, 1973). For example, the head of the experts’ assembly of DPKLTS – a leading environmental NGO in the region – realised that by promoting such informal relationships, more people from different backgrounds could be connected and thus stronger arguments and discourses could be constructed:

‘Initially, we thought of a formal form, but it was not preferable because such a form is rigid ... DPKLTS was created as a loose organisation, without formal ties. We have a very loose experts’ assembly. The movement is never restricted, but they are qualified persons. We succeeded to invite retired research fellows and professors with high qualifications ... All people knew that our database was surprisingly more comprehensive. Therefore, our statements became consideration ... The weakness of ITB’s team was that they appointed only persons who were working on behalf of the project ... they worked very sectoral. During the debate in the province and the assembly, it was very apparent that we reviewed it comprehensively while ITB reviewed it only from civil engineering

perspectives. Therefore, their analysis was backed by the political power but ... we had our own consumers' (Interview 4).

The relationships among the actors opposing the project were not based on pragmatic political bargaining but rather on mutual understanding and reciprocity. Such interdependent relationships, for example, were described by a member of the legislative assembly:

'I didn't need lobbying; I only gave information. Then, they (the NGOs) played it. I was, you know, from the inside. I blew up the issues. They pushed the issues from the outside. We accommodated from the inside' (Interview 2).

There was an exchange of information, ideas and other intangible resources in the network (Table 5.1). This exchange was the result of the complementary strengths between the actors. For example, the members of the legislative assembly continuously provided the activists with data and information about the project. In return, the activists, due to their 'thick' network, provided the former with access to the planners and journalists, and built social pressure. As another example, the activists informed the journalists about newsworthy events to fill the newspaper pages. In return, the journalists reserved some article space for the activists to disseminate their discourse in order to reshape public opinion. In a similar fashion, the planners and academicians supplied the activists with research outputs and, by the same token, the activists offered them access to the events where they could strategically disseminate their research findings. In such a reciprocal type of exchange, as the head of the experts' assembly of DPKLTS stressed, it was not immediate organisational gains that needed to be measured, but rather the attainment of a shared objective of the discourse, which was to prevent the road development project from being realised:

'... The claim issue was not a concern since the most important was the result. Such an understanding must exist. His (a member of the legislative assembly) data was not possible to be publicised if it wasn't connected with the experts, the press and the grass-root society' (Interview 3).

**Table 5.1** Exchange of resources among the actors participating in the debate on Dago-Lembang road development proposal

<b>From:</b>	<b>To:</b>	<b>Environmental activists</b>	<b>Politicians/ decision makers</b>	<b>Academicians/ planners</b>	<b>Journalists</b>
<b>Environmental activists</b>			External pressure	Discussion forums	News events
<b>Politicians/ decision makers</b>		Data, information		Legislative hearings	News events/ topics
<b>Academicians/ planners</b>		Research outputs	Consultation		News topics
<b>Journalists</b>		News/article pages	News pages	Article pages	

In the beginning, the majority of the members of the legislative assembly agreed to include the road development proposal in the 2004 provincial budget plan. The majority of the politicians did not realise the broader consequences of the project proposal until pressure from the network started to build up. Therefore, in the later phases of the decision making process, the politicians gradually rethought their original positions:

‘In the beginning we didn’t know, only relied on the information given by the executive ... The members who previously agreed, in the beginning they did not know and did not understand. They lacked of information and misunderstood’ (Interview 7).

In response to the increasing social resistance, the legislative assembly formed a research team consisting of their leading members. The task of this team was to study the issues, listen to what people were saying and, finally, formulate recommendations for the assembly. The research team was under pressure to come up with its findings because the elected legislative assembly was approaching the end of its five-year administration in 2004.

The exchange of ideas and information within the network fuelled the operation of the assembly’s research team. The results threw more light and persuaded the politicians to change their decisions:

‘... after we recognised our misinformation, we conducted research in different committees. Was it true that the road development would reduce the traffic jam? Apparently not! Construction of a new stretch of road was also considered

inessential – given the fact that the old road, although was not large enough, still functioned. Then, after we conducted a fieldwork, we found that the project would further confront with the provincial land use plan, which stated that 45 percent of the area should be maintained as conservation areas ... Further impacts would be that, for example, it would attract the people and private developers to construct new buildings on the roadside’ (Interview 7).

## **5.5 Discussion and conclusion**

Peri-urban environmental planning and management in NBA has focused on managing urban growth impacted by global neo-liberalism on the one hand and protecting the quality of the environment, regional sustainability and local cultural values on the other. These two conflicting issues require the building of institutional capacity to transform governance styles to be more integrated, flexible, inclusive and transparent. The case presented in this chapter provides an example of how policy networking might contribute to the building of such capacity.

The analysis of this chapter first identifies the construction of an environmental policy network in opposing the Dago-Lembang road development planning proposal in NBA. The building of this resistance was part of broader attempts to promote the quality of the environment and sustainable growth in the peri-urban area. The policy network was constructed from social relationships that emerged from within and, more importantly, among committed politicians, environmental activists, academicians, planners, and journalists. They interacted with each other on the basis of shared discursive policy objective of preventing the project’s realisation. The network type of relationships can be seen in the aspects of complementary strength, informal, horizontal and loose coupled communication, and reciprocal forms of exchange.

Three major aspects of institutional capacity result from the strategy of policy networking in the case study. First, the network was used as an effective ‘infrastructure’ through which the discourse of preserving the ecological functions of NBA was reproduced. The richness of ideas and information flowing through the network strengthened the reconstruction of this discursive knowledge. The extensive arenas produced by the network also facilitated the mobilisation of this discourse. As a result, the discourse did not only frame the acts of the resistance but reshaped the opinions of other actors and the wider society and increased their awareness of the broader consequences of the road development. By connecting network with discourse, the close relation between this chapter and the next one becomes apparent (0).

In addition, it was also through the network form of relationship that the vulnerable ties between non-governmental actors and environmental advocates gained their influence in the formal decision-making process, which initially tended to be steered by the pro-growth coalition. The strength of this loose and dynamic relationship lay in its ability to reach a wider range of actors and audiences.

Another important aspect was the network's inherently embodied innovative potential because learning, adaptation and change in the decision making process were promoted. The provincial bureaucrats and politicians would have found it difficult to change their position of supporting the road development project if they were not pushed by the alternative discourse and supplied with new ideas and information generated by the network.

Taken together, all these three aspects of capacity building contributed to the improvement of governance attitudes thus becoming more sensitive and responsive towards the issues of sustainability and the quality of the environment on the edge. Such a capacity could affect not only the achievement of short-term and narrow political objective of preventing the project's realisation but the future of the peri-urban areas and the region as a whole in the longer term and in a more comprehensive sense.



## **Chapter 6 Discourse formation and institutional capacity: a study on fringe transformation and environmental conflicts in Indonesia<sup>5</sup>**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Before entering the reform era of 1998, Indonesian planning practices have been framed by top-down norms and standards, which were often detached from the local contextual milieu. This situation drastically changed following the commencement of the reform era, engendering democratisation and decentralisation in urban policy and governance processes. As a result of this fundamental change, the reproduction of planning ideas seems to be more pluralistic, dynamic and discursive. For an industrialising country such as Indonesia, this political progress can be an innovative as well as challenging context for planning, particularly in remotely governed places with a lack of governance capacity such as the urban fringe around big cities situated within fast-growing metropolitan regions (Hudalah, et al., 2007).

In such places, the reproduction of planning ideas tends to be contested, reflecting the contrasting tension of urban growth vs. environmental protection; local economic development vs. regional sustainability; and private partnerships vs. public control. It can be seen, for example, in the case of Puncut, an urban fringe in the northern part of Bandung City, where the planning debate has centred on whether to transform it into residential and recreational areas or to revitalise its ecological function as part of the region's main water catchment area.

Past studies suggest that discourse formation, as situated, argumentative and persuasive process of reproduction of planning ideas, can be a powerful strategy in the contest of challenging existing governance styles and attitudes (Healey, 1999; Rydin, 1999; Throgmorton, 1992; Vigar, et al.,

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<sup>5</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was presented at *the 23<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP): Why Can't the Future be More Like the Past?*, 15-19 July 2009, Liverpool, UK (Hudalah & Woltjer, 2009).

2000). However, these studies were mainly conducted within the context of established political systems of industrialised countries. Its evidence in developing and transitional countries still appears as a topical aspect of collaborative practices (Atao"v & Kahraman, 2008; Usavagovitwong & Posriprasert, 2006). This chapter argues that the Indonesia's transition to a more democratic political system and neo-liberal economy implies the need for more coherent studies on the theoretical and methodological consequences of discourse formation in planning.

In order to make discourse works better in the planning of fragmented and remotely governed places, such as Punclut fringe area, the current chapter focuses on the institutional capacity that discourses can build. Healey (1998, p. 1541) argues that discourses function as a knowledge resource for 'building an institutional capacity focused on enhancing the ability of place-focused stakeholders to improve their power to "make a difference" to qualities of their place'. If discourses can be that important in planning, how are they constructed in the daily practice of planning? How does their reproduction contribute to the improvement of governance capacity in peri-urban areas? As an alternative perspective to the discussion on policy network in 0, this chapter attempts to identify the roles and functions of discourse formation as a strategy for managing conflicts and building institutional capacity, referring to the improvement of governance ability to promote social legitimacy of planning action on the fringe.

For this purpose, the chapter first outlines the notions of discourses and their approaches and applications in urban and planning studies. It contends that new institutionalism can strengthen the normative foundations as well as contextual intelligence of discourses from which capacity building potential can be better explored. Following the overview of land development, planning and governance contexts in Indonesia in general and NBA in particular (0, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), this chapter provides the narrative of the planning debate on urban development and environmental protection in Punclut, to illustrate how the concept of discourse approach to capacity building may work in practice. Preceded by a note on analytical methods, the analytical section deconstructs two main competing discourses in the case study as reproduced by different networks of planning communities from different social settings: the 'garden house' discourse and the 'water catchment' discourse. The section further situates the discourses in broader socio-cultural contexts. Particularly, the analyses examine the extent to which discourse formation might enhance the institutional capacity for innovative planning action on the urban fringe. The conclusion of this chapter suggests that discourse formation may contribute to the



building of more conducive governance consciousness by facilitating the interlinking of planning ideas with their socio-cultural contexts, promoting marginalised issues into formal planning agendas, and cementing fragmented social networks.

## 6.2 Discourse, new institutionalism and planning

In the last decades, discourse analysis and theory has influenced the development of post-positivist urban planning theory. First, discourses can be seen as a *descriptive* analytical approach to explain the influences of power and social structures on planning (Richardson, 2002). Besides, discourses have been utilised as a *normative* strategy for communicative planning (Healey, 1997). Enhancing the latter idea, this chapter develops on the institutional dimensions of discourses; on how discourses connect planning ideas to their social contexts (Vigar, et al., 2000). As such, discourses may influence a planning process by framing the ways in which agendas are set, issues are defined, problems are understood and possible solutions are delimited (Rydin, 1999).

Discourse can be defined as sets of ideas and concepts that are reproduced in daily processes of a policy practice (Hajer, 1995). It is constituted by sets of arguments, myths, metaphors or phrases, which are transformed into more acceptable forms of policy language. Discourses play a role in giving meaning to the complex interactions of material and social realities. Nevertheless, the accurate relation between discourses and realities is still contested. From postmodern approaches, discourses or language structures in general, are perceived to represent, and thus to be inseparable from, the realities themselves (Richardson, 2002). The approaches are influenced by Foucault (1971, 1978) who views power as the pervasive aspect of societal reality whose exercise is represented through discourse. Alternatively, discourses can be perceived normatively as a communicative strategy of using and manipulating realities to promote particular agendas. Extending the latter idea, discourses are regarded rather as a medium for making sense of the invisible structures of the realities (Vigar, et al., 2000).

Bridging the divide between material and social realities, discourse theory corresponds with new institutionalism, a social theory dealing with the cognitive and cultural analysis on the interactive relations between institutions and action (W. W. Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). As emphasised in Chapter 1, institutions are defined as more than just 'visible' structural properties constraining behaviour such as formal bodies, rules, procedures or norms such as the state, constitutional writings and the policy systems.

Away from this modern definition, institutions may also include abstract templates such as routines, social symbols and cultural values that function not just to constrain but to enable, frame and legitimise action (Hall & Taylor, 1996). According to new institutionalism, such institutions are not predetermined but socially constructed in daily practices. In fact, there is a mutually constitutive process between institutions (structure) and action (agency) in which the reproduction of institutions influences and is influenced by action (Giddens, 1986).

Discourse is an alternative approach through which we can comprehend how new institutionalism works in practice. Discourses essentially have institutional dimensions, implying not just substantial knowledge but institutional structure containing internal rules that frame action (Hajer, 1995). The meanings that discourses carry are also more than just linguistic structures, which are often static and uncontextualised. Discourses also contain social framework creating conditions for our thought, communication and even action (Richardson, 2002; Vigar, et al., 2000).

The most essential concept of discourse approach for policy practices is probably discourse formation or 'doing discourse', referring to the borrowing, adaptation, transformation and/or reproduction of discourse by particular policy communities for particular policy audiences situated in particular institutional contexts. It can be a reflective, and not linear, process and, according to Hajer (1995), it takes place at several levels of institutionalisation. In the first level, sets of ideas, which are grounded in particular social relations, are structured into coherent story-lines. Following this structuring process, the story-lines are communicated, merged, and consolidated by networks of policy communities so they become embedded within daily policy practices.

The adoption of discourse formation in planning and urban studies has followed two major approaches (Lees, 2004). The first approach is based on Foucault's works, which explains that discourse production is a process of selection through the mechanisms of societal exclusion, prohibition and constraint (Foucault, 1971). Following this, in planning practice, discourses are seen as an unintended phenomenon, mainly reproduced as consequences of constant political struggle for urban spaces (Richardson & Jensen, 2003). Such discourses function to provide constraining conditions for planning practice.

Using the Foucauldian approach, Richardson (2002) shows that discourses can explain the political context for planning process. It is based on the assumptions that planning is situated within a complex discursive environment in which the relation between discourse, power, and knowledge

is highly apparent (Flyvbjerg, 1998). It is argued that 'language, and how it is reproduced in different places, is of critical importance in shaping events in the world, and certain languages can reinforce power structures' (Richardson, 2002, p. 353). By using this perception, planning is seen as 'an arena of constant struggle over meanings and values in society, played out in day-to-day micro level practices of planning' in which discourse is 'an element of both critical analysis and reflexive practice in planning' (Richardson, 2002, p. 353).

The adoption of Foucauldian approach into planning entails several weaknesses. As Richardson (2002) stresses, only the wider institutional environment can reproduce and control discourses through systematic exclusion of creating prohibitions, taboos and rationality attributes. The approach leaves almost no room for a planning agency to play a pro-active role in the process of discourse formation. Besides, since discourse is seen as an explanatory mechanism, this approach, as Richardson (2002) observes, cannot provide any prescriptive dimension for planning action. Further critiques are the results of the inherent limitations of Foucauldian approaches, including their oppressiveness, relational power neglect and demystification of the meaning of rationality (Rydin, 2003).

As an alternative, communicative approach argue that discourses can be proactively reproduced by policy communities as a purposive strategy for promoting planning agendas (Healey, 1997). Further development of this approach tends to perceive planning discourses as a result of complex interactions between groups of policy communities, as discourses reproducers, and their institutional contexts (Healey, 1999; Rydin, 2003).

Drawing on communicative approaches, Throgmorton (1992) introduced discourses in the form of narratives about the future that can be used by planners to persuade actors' attention on the proposed ideas. Healey (1997, 1998) and Innes & Booher (1999) also frequently point out that argumentative practices in general and discourse formation in particular are an essential aspect of collaborative planning. Here discourses are considered purposive, argumentative and persuasive systems of meaning embedded in strategies for action. Discourses are produced proactively by groups of planning communities around planning issues through communicative actions.

Giving more emphasis on the potential of action, the communicative approaches, and thus their purposive discursive approach, are considered to provide a limited account on the roles of institutional settings as reflected in the state, the economy and relational power (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; McGuirk, 2001; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1999). To overcome this

limitation, Rydin (1999) proposes that discourses need to be better linked contingently into the wider institutional structure in which they are situated. As such, discourses, constituted by linguistic as well as broader social resources, can bridge the structure-agency duality. Incorporating new institutionalism, here Rydin (2003) tries to create a balanced position where discourses are seen as structurally constrained as well as purposively constructed institutional software. Discourses tend to be perceived as an emergent social phenomenon, whose reproduction is contingent, incomplete and engaged with complex governance contexts (Healey, 2007a).

In the light of new institutionalism, discourses have the ability to translate ideas and concepts that are acceptable in the policy realm into linguistic and, furthermore, broader socio-cultural structures. Doing discourse formation, we actually use, engage with as well as reshape those structures in order to reconstruct the frame of reference for socially legitimate planning action. As Vigar *et al* (2000, p. 223) argues:

‘Policy discourses provide a language of representation – of space and place, of local environments, of sociospatial arrangements and policy processes – which can provide powerful images with a capacity to convince, to disseminate widely and become key "referents" in subsequent policy debate ... Where power was distributed among diverse agencies and loci of legitimacy, the capacity to persuade became a key quality of effective urban and regional policies’.

The ultimate goal of discourse formation, as an important aspect of institutional capacity building, is thus not merely imposing a planning proposal but contributing to the transformation of governance attitudes that hinder socially innovative ideas and action, which tend to come from outside formal processes (Healey, 2007a; Rydin, 1999).

In order to open up innovative, hidden and marginalised issues, Rydin (1999) suggests that institutional discourses need to be inclusively managed and positively ‘manipulated’. Discourse management helps to identify potential common sense as the basis for action. It also can transform unnecessary conflicts into consensual images as a precondition for socially legitimate action. In addition to bringing formally invisible issues to the table, well-managed discourses also can fold fragmented practices into stronger coalitions (Rydin, 2003). Such institutional potential of discourse formation are assessed empirically in this chapter by reflecting on an Indonesian case study of planning on the edge.

### 6.3 The integrated development planning of Punclut

Planning's institutional capacity may be tested and evaluated when episodes of debate between urban growth coalition and environmental advocates emerge. An episode of debate consists of a series of interconnected discussion, conflict and strategy and decision making that embody capacity-building potential and are situated in particular socio-political contexts. As introduced in 0, a rich history of such episodes can be found in the peri-urban area of NBA. The episode of debate on the integrated development planning of Punclut, as part of the lengthy debate on preserving the ecological functions of NBA, was chosen as the case for this particular analysis in which discourse formation play a significant role in reshaping the formal decision making process. The episode peaked around 2004-2005, marked by the municipality's proposal of a controversial development planning project on the fringe, followed by a revision of the municipal land use plan.

Punclut is an urban fringe divided by two different local administrations: West Bandung District (582 hectares) and Bandung Municipality (268 hectares) (see Figure 6.1). Since the 1980s, the fringe has transformed into one of Bandung City's important recreation parks and tourist attractions. Punclut, which in Sundanese literally means 'peak', has been associated with a hill and its lower surroundings located around 10 kilometres to the north of the city centre of Bandung. During the late colonial era of 1940s, the area mainly functioned as a tea plantation owned by a Dutch company.

Following the nationalisation of Dutch assets in the early independence era, the land tenure and the future orientation of Punclut became uncertain. The tea plantation was gradually replaced by scattered *kampongs* (informal/irregular settlements) and agricultural fields on which shifting cultivation was carried out. Most of the local people have lived for generations in these kampongs and their population was almost 12,000 in 2000 (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004). Many are poor and mostly work on an irregular basis as construction workers and farmers.

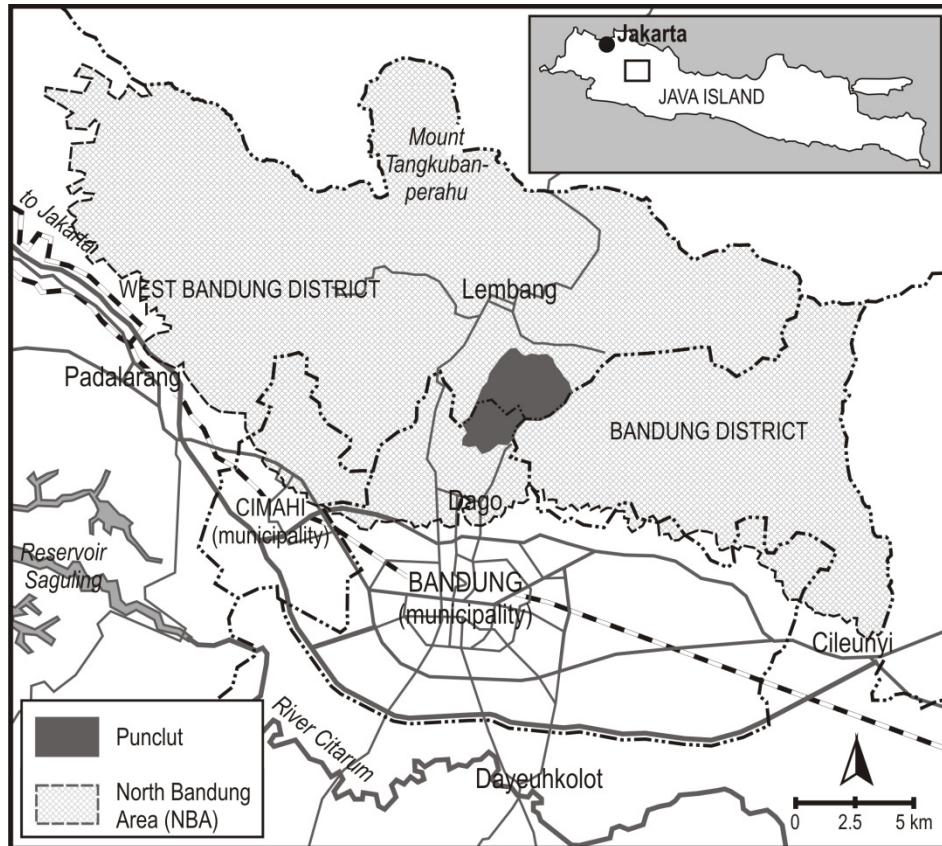


Figure 6.1 Location of Punclut

In addition to the uncontrolled squatting and *kampongs*, as a result of the 1990s property boom in Indonesia, more than 40 percent of the land under Bandung Municipality has long been reserved by at least three private residential developers and only fractions of this land has been developed. The municipal executive (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004) argued that the unexecuted land development permits had largely contributed to the increase in erosion, sedimentation and air temperature, the deepening of the groundwater level, and the decrease in vegetation. Therefore, in 2004, the executive proposed a land development planning project aiming at increasing the economic potential of Punclut as a residential and agri-tourism area while, at the same time, revitalising its ecological function as a buffer zone for the city. This integrated project

consisted of physical planning, land consolidation and certification, and greening, complete with monitoring and control measures.

According to the planning report (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004), two main urban development concepts motivated the project. The first was land consolidation and certification of the scattered *kampongs*, which provided the existing indigenous people a legal basis to cultivate the land. The concept was expected to increase the people's sense of belonging' to the land thus assuring the sustainability of the greening programme. The most important concept was integrated tourism development, which tried to combine the agri-tourism and ecological functions with residential development. The latter was a strategy to accommodate the execution of the private residential development proposals. The concept adopted the developers' idea of 'garden houses' (*rumah kebun*), implying low-density houses (with at maximum of 20 percent building coverage ratio) surrounded by vegetation (*Studi AMDAL Rencana Pembangunan Kawasan Wisata dan Hunian Terpadu Punclut Kota Bandung: Analisis Dampak Lingkungan (ANDAL)*, 2005).



**Figure 6.2** A scattered *kampung* (left) and 'garden house' under construction (right) in Punclut

From the beginning, the project was considered controversial by major environmental NGOs, experts and planners in the region. It was argued that the project's concept of promoting active partnership with private housing developers had undermined the earlier government commitments to promote community participation. It was also inconsistent with the local land use plan (*Municipal law no. 2 concerning the land use plan of Bandung Municipality*, 2004), which designated the area as a green area. Most importantly, the project ignored the governor's decrees and the provincial

land use plan that banned any new residential land development in NBA, as the region's main water catchment area.

The resistance increased when the developers started to build the main road connecting Punclut and existing road networks. In fact, in the face of growing public awareness of the project's controversy, the municipal executive proposed to revise a one-year-old local land use plan, allowing the lengthy debate to reach its peak. The revision process was deemed to be dominated by political bargaining and the result provided a more durable legitimacy for the ongoing development process on the fringe.

Since Law No. 25 of 1999 on Regional Fiscal Balancing, municipalities/districts have been conditioned to increase their reliance on local revenue in executing their governmental functions (*Law No. 25 on Regional Fiscal Balancing*, 1999). In practice, the political pressure to increase local revenue often undermined peri-urban environmental and sustainability issues, since their impacts were less apparent at the local level or could not be easily 'localised'. Therefore, regardless of the strong resistance from both inside and outside the local parliamentary arena, the urban development project in Punclut was finally approved, although with some limitations and preconditions.

#### 6.4 Discourse and institutional analyses

The methods for analysing discourses used in the current study tend to depart from formal discourse analysis, which mainly relies on policy documents in reconstructing discourses. It is argued that, as most of the ideas that constitute planning discourses are hidden from policy documents, such textual discourse analysis cannot adequately represent the practice of planning (Richardson & Jensen, 2003; Searle, 2004). Therefore, the current chapter combines discourse and institutional analyses, whose task is, as Vigar *et al* (2000, p. 224) suggest, 'to locate policies in the social relations of their production and consumption, and to "deconstruct" them to identify their meanings, power and potential consequences in these contexts'. The latter approach shifts from merely formal textual analysis towards the analysis of the dynamics of governance practice around the formulation of those formal texts. The analysis concerns 'the ways meanings are made, used, conveyed, disseminated and translated in the context of the institutional relations which generate the interactive work expressed in the discourses' (Healey, 1999, p. 28).

The analysis first attempts to recognise the discursive debate around the development planning project in Punclut and the revision of local land use



plan that followed. For this purpose, discourses are deconstructed into three analytical levels: (1) linguistic representation; (2) story-lines; and (3) discourse-coalitions. The linguistic level identifies the ideas, concepts and arguments of different respondents (and/or their organisations) and how they were interconnected with each other. On the basis of this 'linguistic' interconnection, the story-lines are identified. These story-lines evolved and were reconstructed by different policy communities, constituted by those respondents. According to Hajer (1995, p. 62), story-lines are defined as 'narratives on social reality through which elements from many different domains are combined and that provide actors with a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding'. Through story-lines, knowledge is clustered, actors are positioned, and, furthermore, coalitions among the actors in given settings are created and maintained. Finally, the analysis identifies how those story-lines reinforced, supported each other and were coordinated and consolidated thus becoming coherent discourse-coalitions that carried referential power for action. Discourse-coalitions refer to the ensembles of sets of these story-lines and the actors who reproduce them and the settings in which this discourse reproduction are based (Hajer, 1995).

The main operational method for deconstructing discourses is by interpreting the transcripts of interviews and group discussions with key informants who were directly affiliated or concerned with the project, including government officials, politicians, planners, researchers, NGOs and local leaders. As input for the analysis, the respondents were asked about the planning ideas they advocated, their development and mobilisation, and the ways those ideas were adopted or rejected during formal planning discussions and hearings.

Furthermore, the analysis explains the extent to which the practice of discourse formation in the case study has been used as a strategy for building of institutional capacity, referring to the improvement of social legitimacy for innovative planning action on the urban fringe. In line with Giddens' structuration theory, this institutional analysis identifies the extent to which metaphors or phrases, as discourses' surface that forms argumentative styles and practices, have engaged with broader socio-cultural references, as deeper and more stable institutional structure framing action (Healey, 1999). The latter may include path dependence, local and national culture, modes of governance, and social capital (Healey, 2007a). For this purpose, the respondents were encouraged to elaborate further on the fundamental, ideological, and contextual origins of their ideas and the extent to which this situatedness had reinforced their capacity to influence the formal decision-

making processes. Further elaboration of the analytical methods for this chapter is provided in 0.

## **6.5 Discourse formation around the urban development project on the fringe**

### **6.5.1 *The 'garden house' discourse***

Punclut entered the wider public debate from the early 1990s onward because land development permits were issued for the locations that were earlier designated by the regional and local land use plans as protected water catchment area. However, the local planning discussions in response to these legal violations were not started until 2003, when large sections of the land had been reserved by the residential developers. More surprisingly, it was not the issuance of the permits themselves that was formally discussed but rather how to arrive at a compromise in the local land use plan. According to the municipal executive, which was later reinforced by major factions within the municipal legislative assembly, the former land use plan was considered too idealistic and detached from reality as it was 'less rational and less dynamic compared to the city's inherent development potential and the acceleration of economic and physical growth of the city' (Interview 15).

The executive promoted a 'planning is development' story-line in which it was not the development that should conform to the plan but the plan itself that should be adaptable to urban land market demands. Given the limited local public budget impacted by the 1999 fiscal decentralisation policy, both the executive and the political factions argued that the plan inevitably had to facilitate private investments around the city. Consequently, minimised, flexible and adaptive rules in the plan were required in order to accommodate the increasing roles of private parties in urban development. These neo-liberal arguments provided the basis for the revision of the one-year-old land use plan, which later became an important legal justification for boosting the 'garden houses' project in Punclut.

In response to the claim that the project might violate major land use plans and regulations, the municipal executive invited geologists to carry out a study. The latter's conclusion was that Punclut was unsuitable as a water conservation area. Since the rocks beneath its soils are volcanic breccias, the water only infiltrates to a certain depth and then flows downhill instead of staying in the rocks. Nevertheless, as a hill, Punclut still functions as a buffer zone for the lowlands. If there is a landslide on the hill, it will impact on the lowlands. Therefore, the executive suggested keeping Punclut as a protected

area but with some possibilities for urban development, such as garden houses

In line with the geologists' analysis, the local people observed that 'Punclut did not retain the flow of water but passed its course downhill' (Interview 22). While many experts blamed the hill for causing floods and drought in the lowlands, the local people countered by saying that, actually, those who really run out of clean water were not the lowlanders but they themselves who had to obtain their supply from the districts far away. From the local people's perspective, the poverty issue on the urban fringe had long been neglected by municipal planning policies. As the result, there were no legal land tenure, asphalt roads, basic schools and healthcare facilities, and running clean water, all the amenities that were enjoyed by the people in the city proper. Therefore, they developed a story-line that 'the fringe was marginalised'.

The local people supported their argument with the land tenure history. According to the history, from the beginning, Punclut was designated by the Dutch not as a protected forest but as a residential area for the former tea plantation workers, most of whom have become the local residents:

'For us, green means beautiful. We also want Punclut to become a green area but, please remember that, becoming green doesn't mean forest, because we are not orang-utans, ... because for almost 60 years I live in Punclut, never has Punclut been a forest' (Interview 22).

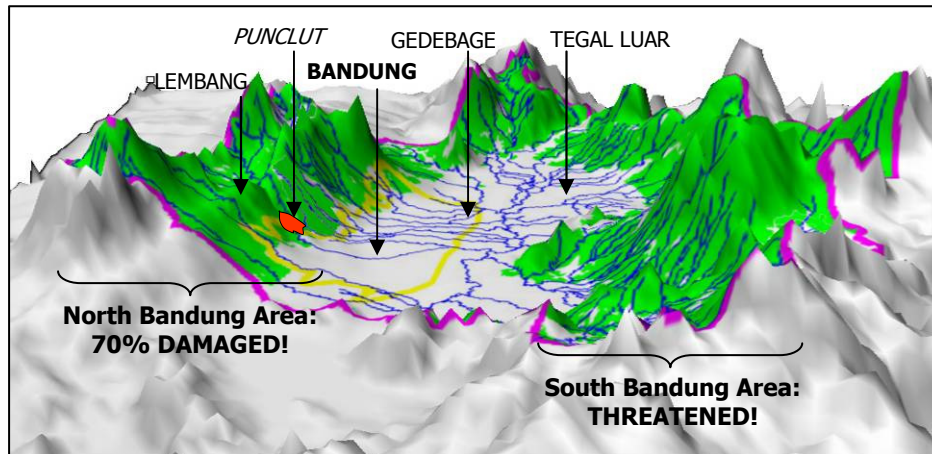
Supporting the 'garden houses' project, the locals expected their story-line to be adopted by the government for the first time:

'They (the NGOs) said the people of Punclut would only become the spectators. I said yes we could only see because there are housing estates ... beyond what these people can earn. But as long as we are allowed to see, we cannot leave the land, meaning we are not thrown out of the land' (Interview 22).

This statement implied that the local people also recognised that they would finally be alienated because they were pawns used by the developers and the municipal elites merely as a 'political tool' to show that there was indeed public support for the realisation of the 'garden houses' project.

### 6.5.2 The 'water catchment' discourse

From the viewpoint of environmental experts and activists, improving the green character of Punclut was crucial for the function of the Bandung Great Basin as a water catchment area. The decrease in density of plants and trees, as a consequence of the residential development project, might increase floods in the city and the lowlands. That became evident when the project started. Massive run-off down the hill caused floods on the city's main riverbanks, which had never overflowed before.



**Figure 6.3** Punclut, NBA and the Great Bandung Basin

*This three dimensional map was prepared by the environmental advocates to illustrate the critical ecological position of Punclut and NBA for Bandung Metropolitan Area (Source: Suranto, 2008)*

To the urban environmental advocates, due to its scale and geographical proximity to the city, Punclut had become the emblem of planning performance on the fringes around the northern part the city. As such, what happened in Punclut would determine the fate of the rest of the fringes. They predicted that if the developer was allowed to continue the development in Punclut, others elsewhere and farther from the city would follow. Therefore, regardless of the fact that the land tenure was still uncertain, the fringe should be saved ecologically. According to this story-line, whatever the consequence, the fringe should become 'green first'. Later, its socio-economic function as a tourism area could follow. Finally, the fringe could be improved socio-culturally by encouraging participation and providing the local people a better legal status upon the occupied land.

This environmental story-line was strengthened by the minority faction within the legislative assembly. The political faction proposed Puncut as an integral part of NBA, in order to promote the sustainability of the region. Since the upland is shared by three other municipalities and districts, Bandung Municipality alone could not make the decision about the fringe's transformation but it had to cooperate with the neighbouring municipality and districts. As a specific reply to the executive's proposal, the minority faction commented that urban development planning should be integrated and comprehensive, and not just to promote the economy. Urban development is justified but it should be based on the vision of improving the quality of the environment. Their story-line suggested that if the *environment* is improved *first*, unnecessary costs such as pollution, floods and drought will be avoided. As the result, prosperity, which is the main goal of urban development, will indirectly increase in a longer-term perspective.

These arguments were reinforced by the urban planners and academicians' story-line that considered it essential to 'keep Puncut green' in the local land use plan in order to avoid uncontrolled urban development, which might harm the function of water catchment. In opposing the land use plan's revision, they advocated that the plan by law could not be misused merely to justify the issued land development permits. Instead, it should be able to anticipate the trends of urban development in the future and provide the interested and participating stakeholders legal certainty. The anticipatory function of the plan becomes more crucial on the urban fringe because it is more remote from public monitoring and control compared to other parts of the city.

### ***6.5.3 Exploring the capacity building potential of the water catchment discourse***

Since the scientific arguments had been undermined by the project's proponents, the environmental NGOs also developed their arguments based on local templates. For instance, DPKLTS were aware that forests hold deep meaning in Sundanese culture. They argued:

'The Great Bandung Region, the Sundanese Lands, and thus the provincial territory would progress if their forests were kept in a good condition. Forest is not to be perceived literally, but as *leuweung*, which contains not only economic resources but also socio-cultural, spiritual and other entities. Many scientists defined forest as simply as "timber plantation", whose value was in fact only 5 percent of *leuweung*' (Interview 4).

Furthermore, they reconstructed the meaning of green space based on this Sundanese cultural conception of *leuweung*. According to this conception:

‘... the height of a mountain or hill is divided into three parts. The highest one-third belongs to nature. It is called *leuweung tutupan* (forbidden forest). It is the place where clouds are tied to and where it rains. In the middle one-third, which is called *leuweung titipan* (entrusted forest), there is the living environment. Here the plants and animals should not be disturbed. Its basis is biodiversity. In the lowest one-third, which is called *leuweung baladan* (mutual forest), the humans have the right to cultivate and develop the land. Here is the land for the dry agricultural fields and settlements. So, in this Sundanese concept, never has the top of a mountain or hill been transformed into urban settlements’ (Interview 4).

Although the ‘water catchment’ discourse-coalition was unable to force the status quo at the local level to reconsider their ‘garden house’ discourse-coalition, the extended planning debate had pushed the province to show their proactive commitment to preserve NBA, considered as the region’s main water catchment area suffering from declining environmental quality. As a result, land use control legislation for the upland was drafted by involving those who were concerned with the environmental quality around Punclut. At the local level, urban environmental sustainability was also increasingly becoming an important item on the political agenda. Learning from the failure of preventing the project’s realisation, the environment was used by a powerful candidate for the new mayor’s post as his major theme during the election campaign.

In addition, the tough and lengthy debate around the project has fuelled the evolution of a network of non-governmental organisations concerned with the city’s environmental quality. Established by leading local environmental NGOs, in the beginning, the network was named GALIB (*Gerakan Aktivistis Lingkungan Bandung* or Bandung Environmental Activists’ Movement). Its formation in 2001 was triggered by an earlier ‘garden houses’ project proposal in Punclut. The network actively disseminated and mobilised the ‘water catchment’ discourse through research publication, mass media opinion, lobbying, and demonstration against the ongoing land development on the fringe. As the planning debate escalated, which was marked by the municipal executive’s development project proposal and the local land use plan’s revision in 2004-2005, the network enlarged and was

latter named KMBB (*Komite Masyarakat Bandung 'Bermartabat'*<sup>6</sup> or the Committee for 'Bermartabat' Bandung Society).

The planning debate on the project's controversy had substantially transformed GALIB as a network of environmental scientists, observers and activists into KMBB as a network of wider urban communities that was concerned with broader and longer-term impacts of the city's environmental quality. The interesting point was that many of the communities which actively advocated the urban environment actually came from outside the environmental NGOs, including the disabled, traditional merchants, labourers, the urban poor, cultural observers and artists:

'They (the *non*-environmentalists) started to be interested in the project since they looked at the fringe in a holistic, comprehensive way. What was the relation between the project and the disabled? It was related to their health' (Interview 13).

As another example, the cultural observers worried about the loss of local cultural values and an increase in socio-economic and spatial segregation following the development of exclusive middle-class housing estates in the fringe.

## 6.6 Discussion and conclusion

The tension between environmental improvement and urban development issues has become a major challenge for planning on the edge of Bandung City. This chapter shows that the interaction between the two important issues can be explained by using discourse and institutional approaches. In the case of the local planning project in Punclut, the 'garden house' discourse-coalition, glued by 'planning is development' and 'the fringe is marginalised' story-lines, was effectively used by the municipal executive and their allies to justify their predefined planning and development proposals. Nevertheless, this interests-driven discourse tended to be coercive, manipulative and its reproduction seemed to be linear, not reflexive thus hardly contributing to the improvement of institutional capacity on the edge. It could merely result in pseudo-connection with a broader socio-cultural reference and produce a fragile, unsustainable coalition, as

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<sup>6</sup> 'Bermartabat' is an acronym for *Bersih, Makmur, Taat dan Bersahabat* (clean, prosper, obedient and friendly). It was used by a Bandung mayor as a popular slogan for the city's vision in the 2004-2008 administration term.

illustrated by the pragmatic-opportunistic relationship between the municipal government/the developers and the local people.

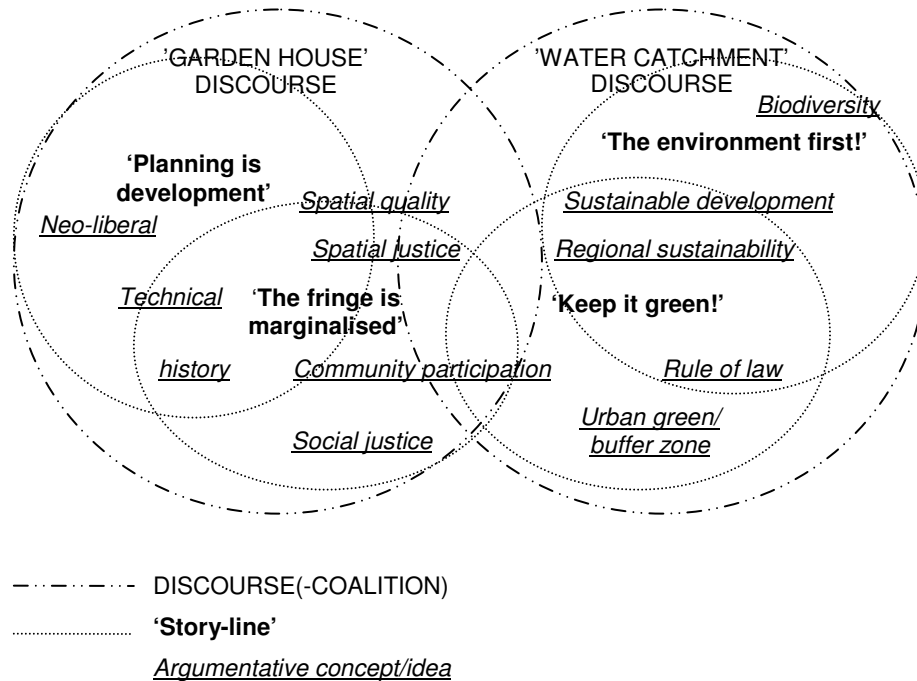


Figure 6.4 Dominant discourses in the integrated planning of Punclut

Meanwhile, in challenging this status quo's discourse, the 'water catchment' discourse-coalition, fastened by 'the environment (and green) first' and 'keep it green' story-lines – although it was unable to resolve immediately the main conflict at the local level, might better contribute to the improvement of the institutional capacity for innovative planning on the edge. This capacity developed in at least three aspects. First, it was initiated by linking emerging argumentative ideas into structuring socio-cultural reference, such as the Sundanese forest conception of *leuweung*, in an interactive way. Compared to formal scientific arguments, such culturally-embedded arguments were considered socially more acceptable as they connected to the basic morals that framed the daily practices of the grass-root audiences. As the environmentalists commented, when it comes to acute urban environmental conflicts, 'societies are not saved by science but by its (socio-cultural) wisdom' (Interview 4).



Besides, the 'water catchment' discourse-coalition attempted to bring environmental issues into perspective in formal planning processes. While these issues tended to be neglected in formal municipal policy formulations, the discourse contributed to the building of local political awareness, which could be seen during the mayoral election campaign, and stimulated the need for more comprehensive action at the regional scale, as shown in the drafting of provincial legislation for controlling spatial transformation in NBA. This attractive capacity of discourse might weaken the perception that discourses are an exclusive reproduction of knowledge (Richardson, 2002).

Finally, the 'water catchment' discourse-coalition also provided an innovative reasoning for wider marginalised actors to join in and reinforce the complex network of environment-concerned communities. This relational building can be seen obviously in the evolution of GALIB/KMBB. This mobilising capacity of discourse might undermine the claim that discursive attack on the status quo tends to be reactive and, thus, fragmented and powerless (Ockwell & Rydin, 2006). In short, these three functional aspects of discourse to a large extent confirm Healey's 'institutional work' of discourse: justificatory, persuasive and coordinative functions respectively (Healey, 1999).



## Chapter 7 Planning by opportunity: An analysis of peri-urban environmental conflicts in Indonesia<sup>7</sup>

### 7.1 Introduction

Attention to the notion of opportunity is currently emerging in research on urban and regional planning and management. Building on the policy window framework developed by Kingdon (1984), Buitelaar et al (2007) illustrate that the interplays between institutional evolution (unintended transformation) and institutional design (intended institutional set-up) created moments of opportunity for the establishment of city-provinces and land policy change in the Netherlands. Another study conducted in England shows that the exploitation of the political opportunity structure, such as the changing planning system, accounts for different results of planning reform proposals (Cowell & Owens, 2006). Taking this into consideration, Newman (2008) and Albrechts (2004) suggest strategic spatial planning – which has so far influenced European planning theory and practice – to pay more serious attention to this political factor in order to gain more success in practice.

The studies cited tend to emphasise the external factors of opportunities, looking at them as temporal resources and socio-political contexts that shape strategies and chances for collective action. Both rational-historical analysis in Kingdon's approach and the structural analysis of political opportunity treat opportunities as a 'passive' element in collective action. As such, little attention has been given to the constructive potential of opportunities, pointing to symbiotic interaction between structure (institution) and agency (action). Meanwhile, Healey (1997, 2007b) suggests that the capacity to read and explore moments of opportunity may function as one of the critical

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<sup>7</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was presented at *the International Conference on Urban & Regional Planning to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of Planning Education in Indonesia: Positioning Planning in the Global Crises (PPGC)*, Bandung, Indonesia, 12-13 November 2009 (Hudalah, Winarso, Woltjer, & Linden, 2009a).

resources for effective institution building in a complex urban political and institutional context, which is obvious in the planning of peri-urban areas (Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). Clearly we need to know more about the interactive, constructive dimension of opportunity and its institutional capacity, referring to its ability to contribute to transforming governance practices and consciousness hindering collaborative planning action.

The strategy of ‘making’ opportunity might be crucial for environmental planners in Indonesia in order to improve the institutional capacity for managing peri-urban change. For example in the North Bandung Area (NBA) or *Kawasan Bandung Utara* (KBU), many policy instruments and regulations have been frequently designed by governments in order to harmonise urban growth and the protection of the eco-regional functions of the peri-urban area as the main water catchment area for Bandung City and its hinterlands. However, governance attitudes towards consistently implementing agreed planning frameworks did not improve appreciably until committed policy communities, both inside and outside the governments, linked with each other to exploit political opportunities triggered by debates on infrastructure and urban development projects affecting the future of the peri-urban environment.

The chapter explores the constructive dimension of opportunities. An emphasis is given to the active role of actors in seizing, prolonging and extending opportunities by means of available knowledge and relational resources, especially discourse and policy network. The objective of this chapter is to understand the potential of opportunity as a strategic aspect of institutional capacity. This conceptual understanding is applied in the field of peri-urban environmental planning conflicts, with particular reference to Indonesia. How did planners and other participating actors construct opportunities and use them as an innovative strategy in dealing with environmental conflicts and in protecting the peri-urban environment? How did the practice of “constructing” opportunities contribute to the building of institutional capacity in peri-urban area?

The basic arguments for this study are influenced by the concepts of political opportunity structure in social movement theory and policy windows in public policy theory. These concepts are framed by the sociological institutionalism, resulting in a conceptual framework emphasising the constructed dimensions of opportunity and its capacity-building potential. Based on the contextual picture of peri-urbanisation, planning and governance in Indonesia in general and in NBA in particular (0, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), the method of institutional analysis is briefly introduced and then employed in two embedded cases of debate on peri-

urban environmental planning in NBA: the Dago-Lembang corridor and Puncut fringe area. This analysis can support the discussion about network and discourse approaches in 0 and 0 respectively. The case study analysis aims to apply the conceptual framework, which explains how opportunities are constructed and how they contribute to the enhancement of planning's institutional capacity. Finally, a concluding section provides the main findings and further remarks.

## **7.2 Political opportunity structure and Kingdon's policy window**

The concept of opportunity has been developed in at least two disciplines: social movement and public policy. First, in social movement theory, opportunity concerns the relationship between a group that acts collectively and the contextual environment around it (Tilly, 1978). It generally refers to constraints, possibilities, and threats originating outside the group, but affecting its chances for successful collective action (Koopmans, 1999).

The theoretical development of opportunity as a social movement approach has largely concentrated on the concept of political opportunity structure. Tarrow (1994, p. 18) defines this structure as 'consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national – dimensions of the political environment which either encourage or discourage people from using collective action'. The main resources of opportunity are the state's political system, political allies and political elites. Tarrow (1994) argues that opportunity for state-wide protests, lobbying or other forms of social movements in a particular country appears if the state's system changes, influential allies shift or arise, or elites conflict with each other.

The concept of political opportunity structure has been used to explain the surge and decline of various civil rights movements, the peace, environmental and feminist movements, and national revolutions in modern history all over the world (Tarrow, 1994). This structural approach has also been used for cross-national comparisons of mobilisation patterns, strategies and impacts of anti-nuclear movements (Kitschelt, 1986) and ecological, solidarity and peace movements (Kriesi, 1992) in Western Europe.

Political opportunity structure has been able to provide historical explanation on how opportunities evolve and shape collective action. Nonetheless, it can be criticised for focusing on the political aspect as the main resource of opportunity whereas social movement and other forms of collective action may also be influenced by economic, cultural and other broader societal aspects. Although the concept provides a powerful approach for geographical comparisons, it is less helpful in explaining variations over

time (Koopmans, 1999). Meanwhile, it is argued that changing structures within a place are more important to open the gates of opportunity than the static differences between different places (Tarrow, 1996).

The dynamics of opportunity can be better observed by using Kingdon's policy window framework. Applying the bounded rationality of the garbage can model (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972), Kingdon's framework introduces the logic of time as a unique and scarce resource for promoting policy changes. The framework was originally used to explain the evolution of health and transportation policies in the federal government of the United States (Kingdon, 1984). The strength of this framework lies in its ability to explain how policy agendas and alternatives are chosen under conditions of ambiguity by assuming a temporal order in which the adoption of specific policy alternatives is dependent on when policies are made (Zahariadis, 1999).

Central to Kingdon's idea is the role of multiple streams and coupling (Zahariadis, 1999). There are three separate streams flowing through policy systems: problems, policies, and politics. Each stream is relatively independent of the other with its own dynamics and rules. Policy windows function as moments of opportunity for policy entrepreneurs to couple all the three streams together (Kingdon, 1984). The windows are opened by dramatic changes in problem and/or political streams, for instance, disasters, crises, policy implementation feedbacks, swings in national mood, elections, changes of administration and pressures from interest groups. The coupling can dramatically enhance the chances for the proposals flowing in the policy stream to receive serious attention from policymakers.

In comparison, the political opportunity structure sharpens the meaning of geographical variations as a relatively stable context for social movement whereas the policy window stresses the unique role of time as a dynamic resource in the policy process. Both approaches emphasise opportunities as spatial and temporal resources external to actors, namely, contextual factors working beyond the control of participating actors. The approaches currently may be helpful in explaining how and when critical situations come about, but they cannot sufficiently suggest how actors can make, prolong or extend them (Gamson, 1996; Koopmans, 1999).

Furthermore, applying the political opportunity structure approach directly to environmental planning conflicts might be problematic. First, the problems are not as structured or as radical as that in most social movements but they are more dynamic and flexible. Moments of opportunities in environmental planning conflicts are also more complex than policy windows because the three streams cannot be simply restricted and isolated but are

evolving and interlinked with each other. In addition, capacity building in environmental planning entails not just pursuing short-term common political interests or policy proposals but also contributing to gradual transformation of governance practices and consciousness.

### 7.3 Towards a new institutional approach to opportunity

In order to provide more room for actors and to further solve the planning application problem identified in the preceding, this chapter considers an integration of the two existing approaches with the sociological institutionalism. This type of new institutionalism refers to the sociological theory dealing with the cognitive and cultural analysis on the interactive relations between institutions and action (W. W. Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

In this approach, as emphasised in Chapter 1, institutions include not just 'visible' structural properties constraining behaviour such as organisational bodies, rules, procedures or norms such as constitutional writings and political and policy systems. Away from this formal definition, emphasis is rather given to those institutions including abstract templates such as routines, local knowledge, social symbols and cultural values that function not just to constrain but to enable, frame and legitimise action (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Furthermore, such institutions are not necessarily predetermined but socially constructed in daily practices. There is a mutually constitutive process between institutions (structure) and action (agency) in which the reproduction of institutions influences and is influenced by action (Giddens, 1986).

The sociological institutional thinking has increasingly influenced the theoretical development of the political opportunity structure and the policy windows. It is suggested that the policy windows do not just constrain but guide and give meaning to action (Zahariadis, 1999). Furthermore, the opportunities may provide an interactive link between structure and agency (Koopmans, 1999). They are not necessarily passive and structured since people actively construct them. In fact, according to Gamson (1996, p. 276), opportunities are contestable, vulnerable, often representing 'a locus of potential struggle, not a leaden reality to which we all must inevitably yield'. This thinking implies that the concept of opportunity should shift its attention from comparative and state-centred analysis towards dynamic and agency-centred analysis.

Such thinking implies that the concept of opportunity should shift its attention from comparative and state-centred analysis toward dynamic and agency-centred analysis. It is not the opportunities *per se* but the actors who

'do the work' (Lowndes, 2005). Opportunities need to be framed and mobilised in order to be able to function as an effective resource for institution building (Gamson, 1996). The historical, political and structural dimension of opportunity needs to be linked with discursive, cultural, and relational resources that are more embedded in the daily life of participating actors (Koopmans, 1999). In Tarrow's typology of the political opportunity structure, this variant might be close to 'group-specific opportunities', focusing on how specific groups mobilise and extend their knowledge and relational resources by linking them with emerging opportunities that shift over time (Tarrow, 1996).

Based on these theoretical arguments, the conceptual framework for this chapter combines the political opportunity structure and the policy window framework under the umbrella of the sociological institutionalism (Figure 7.1). It particularly attempts to retain the strengths of spatial and temporal contextual factors provided by the two established approaches. These external factors are represented by structure of opportunity and moment of opportunity respectively. The former represents relatively consistent, stable factors such as national political system and domestic political culture whereas the latter refers to dynamic, less predictable, emerging factors such as catastrophic events and opponents' decision and action.

In addition to these contextual factors, knowledge and relational resources are treated as key factors internal to actors that play a proactive role in exploring, capturing, and translating the external factors into powerful opportunities. Furthermore, the performance of constructing opportunities can be assessed by its contribution in improving peri-urban institutional capacity. This capacity can be seen in three major aspects: mobilisation of knowledge (discourse) and relational (network) resources, empowerment of weak entities and focusing of key actors' attention.

Related studies have shown us that the collective process of constructing structures and moments of opportunity carries several aspects of peri-urban institutional capacity building. The first aspect can be seen in how, in collective action, opportunities co-evolve with mobilisation of knowledge and relational resources. First, opportunities trigger an innovative mobilisation of these resources. As Healey (1997) argues, moments of opportunity represent a crack in power relations or a situation of contradiction and conflict. Such critical situations encourage people to recognise that they need to work with different people (to build relational capacity) and to evolve different arguments (to build knowledge capacity). On the other hand, mobilisation of discourses and organisational networks builds new strategies and influences others to respond or participate thus expanding groups'



opportunities (Tarrow, 1996). While the structures and moments of opportunities play as the external factor, in our framework, the knowledge and relational resources are treated as key factors internal to actors that play a proactive role in exploring, capturing, and translating the external factors into powerful opportunities.

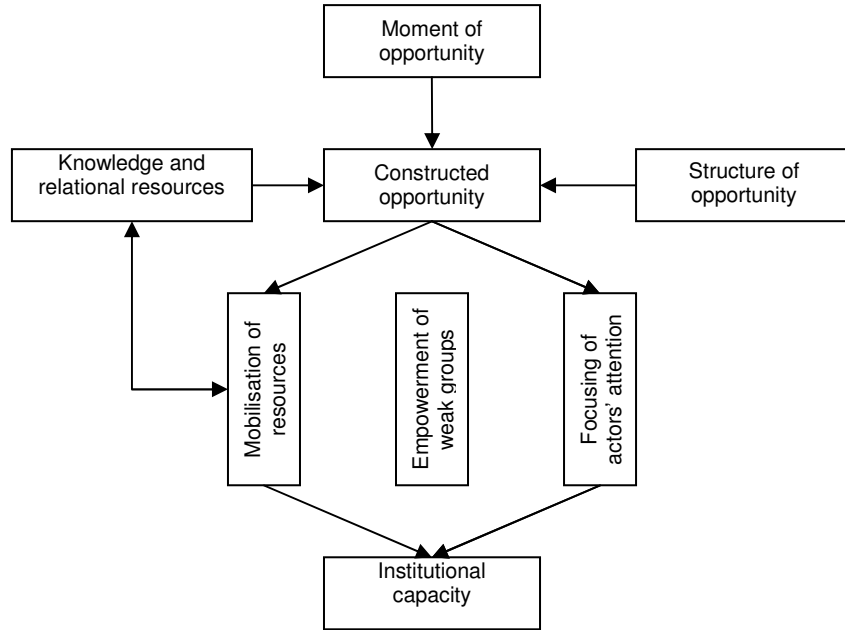


Figure 7.1 An opportunity approach to institutional capacity building

As another aspect of capacity building, opportunities also imply more institutional space and fewer constraints thus empowering structurally weak and disorganised groups to participate (Gamson, 1996). The emergence of opportunities opens the possibility for the resource-poor entities to better contribute in institution building.

Finally, the constructed opportunities help establish priority (Kingdon, 1984) and raise actors' awareness on particular policy issues. In this respect, opportunities act as an 'attractor' that focuses actors' attention on the issues in the conflicts.

#### **7.4 Institutional analysis**

The institutional capacity for peri-urban planning and governance may be tested and evaluated when episodes of debate between urban growth coalition and environmental advocates emerge. An episode of debate is a series of interconnected discussion, conflict and strategy and decision making that embody capacity-building potential and are situated in particular socio-political contexts. A rich history of these episodes can be found in the peri-urban area of NBA. As Healey (2007b) argues, the rise of these episodes is often triggered by moments of opportunity, or the ‘crack’ in power relations. For this reason, the case study analyses are based on two such moments of opportunity: (1) the Dago-Lembang road development proposal and (2) integrated plan of Punclut.

In both embedded study cases, the institutional analytical approach is used to understand the dynamics of governance processes and to recognise their transformative potential. According to Healey (2007a), this methodological approach may follow several analytical levels of structuration and power: specific episodes, mobilisation, cultural embeddedness and wider contextual processes. We are interested here in analysing the interactive dimensions of opportunity, i.e. understanding how actors proactively construct opportunities. Therefore, the analyses will focus on the mobilisation level where open and inclusive knowledge and relational resources play a significant role in promoting the capacity-building process. Their main task is to track the process of constructing opportunities and its potential contribution to the building of institutional capacity for managing peri-urban environmental change in NBA.

For the main data collection, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants in both episodes of debate, comprising government officials, politicians, NGOs, experts and planners. Here the main researcher played the role of not just a passive interviewer but also a close observer of the debate for around half year, in which he followed relevant discussions and meetings. The information resulting from the interviews was analysed using standard qualitative analytical techniques and compared with other supporting data such as field observation, official documents, minutes of meetings and articles in recognised regional newspapers. Further details about the data collection and analytical methods are provided in 0.

## 7.5 The case of Dago-Lembang corridor

### 7.5.1 *Dago-Lembang road development proposal*

Lembang is a tourist town located at the heart of NBA, 15 kilometres to the north of Bandung City. Currently there is only one major road – Jalan Setiabudi – connecting Lembang and Bandung City. The provincial government has long argued that the capacity of the existing road was unable to meet the transport demand along the Bandung-Lembang corridor. Therefore, an alternative road was frequently suggested by the province in order to solve the traffic jams along the road. The road development idea was also aimed at reducing the fragmented, sporadic and uncontrolled road development by private developers. Furthermore, since Lembang functions as the main tourist destination in BMA, the road development was also expected to further stimulate economic growth and regional development.

The province's discourse to build the alternative road began since 1976. However, it was never realised into a detailed project proposal due to resistance from the environmental society, lack of budget and leadership transitions in the provincial executive and legislative bodies (Hardiansah, 2005). The discourse was revisited in the early 2000s and the first formal proposal was delivered to the provincial legislative assembly in 2002. Later the government also identified seven possible trajectories for the proposed alternative road. Those trajectories made use of the existing networks of local roads. The government wanted to transform one of those networks into a new major/regional road.

In a further attempt, a feasibility study (*Kajian Rencana Pembangunan Jalan Alternatif Bandung-Lembang*, 2002) was prepared by the province's Regional Development Planning Board (*Bappeda*) in direct consultation with LPPM, a business company owned by ITB – a leading research university in the region. The study was aimed at suggesting the most feasible alternative among the seven possible trajectories. Included in the study were environmental, accessibility, regional, social, and cost-benefit analyses. Based on this technical study, Trajectory 5 (Lembang-Tahura-Dago-Bandung) was selected as the best alternative. It was considered as the shortest route with the least socio-economic costs.

Subsequently, the provincial executive resubmitted the road development proposal to the assembly, to be included in the province's annual budget of 2004. Paralleling with this formal procedure, the executive also actively made public statements, conducted information session, and held meetings with a number of NGOs and experts. These informal sessions

and meetings were an attempt to gain public support and clarify the position of the project within the broader society.

### ***7.5.2 Exploring moment of opportunity, political structure and capacity building potential***

Following the executive's moves, public debate as a response to the proposed plan expanded rapidly. This provided a moment of opportunity, as introduced in Figure 7.1, for actors opposing the project proposal to create societal awareness on more fundamental issues, including the preservation of the ecological functions of NBA and the improvement of planning's institutional capacity.

The exploration of moments of opportunity started from outside the parliamentary arenas where major environmental NGOs built counter discourse and lobbied the assembly to object the plan:

'Actually lobbying was not in terms of calling for support but the opportunity to speak up ... Actually all people knew precisely which ones were right or wrong. The difficult thing was to create interactive and continuous dialogue that constructed new comprehensive understanding. That was what we did' (Interview 4).

First they deemed the project unnecessary, since the traffic jams along the existing road could be solved by better traffic management along the corridor's critical points. Furthermore, they accused the road development plan of facilitating the private developers, whose uncontrolled action might worsen floods in the city and harm the ecological function of NBA as the region's main water catchment area. Their particular opposition to the selected Trajectory 5 was because it would pass through the Great Park of Juanda (Tahura), a major buffer zone and wildlife preservation in the region.

In line with the NGOs' position, the environmental experts and planners placed more attention on the lack of institutional support for implementing environmental planning frameworks in NBA. It was exacerbated by the gap between the government's plan and society's aspirations that had characterised governance practices in the region. The gap was evident in this debate where the government maintained its focus on the expected economic impact of the road development while parts of society were concerned with the long-term ecological functions of NBA. To the experts and planners, the controversy surrounding the project served as a crucial moment of opportunity to bridge this persistent gap by building better communication and connection channels with the government and NGOs.

The legislative assembly and its members claimed they were not involved from the beginning of the preparation of the annual budget plan. Their involvement only started after the draft was ready. They were not well informed about the wider consequences of the project on the environment until the debate outside the parliamentary arena escalated. The escalation helped the politicians to realise that they were misinformed. It provided a moment of opportunity for them to push for more inclusiveness and transparency from the early stages of planning and decision-making process.

**Table 7.1** Key actors and their motivations in the debate on Dago-Lembang road development planning proposal

<b>Key actor</b>	<b>Motivation directing the moment of opportunity</b>
<i>Project supporters</i>	
Provincial government	Regional economic development
Developers	Transport accessibility
<i>Project opponents</i>	
Environmental NGOs	Environmental conservation, sustainable development
Experts and planners	Linkage between government's proposal and society's aspirations
Opposition political leaders	Transparent and inclusive planning process

In response to the increasing resistance within society, as a standard procedure, the legislative assembly formed a research team, consisting of a proportional number of representatives of existing political factions. The task of the ad hoc team was to study the issues around the project, assess public sentiments and, finally, formulate recommendations for the assembly. Due to this strategic task, the formation of the research team functioned as a major political opportunity structure for NGOs and experts to reshape opinions of the politicians and society at large and to gather sufficient support to reject the road development project.

Another important opportunity structure was the role of opposition factions in the legislative assembly. As part of political reality, not all of the politicians actually backed the executive proposal. In fact, several legislative members and their political factions in the research team were genuinely concerned about sustainable development, thus helping the resistance groups to closely influence other members and factions from within the team:

‘... they (members of the legislative assembly) also concerned – for those who really concerned with sustainable development. However, since parts of the legislative members supported the investors and others, the most important thing for us was how to use the opportunity. For us, the opportunity was due to that they didn’t have mass power ... I objected, I gave arguments ... resulting from research’ (Interview 5).

The politicians’ concern might have also been strengthened by the national legislative and presidential election following that year. If they kept supporting the project proposal, they would potentially be judged as an ‘enemy’ of the environment and sustainable development, which might lead towards their loss in the next election. In addition to the freedom of speech and an independent press system resulting from the democratic transition of the post-Soeharto era, the peri-urban environmental discourse was also facilitated by the assembly’s protocol that provided the opportunity for relevant environmental activists and experts to speak up in legislative hearings.

**Table 7.2** Political opportunity structure for rejecting the Dago-Lembang road development planning proposal

<b>Political structure</b>	<b>Opportunity</b>
Formation of ad hoc research team	Reshaping assembly’s political position supported by rational investigation
Political factions	Expanding policy network into the legislative assembly
Legislative hearings	Reshaping politicians’ opinions and their political positions
Freedom of speech and independent press	Constructing and reshaping the opinion of society at large
National election	Focusing politicians’ attention

The capability to use and expand such moments and opportunity structure was crucial in thwarting the project proposal. For instance, as a strategy of directing the research team, the environmental activists, experts and politicians linked with each other, building a policy network through which they exchanged information, constructed ideas and mobilised discourses (see also 0). They disseminated their opinions through the research team’s members, legislative hearings, informal forums, news articles, public speeches, as well as demonstration. The network promoted interactive and continuous dialogue with different actors and organisations in order to construct new comprehensive understanding about the project proposal and

the environmental planning of NBA. As a result, the research team found that the executive's proposal entailed more negative impacts than positive ones. Based on these findings, the assembly recommended not following up the project proposal.

Referring to the three aspects of capacity building potential shown in Figure 7.1, it can be argued that the debate on the road development proposal contributed to the empowerment of environmental activists, experts and planners, as the weak actors in the formal decision making process, and the mobilisation of policy network as an innovative relational resource for capacity building. In addition, it also can be argued that the debate helped to increase the decision makers' attention on environmental issues affecting the sustainability of NBA.

Prior to the road development debate, the government paid little attention to peri-urban environmental issues, which could be reflected in its annual budget plans. During the early processes of designing and legalising the budget plans, the road development project and other urban development projects were among top priority. The environmental policy network stressed that the maintenance of such pro-growth policy attitude might threaten the sustainability of the peri-urban and regional physical environment in the long term. Yet, the policy makers and politicians did not seriously take into consideration this new perspective until the debate expanded and escalated. Since then, the pro-growth discourse was gradually marginalised by the peri-urban environmental discourse. This discursive shift provided an opportunity for other politicians to change their perspective and join in the emerging policy network. Finally, protecting the peri-urban environment became the priority among the politicians in the research team, leading towards the assembly's political statement that it would reject the proposal which was followed by the executive's decision to call off the project.

## **7.6 The case of Punclut fringe area**

### ***7.6.1 Integrated Development Planning of Punclut***

Punclut is an urban fringe divided by two different local administrations: West Bandung District (582 hectares) and Bandung Municipality (268 hectares). Since the 1980s, the fringe has transformed into one of the city's important recreation parks and tourist attractions. Punclut, which in Sundanese literally means 'peak', has been associated with a hill and its lower surroundings located around 10 kilometres to the north of the city

centre of Bandung. During the late colonial era of the 1940s, the area mainly functioned as a tea plantation owned by a Dutch company.

Following the nationalisation of Dutch assets in the early independence era, the land tenure and the future orientation of Punclut became uncertain. The tea plantation was gradually replaced by scattered *kampongs* (informal/irregular settlements) and agricultural fields on which crop rotation was carried out. Most of the local people had lived for generations in these *kampongs* and their population was almost 12,000 in 2000 (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004). Many are poor and mostly work on an irregular basis as construction workers and farmers.

In addition to the uncontrolled squatting and *kampongs*, as a result of the 1990s property boom in Indonesia, more than 40 percent of the land under Bandung Municipality has long been reserved by at least three private residential developers. Yet, only a portion of this land has been developed. The municipal executive (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004) argued that the unexecuted land development permits had largely contributed to the increase in erosion, sedimentation and air temperature, the deepening of the groundwater level, and the decrease in vegetation. Therefore, in 2004, the executive proposed a land development planning project aiming at increasing the economic potential of Punclut as a residential and agri-tourism area while, at the same time, revitalising its ecological function as a buffer zone for the city. This integrated project consisted of physical planning, land consolidation and certification, and greening, complete with monitoring and control measures.

According to the planning report (*Laporan Hasil Kerja Tim Koordinasi Penyelamatan dan Revitalisasi Kawasan Punclut (Kep. Walikota Bandung No. 593/Kep.522-Huk/2004)*, 2004), two main urban development concepts propelled that project. The first was land consolidation and certification of the scattered *kampongs*, which provided the existing indigenous people a legal basis to cultivate the land. The concept was expected to increase the people's 'sense of belonging' to the land thus assuring the sustainability of the greening programme. The most important concept was integrated tourism development, which tried to combine the agri-tourism and ecological functions with residential development. The latter was a strategy to accommodate the execution of the private residential development proposals. The concept adopted the developers' idea of 'garden-houses' (*rumah kebun*), implying low-density houses (with at maximum of 20 percent building coverage ratio) surrounded by vegetation (*Studi AMDAL Rencana*



*Pembangunan Kawasan Wisata dan Hunian Terpadu Punclut Kota Bandung: Analisis Dampak Lingkungan (ANDAL)*, 2005).

From the beginning, the project was considered controversial by major environmental NGOs, experts and planners in the region. It was argued the project's concept of promoting active partnership with private housing developers had deviated from earlier government commitments of promoting community participation. It was also inconsistent with the local land use plan (*Municipal law no. 2 concerning the land use plan of Bandung Municipality*, 2004), which designated the area as a green area. Most importantly, the project ignored the governor's decrees and the provincial land use plan that banned any new residential land development in NBA, as the region's main water catchment area.

The resistance increased when the developers started to build the main road connecting Punclut and existing road networks. In fact, in the face of growing public awareness on the project's controversy, the municipal executive proposed to revise a one-year-old local land use plan, allowing the lengthy debate to reach its peak. The revision process was deemed to be dominated by political bargaining and the result provided a more durable legitimacy for the ongoing development process on the fringe.

#### ***7.6.2 Exploring moment of opportunity, political structure and capacity building potential***

The project controversy provided moments of opportunity for the environmental activists and experts, politicians and planners to improve the institutional capacity for peri-urban environmental planning in NBA. The exploration of moments of opportunity was exercised at both the local as well as regional levels.

First, Bandung Municipality has been criticised for its lack of policy commitment on the provision of green space. With the proportion of green space of less than 5 percent, the loss of any portion carried considerable implications. Particularly Punclut's role was considered very important since it was the largest area of green space located near the city. For these reasons, the debate on urban transformation in Punclut was used by the environmental advocates, including the opposition faction in the municipal legislative assembly and wider urban communities, as a moment of opportunity to endorse green policies on the edge of the city. The role of green space on the edge was perceived to be critical in order to improve the quality of urban life by reducing the impact of air pollution and stabilising the micro climate. It might also provide some measure of security from

natural disaster (especially floods) and promote sustainable urban development.

**Table 7.3** Key actors and their motivations in the debate on the Integrated Development Planning of Punclut

<b>Key actor</b>	<b>Motivation directing the moment of opportunity</b>
<i>Project's supporters</i>	
Local government	Urban economic development, local revenue
Developers	Legal justification, public support
Local people	Improved basic services and urban infrastructure
<i>Project's opponents</i>	
Environmental NGOs	Environmental conservation, quality of life
Experts and planners	Linkage between technical planning process and political process, consistent planning implementation
Local opposition leaders	Sustainable urban development, rule of law
Provincial government	Inter-local coordination, regional sustainability

Furthermore, to the environmental activists and experts, Punclut had a unique position as the only green part of NBA located within the municipality's jurisdiction<sup>8</sup>. As such, to the environmental advocates, the quality of the environment around Punclut served as the last frontier, symbolising the performance of environmental planning in NBA as a whole. A member of opposition factions in the legislative assembly emphasised:

'One of our fortresses was Punclut. If it is broken through, the northern part of Ujung Berung and other Bandung's upper land will also be broken through, because other developers will follow' (Interview 14).

<sup>8</sup> In Indonesia, local governments are divided into municipal governments and district governments. Municipal government (*pemerintah kota*) refers to urban government, thus, in general, having a better institutional capacity in managing urbanisation than district government (*pemerintah kabupaten*), which refers to rural governments.

This meant that the failure to restrain urban transformation in Punclut would become a precedent for other developers to transform other parts of NBA located farther from the city or in districts into new urban functions. With the unique position of Punclut, the debate was used as a moment of opportunity by the advocates to improve environmental planning's performance in NBA.

In mobilising the moments of opportunity, the environmental NGOs, experts, and planners formed a policy coalition framed by a water catchment discourse. The discourse was built on arguments linked to scientific knowledge as well as local-cultural templates such as *leuweung* – the Sundanese cultural concept of green space. The arguments attempted to raise the awareness of society, policy makers and politicians about the critical condition of the environment and green space in Punclut. Based on these arguments, the 'green' story-line and 'environment' story-line were constructed to rediscover the meaning of prosperity and quality of life by revitalising the ecological functions of Punclut and NBA as a whole. Through research dissemination, public speeches, social networks and press releases, the broad objectives of the story-lines attracted wider communities which had no direct interest in the environment, including the disabled, traditional merchants, labourers, the urban poor, cultural observers and artists, to join in with the coalition.

Throughout the debate, several political opportunity structures were exercised by the environmental advocates. A modest one could be found in the system of local legislative assembly, which allowed the existence of opposition faction. The existing opposition faction actively pushed the adoption of peri-urban environmental issues onto local policy agendas. The democratic societal system of the reform era, which recognised the freedom of speech and an independent press system, also provided the opportunity for the environmental advocates to expand the water catchment discourse in order to reach wider audiences.

Apart from these nationwide political factors, a major opportunity structure was also inherent within the local political system, especially through direct mayoral election. The debate on urban development in Punclut had increased not only the environmental advocates' aggressive moves but also local opposition leaders' and people's awareness. It was apparent that following the assembly's approval of the local spatial plan revision, environmental and sustainability issues increasingly influenced the popular political arena. As an illustration, for the first time, environmental improvement and sustainable urban development had been adopted as the

main theme in the political campaign by one of two nominated candidates for the post of mayor:

‘We proposed Trendy (the candidate) as part of the efforts. The portion of environment was 50% because it implied long-term impacts. If the environment is improved and the traffic jam is reduced, the long-term prosperity will indirectly increase’ (Interview 14).

**Table 7.4** Political opportunity structures for rejecting the Integrated Development Planning of Punclut

<b>Political structure</b>	<b>Opportunity</b>
Political factions	Pushing peri-urban environmental issues onto local policy agendas
Freedom of speech and independent press	Expanding the water catchment discourse to wider audiences
Direct mayoral election	Bringing peri-urban environmental issues into local political agenda
Provincial government tier	Framing peri-urban environmental planning and management at the regional level

A crucial political opportunity structure for building peri-urban institutional capacity was also practised at the provincial level. Punclut is administratively divided and managed by several local governments whereas environmental planning of NBA is clearly a regional (inter-local) issue. Therefore, with the non-existence of effective regional institutions, coordination of local environmental policies in NBA became an undisputable domain of the province<sup>9</sup>. In this respect, the case of Punclut helped the province to refocus its policy attention on the environmental planning of NBA. In doing so, the environmental activists and experts pushed the province to enact a law on spatial development control in order to enforce the implementation of governor’s decrees, studies and plans on NBA. It was remarkable that the environmental advocates, whose arguments were considered weak at the local level, were finally heard and involved actively from the beginning of the formulation of the provincial law. The law itself

<sup>9</sup> According to Law No. 22 of 1999 – later was replaced by Law No. 32 of 2004 – on regional administration, the authority to manage inter-local issues that municipality/district is unable to tackle should be given to respective province (Government of Indonesia, *Law No. 22 on Regional Administration*, 1999; *Law No. 32 on Regional Administration*, 2004)

set the rules and procedure for permit issuance, local land use plan's evaluation and granting of land tenure in NBA (West Java Province, *Provincial Law No. 1 on Spatial Development Control in North Bandung Area* 2008).

## 7.7 Conclusion

Institutional capacity building is crucial for managing peri-urban environmental change in NBA. This chapter argues that the process often involves not only the mobilisation of actors' internal resources but also depends on the actors' capability to reconstruct moments and structures of opportunity as the contextual factors for collective action.

Moments of opportunity refer to the dynamic, emerging factors of opportunity. In the cases presented earlier, they were represented in major decisions and actions of a pro-growth coalition including governments and private developers as the opponents of environmental NGOs, politicians, experts and planners who advocated the importance of peri-urban environmental conservation and regional sustainability. Two moments of opportunity are explored in this chapter: the Dago-Lembang road development proposal and integrated development planning of Punclut.

Political opportunity structures consist of relatively consistent, stable factors of opportunity. In both embedded case studies, these are inherent in the national and local political culture and system, parliamentary design, democratic societal system and Indonesia's decentralised government structure.

The case studies indicated that these contextual factors carried power as the committed environmental advocates in the region actively reconstructed meanings out of the perceived opportunities. Although they might have different motivations, they were connected with each other by a shared common objective: to improve planning's institutional capacity in NBA. The process was expanded by means of available knowledge and relational resources. While actors' motivation functioned to fuel the capacity-building process, the knowledge and relational resources provided the infrastructure to reach the capacity-building objectives.

We have also illustrated three major aspects of institutional capacity resulting from the practice of constructing opportunities. First, the opportunities helped to mobilise discourse and policy network as relational and knowledge resources for collective action. This was particularly reflected in the development of environmental policy network in the Dago-Lembang case and the formation of the water catchment discourse in the Punclut case,

as discussed in 0 and 0. The opportunities also empowered the position of the environmental advocates who initially began as the weak actors in the decision-making process affecting the peri-urban area. Their performance can be seen for example in their active involvement in the formulation of the provincial planning law on NBA. Finally, the opportunities also guided decision makers and politicians to focus their attention on peri-urban environmental quality and regional sustainability, which have so far been marginalised in local political and policy processes. The impacts were reflected in the provincial legislative assembly's rejection of the road development proposals around the protected area and the emergence of peri-urban environmental discourses and agendas in local politics.

## **Chapter 8 The building of peri-urban institutional capacity**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This study has provided several institutional perspectives on peri-urbanisation and its planning processes. First, it deals with the institutional factors for peri-urbanisation and planning policy around Indonesian metropolitan cities. Based on this contextual understanding, it further explores how planning responds to the unique challenges of physical divides, social exclusion, and institutional fragmentation in the peri-urban areas. Particularly, under the theoretical umbrella of sociological institutionalism, it analyses the potential of network, discourse and opportunity approaches as innovative strategies for managing peri-urban environmental conflicts and for improving institutional capacity in the planning of peri-urban areas.

In earlier chapters, we have presented the results of multi-level case studies conducted in East Asia, Indonesia and, more specifically, North Bandung Area (NBA). In this final chapter, we draw conclusions from the results of these case studies. First, it revisits the findings of each case study analyses and attempts to synthesise the findings. It then identifies the practical implications for the planning professional practice, the planning policy system and regional planning in Indonesia. The last section outlines some unresolved issues for further study.

### **8.2 Urban transformation, planning and institutions in peri-urban areas**

This section summarises and synthesises the findings of the analyses in the previous chapters. It first explains the institutional factors for peri-urbanisation in Indonesia and explores how these factors influence planning policy formulation affecting peri-urban areas. Furthermore, it links the three approaches/strategies of network, discourse and opportunity emerging from the peri-urban environmental conflicts in NBA. The building of institutional

capacity is seen as a deliberative ethos of transforming undesirable governance styles and cultures in peri-urban areas by linking networks, discourses and opportunities interactively.

### ***8.2.1 The institutional factors for peri-urbanisation, planning and governance***

This study views peri-urbanisation, while it is contextually shaped, as a global phenomenon. Therefore, prior to examining the emerging approaches to peri-urban environmental conflicts and capacity building, it is important to know how global and domestic, indigenous institutional factors have influenced the uniqueness of the peri-urbanisation phenomenon, planning and governance in Indonesia.

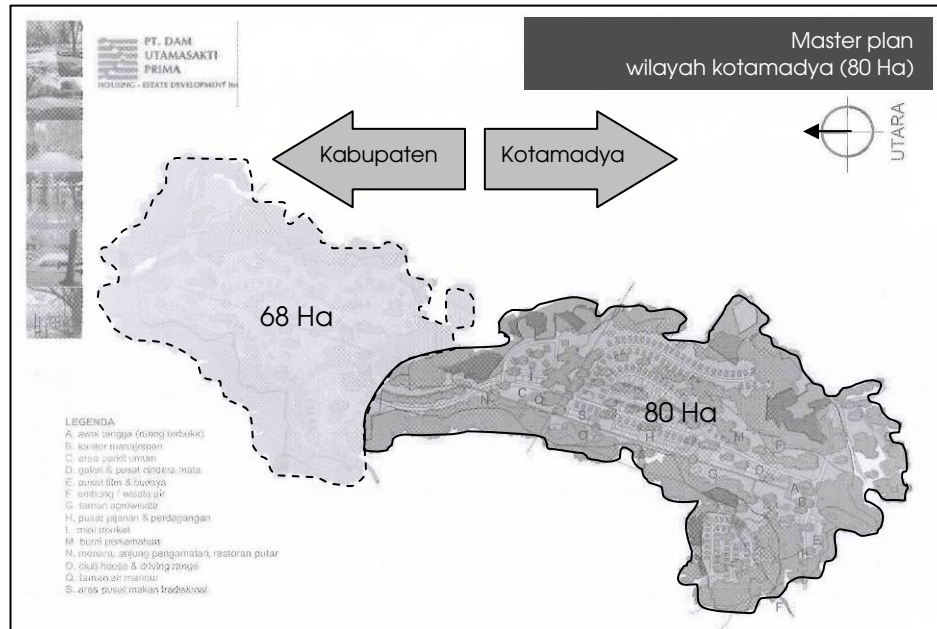
In order to assess the impact of globalisation on peri-urbanisation, especially the planning and governance system and practice in Indonesia, we analytically differentiate between exogenous (global) institutional factors and endogenous (domestic) institutional factors. Exogenous institutional factors focus on the global neo-liberal political-economic systems and ideas. Endogenous institutional factors can be divided into formal and informal institutional factors. Formal institutional factors are centred on managerial and organisational structures of government reflected in formal rules and regulatory frameworks, while informal institutional forces are rooted in the basic features of political and governance culture.

We have seen in Chapter 4 that both endogenous and exogenous institutional forces attempt to reshape the basic characteristics of the Indonesian planning system. First, the formal institutional forces have resulted in the comprehensive goals and scope and universal structure of the planning system, while the informal institutional forces have maintained the role of the central government in the planning institutional structure. Finally, the influences of neo-liberal ideas tend to be partial and can be seen in the development of binding approaches, the growing necessity for metropolitan/regional planning, removal of government participation and the introduction of zoning instruments.

In a similar manner, Chapter 3 analyses how institutional changes at domestic and global levels have underpinned urban development and planning practice in East Asia's peri-urban areas. The multi-level institutional changes discussed in the analysis include the growing influence of global capitalism and markets, the rise of middle-class culture, the reinforcement of clientelist governance tradition, and the weakening of formal and centralised governance and legislation. Such institutional changes



have not yet been adequately accommodated in the current domestic planning systems. Therefore, regardless of its potential contribution to the improvement of regional economic performance, peri-urbanisation still entails undesirable consequences, including spatial segregation and fragmentation and reduction of rural productivity and environmental sustainability.



**Figure 8.1** The Master Plan of Punclut Integrated Tourism Area  
(Source: BITA, 2004)

*This private-led housing development project in North Bandung Area (NBA) provides an obvious example of the impact of institutional fragmentation on peri-urbanisation.*

*The highlighted southern part of the project area (right), with total area 80 ha, is administered by an urban government (kotamadya). Meanwhile the remaining 68 ha (left), the northern part, is administered by a rural government (kabupaten).*

It is found that the undesirable implications of spatial transformation in peri-urban areas have reflected the fragmented institutional landscape prevailing in these areas. As transitional zones between rural and urban administrations, those areas face a weakened governing power (for an illustration, see Figure 8.1). While the central government is too remote to reach those areas, the local governments have an inadequate capacity to formulate and implement required planning policies. At the same time,

regional authorities are still poorly established. Ineffectiveness also occurs as fragmented rural authorities are pushed to adapt to an early urbanisation. All these institutional conditions encourage the private enterprises, which have strong links with global capitalism and the markets, to take over parts of physical development and planning, which are often uncoordinated at higher levels.

By comparing the analytical results of the two chapters, it can be inferred that the comprehensive planning system and formal institutional arrangements face the challenges of global neo-liberal ideologies and persisting clientelist governance tradition, which increasingly frame the urban development and planning practice in peri-urban areas. For example, the 1945 Constitution requires the government to redistribute the cultivation of land and space at a considerable level but this requirement has been undermined by the global neo-liberal tension to withdraw government participation in urban and infrastructure development. In practice, it is difficult for the government to redistribute such vital resources since they lack institutional as well as financial capacity to control them. Besides, the normative, comprehensive and blue-print planning styles are unable to deal with the pragmatic, discretionary, and acute clientelist governance practice largely operating in peri-urban areas.

It can be concluded that global as well as domestic institutional factors have shaped the current peri-urbanisation, planning and governance in Indonesia. Furthermore, the complexity of these institutional contexts has created a substantial gap between urban development and planning practice and the planning system affecting peri-urban areas, in which the transition in the planning system and other formal institutional arrangements is still unable to effectively address the undesirable consequences of reinforced clientelist governance culture and unanticipated global neoliberal ideas that have largely contributed to the uncontrolled transformation in peri-urban areas.

### ***8.2.2 Peri-urban planning approaches and institutional capacity building***

The previous section implies that the key planning issues that should be dealt with have been related to the acute clientelist governance culture and the increasing influence of global neo-liberal urban development ideology. These problems of governance and development processes require planning to put more attention upon implementation, execution and realisation rather than on plan formulation aspects. It is argued that a large part of planning

implementation issues can be addressed by focusing on the political dimensions of planning, including organisational and institutional aspects (Louis Albrechts, 2003a, 2003b; Alexander, 2005; Kitchen, 1997; Meyerson & Banfield, 1955). As such, our focus on applying institutional approaches can contribute in bridging the gap between plan-making and its implementation.

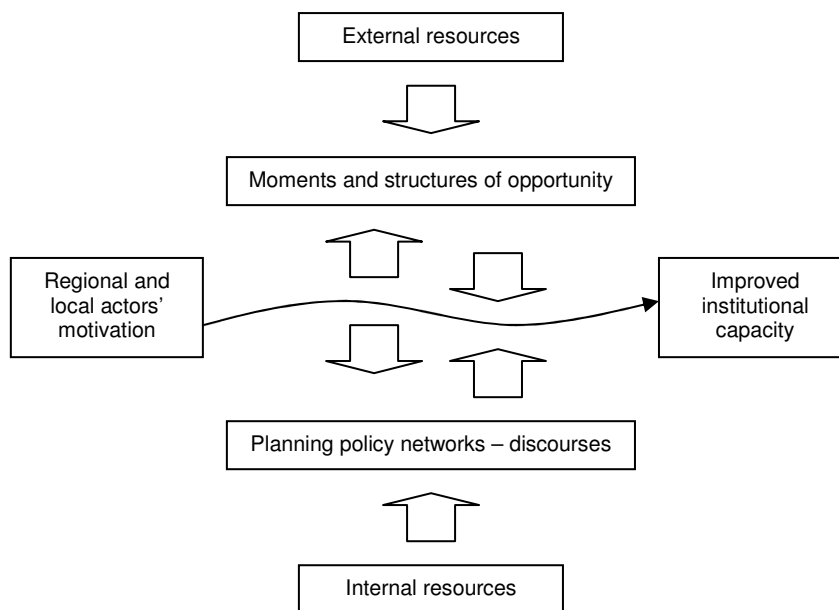
Guided by sociological institutionalism, we have explored the potential of network, discourse and opportunity in producing innovative approaches to peri-urban planning. As briefly reviewed in earlier chapters, historical institutionalism, Foucauldian approaches and post-modern planning theories have long emphasised the *structural* formation of policy network, discourse and opportunity (Flyvbjerg, 1998; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; Immergut, 1998; P. M. McGuirk, 2001). Meanwhile, our analyses show that these social resources are not necessarily structured by history but, at the same time, they have been *reconstructed* throughout planning and governance processes. For example, the debates on the Dago-Lembang road development and Puncut could not instantly become important moments for building awareness on preserving NBA but committed environmental advocates and planners actively reconstructed meanings out of these perceived moments. Although they might have different motivations, they were connected with each other by shared common objectives: to improve planning's institutional capacity in NBA. The process was expanded by means of discourses and networks. While actors' motivation functioned to fuel the capacity-building process, discourses and networks provided the infrastructure to reach the capacity-building objectives.

Policy network, discourse and opportunity function not only to resolve peri-urban environmental conflicts but to contribute to the building of institutional capacity in peri-urban areas. The notion of institutional capacity implies the ability of governance not to merely reduce unnecessary transaction costs or constrain undesirable actions but, more importantly, to promote social acceptance and legitimacy of emerging, innovative planning ideas, strategies, frameworks, and action affecting peri-urban area. Moreover, the focus on opportunity, network and discourse implies that the building of institutional capacity does not always start from the formal planning process set up by the government and professional planners but can emerge from informal day-to-day practices involving wider participants outside the formal planning community.

As illustrated by Figure 1.1, past studies have been inclined to emphasise the building of institutional capacity as mobilisation of discourse and policy network as the main resources *internal* to agency's action (Gualini, 2001; Healey, 1998; Rydin, 2003; Vigar, et al., 2000). Meanwhile, our case study

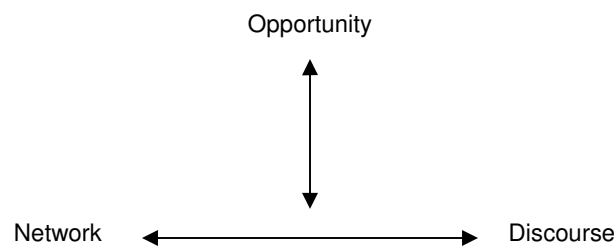
analyses imply that the internal resources in the forms of discourse and policy network need to be coupled with moment and structure of opportunity as a resource external to actors in order to make institutional capacity building work (Figure 8.2). Such coupling may be able to reinforce the earlier agency-centred approach, which has been criticised for its limited attention on the role of broader institutional settings reflected in the state, the economy and power (Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; P. M. McGuirk, 2001; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 1999).

A clear example of this coupling would be the urban environmental discourse-coalition in the Punclut project and the environmental policy network in the Dago-Lembang project. The network and coalition were able to minimise or to marginalise the growth coalition hegemony by exploring strategic moments such as debate escalation on protecting the watershed area, shifts in societal moods (growing societal interests on quality of life and regional sustainability) and natural disasters (floods affecting the city, landslides in peri-urban areas). In addition, they also drew on the political structures in the forms of local and regional elections, local and regional political coalitions, elites' constellations, government organisational structure, and the institutional arrangements of Indonesia's democratic society.



**Figure 8.2** A peri-urban institutional capacity-building process

Network, discourse and opportunity strategies function in support with – rather than as substitutes of – each other in managing conflicts in peri-urban areas (Figure 8.3). First, the opportunities helped to mobilise discourse and policy network as relational and knowledge resources for collective action. This was particularly reflected in the development of the environmental policy network in the Dago-Lembang corridor case and the formation of water catchment discourse in the Puncut case. In the former, the network was used as an ‘infrastructure’ through which the discourse of preserving the ecological functions of NBA was constructed and mobilised (0). In a similar fashion, in the latter, the ‘water catchment’ discourse also provided an innovative reasoning for wider marginalised actors to join in with and reinforce the complex network of environment-concerned communities (0). This relational building is clearly evident in the evolution of GALIB/KMBB.



**Figure 8.3** The interactive relationship between opportunity, network and discourse in the peri-urban institutional capacity building

In the context of the open, democratic and fragmented Indonesian society, the case studies presented in 0, 0 and 0 imply that the contribution of network, discourse and opportunity to the building of peri-urban governance’s institutional capacity can be assessed according to three criteria:

- 1) *Strategic inclusion: network, discourse and opportunity should be able to involve peri-urban and regional stakeholders as strategically (corporatist) and as inclusively as possible in the decision-making process.*

In the case studies, this can be seen in the empowered position of the environmental advocates, the planners and the political opposition factions as traditionally weak and vulnerable actors in the decision-making process affecting the peri-urban area. Their empowered position was demonstrated by, for example, their active involvement in the

formulation of the provincial planning legislation for controlling urban development in NBA.

- 2) *Facilitation of the weak: network, discourse and opportunity should be able to raise, accommodate, focus and channel stakeholders' awareness on important yet neglected peri-urban issues and agendas.*

In the case of Dago-Lembang, this can be seen in the shift of the decision makers and politicians' focus of attention favouring peri-urban environmental quality and regional sustainability. Meanwhile, the 'water catchment' discourse in the Punclut case contributed to the building of local political awareness, reflected during the mayoral election campaign.

- 3) *Legitimated mobilisation: network, discourse and opportunity should be able to consistently and deliberately realise and deliver agreed environmental planning ideas, strategies, frameworks and policy outcomes.*

In anticipating the peri-urbanisation pressure in NBA, series of planning and development legislations have been repeatedly enacted (see Appendix A Regulations and Plans Concerning North Bandung Area 1982-2004). However, they could not significantly restrain the uncontrolled issuance of land development and building permits as well as the physical development by private developers. This is due to weak governmental implementing capacity resulting from, among others, acute discretionary, clientelist and corrupt practices. In this situation, the practice of creating opportunities, building informal policy networks, and forming discourses has contributed to refocusing governance's awareness on the necessity of promoting regional sustainability and peri-urban environmental quality by consistently encouraging the enforcement of available planning and development legislations.

### **8.3 Peri-urban planning system and practice**

The aim of this section is to transform the research findings into practical implications for planning system and practice in Indonesia. It first identifies key issues in transforming the planning system to be more adaptive to the complexity of peri-urban socio-economic and environmental changes. Furthermore, some major consequences for professional planning practice are indicated. These consequences are focused on the role of peri-urban planners as activists, social mobilisers, and institution builders by learning from the practice of building networks, discourses and opportunities in the case study. Finally, it illustrates how the practice of institution building can be fostered at the regional scale.

### **8.3.1 *Towards a transformative planning system on the edge***

In the context of global pressure exerted by neo-liberalisation and democratisation, peri-urbanisation has become an inescapable feature of Indonesia's metropolitan transformation. It is no longer relevant to uphold the old planning principle of maintaining the separation between cities and their countryside. It is not always productive to judge living on the edge (of cities) as being unfavourable for sustainable development. Instead, living on the edge needs to be accepted and transformed into an essential element in – rather than a source of problems for – spatial plans and strategies concerning cities and metropolitan regions.

In order to address the challenge of peri-urbanisation, the current integrated-comprehensive-like planning system needs to be adjusted. Land use and comprehensive plans emphasising rigid standards and norms at micro levels can be adapted into those promoting flexible rules and conventions at higher levels. For example, the building coverage ratio (BCR), as an important element in the Detailed Spatial Plans (RDTR) and the Zoning Regulations, can be up-scaled from the individual (building) level to area level. Such rescaling can better accommodate the dynamics of the physical environment and actors' creativity in the development process. It can also reduce the impact of institutional fragmentation and facilitate development control in the long term.

Besides, the emphasis on rational-technical processes and formal hierarchical structures and procedures in the current Indonesian planning system seems to be no longer applicable. Instead, in the face of rapid spatial change and weak and fragmented formal institutional arrangements in peri-urban areas, environmental planning and management requires innovative ideas and action. These can emerge once the system allows informal day-to-day routines and governance practices – in the forms of discourse, network, and opportunity formations – to feed the planning process. In doing so, the system could provide more opportunities for professional planners and key participating actors to be involved not only in the technical processes of plan-making, but also in the socio-political processes of plan realisation and development control. This democratic planning process can be started through, for example, holding regular legislative hearings and public consultations throughout the planning and development processes. As another example, the local government can initiate and support the formation of independent plan monitoring and development control

committees in peri-urban development planning projects by involving local people, private sector, interest groups and experts.

### **8.3.2 Peri-urban planners as institution builders**

In the face of fragmented formal institutional arrangements and governance structure, which featured prominently in the case studies, the planners and policy makers in peri-urban areas cannot continue to merely sit back ‘in the face of power’ (Forester, 1989), enjoying their traditional positions as technocrats and mediators. The case studies show that such passive positions *per se* could not significantly contribute to the transformation of non-conducive governance styles and cultures. For this reason, the planners need to look closely ‘into the mouth of power’ relations (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006, p. 67) where the challenges of managing conflicts and resolving institutional divides become their everyday life.

It would be efficacious if the peri-urban planners took on the role of activists, social mobilisers, and *institution builders* whose task is not merely mediating short-term interests and promoting planning frameworks but transforming the governance conditions hindering a plans’ implementation and control. In governance transformation, the planners take part in a gradual process of producing and distributing new cultural and institutional values in society. In their actions, planners should not always be restricted by the rigidity of formal political and policy systems. Instead, they need to contribute to transforming those systems continuously in order to respond more effectively to the challenges of rapid and unforeseen physical change, spatial divides, social exclusion and institutional fragmentation in peri-urban areas.

As institution builders, planners require innovative strategies in order to gain easy access into the deeper structures of governance. In doing so, they could participate in informal political and decisionmaking processes (Louis Albrechts, 2003b). These processes include the building of policy networks and discourses and linking of these social resources with the structures and dynamics of available opportunities. Here the planners are not just conditioned to be aware of the existing networks, discourses and opportunities but, moreover, are encouraged to reproduce, engage with and transform those social resources in order to improve the social legitimacy of their ideas and actions.

Based on the cases of peri-urban environmental planning in NBA, as analysed in the current study, it is revealed that the building of policy networks tends to start with person-to-person relationships instead of inter-



organisational coordination and cooperation. The cases also imply that planners' socio-political position can be strengthened if they build networks with committed and motivated people from organisations emphasising horizontal and voluntary relationship in their institutional development. Furthermore, in the policy networks, planners can act strategically as a 'bridge' by building loose-coupled and diverse relationships with other actors. Another important characteristic of the network is the building of trust and mutual and reciprocal exchange of resources. Each actor could better able to play a specific role in the network, depending on their unique capacities.



Legislative consultation



Demonstration



Greening campaign



Workshop/ discussion

**Figure 8.4** Major activities and social mobilisations organised by GALIB/KMBB  
(Source: Suranto, 2008)

As discourse participants, planners could extend their ability to positively utilise different types and sources of data and information, which flow through not only formal sources but also mass media and informal networks, in order to influence their counterparts and broader audiences

about their ideas and solutions. Planners could also manage competing discourses likely to occur in managing peri-urban change. Based on the case studies, it is found that tough discursive competitions generally arise between, on the one hand, urban transformations, economic development and neo-liberal discourses and, on the other, environmental protection, regional sustainability and local-cultural discourses. Inclusive and socially legitimate discourses, as illustrated by the environmental discourses in the case study, tend to be grounded in day-to-day ordinary languages and embedded within existing cultural templates and local knowledge.

Finally, as opportunity managers, planners could connect different problems as well as connect these problems to the dynamics of external forces. As can be found in the case studies, planners generally transform unpredictable events such as debate escalation on protecting the water catchment area, shifts in societal moods (growing societal interests on quality of life and regional sustainability) and natural disasters (floods approaching the city, landslides in peri-urban areas) into moments of opportunity to make their actions work. They also read the socio-political structures of governance relations and use it to create room for pushing their ideas and alternatives onto the table. As the cases have shown, important structures that could potentially reshape governance relations in peri-urban areas take the forms of local and regional elections, local and regional political coalitions, elites' constellations, government organisational structure, and the institutional arrangements for democratic society.

If institutional fragmentation in peri-urban areas is to be addressed, more planners need to seek a role as embedded activists and political leaders within governmental structure or members of social movements across non-governmental organisations. With this strategic but flexible position, 'planners have the courage to leave the formal planning arena, or to commute back and forth with the real world, and step into fields of action to ally with socio-political movements that seek to mobilise sufficient (counter) power to stop, for example, devastating real estate led policies or environment threatening actions' (Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006, p. 67). It is therefore important for such transformative planners to be equipped with sufficient communicative, political and institutional intelligence. The building of this intelligence can form a new area of concentration in graduate academic programmes and professional training programmes in planning schools.

### **8.3.3 *Managing peri-urban change at the regional scale***

With continuing decentralisation euphoria, the political position of the local government in Indonesia is still very strong. In fact, the local government is currently the only tier that closely deals with peri-urban spatial and environmental change. Such local-scale institutional arrangements cannot match the scale and magnitude of spatial and environmental dynamics in peri-urban areas since the process is a cross-jurisdictional issue rather than a simple, clear-cut localised issue. Moreover, most sustainability issues in peri-urban areas have major implications for urban/metropolitan regions. Therefore, institutional capacity building should be emphasised at this regional scale.

Regional institutional development in Indonesia currently faces the challenges of post-authoritarian euphoria. The national and provincial tiers have no longer clear authority upon planning and urban development at the local level. Meanwhile, the district and municipality consider themselves as the most authorised tiers in their regions. Reinforcing this tendency, many laws and regulations have been enacted favouring decentralisation trends at the local level. In order to avoid a radical confrontation with this euphoria, it would be better for regional institutional development to emphasise the transformation of and multi-level coordination among existing local, provincial and national governments rather than the design of any new tier. This implies that flexible and bottom-up regional institutional building is more favourable than a rigid and top-down one.

With the lack of comprehensive and long-term commitment among regional actors, it can be suggested that an incremental approach to institutional building could respond more effectively to the unforeseen spatial, socio-economic and institutional change in peri-urban areas. In this approach, institution building can be perceived as a gradual, evolving process of overcoming actual and pressing problems that emerge in specific areas or policy sectors (for example environment, water, transport etc.). In the case of BMA, for instance, regional institution building could be started in the water management sector, by focusing on revitalising the function of water catchment and conservation areas of NBA.

### **8.4 Further studies**

This study provides an institutional explanation for peri-urbanisation and potential approaches/strategies for its planning and governance. Yet, there

are many unresolved issues, opening up some routes for further studies in the future.

First, most studies on peri-urbanisation in Indonesia, as reviewed in the current study, have focused on the challenges and *negative* impacts of peri-urbanisation such as environmental degradation, regional imbalance, social segregation and so forth (Douglass, et al., 1991; Firman, 1996, 2000, 2004; Firman & Dharmapatni, 1994; Leaf, 1996; Leisch, 2002; Winarso, 2005; Winarso & Firman, 2002). Since peri-urbanisation is an inescapable phenomenon in the current societal transformation, it would also be important to explore the *positive* aspects of peri-urbanisation, for example its potential contribution to regional development and economy.

The empirical analysis of institutional capacity building in the current study uses the cases of North Bandung Area, as an integrated part of Bandung Metropolitan Area. It would be useful to conduct comparative studies with other peri-urban areas in Indonesia's fast-growing metropolitan regions such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya in order to clarify and enrich the findings.

The present study gives an illustration of how knowledge, relational and contextual resources in the forms of discourse, network and opportunity respectively can be transformed into approaches/strategies for peri-urban institutional capacity building. It might be interesting to explore more specific forms of discursive knowledge (e.g. indigenous knowledge) and informal network (e.g. epistemic community and policy coalition) in the process of peri-urban capacity building. Other possible research directions involve examining alternative forms of social-institutional resources, for example cultural symbol and visioning. Alternatively, in addition to these resource-based approaches to institution building, it might also be significant to analyse the role of actors' motivation since it underlies any action and, thus, governance capacity formation.

The urban and environmental debates presented in this study help to track the institutional capacity-building process in peri-urban areas. However, it is important to test its analytical validity by, for example, further investigating its applicability to other planning issues prone to fragmentation, conflict, and exclusion, for example regional transportation, water management and waste management in peri-urban areas.

This study also underlines the emerging role of planners as activists, social mobilisers and institution builders. They tend to work in the 'mouth' of complex institutional environment characterised by fragmentation, conflict and exclusion as can be found in peri-urban areas. It might be valuable to investigate further how and the extent to which this role may

work in practice. What capacity do the planners need in order to contribute better in transforming governance? How can the planning system facilitate their action? What ethical issues will be involved and how should these issues be dealt with?

This study emphasises the ‘soft’ dimension of peri-urban institution building – that is the informal and dynamic aspects of institution building in peri-urban areas through constructing network, discourse and opportunity. Emphasis on the soft dimension might be useful in starting up peri-urban governance transformation but it is not sufficient to build a stable peri-urban institutional arrangement in the long term. Therefore, further study can focus on the ‘hard’ dimension, identifying appropriate formal forms and structures of regional institutions to deal with peri-urbanisation. First, it might be fruitful especially to study the potential of incremental approaches in regional institutional design. Such approaches may match the complex, dynamic and unforeseen characteristics of spatial and socio-economic changes in peri-urban areas. Another route for further study may emphasise the role of leadership in regional institutional design. Good leadership could play a significant role in guiding governance transformation in the face of ineffective institutional arrangements in peri-urban areas. The latter also can be seen as an attempt to accommodate and capture the benevolence-obedience tradition of the Javanese political culture.

As a final conclusion, this study has shown that global neo-liberalisation and domestic institutional arrangements have characterised the peri-urbanisation, planning system and practice around large cities in Indonesia. The main challenges for planning in the peri-urban areas are associated with physical divides, social exclusion, and institutional fragmentation. In responding to these challenges, this study has focused on understanding the building of peri-urban institutional capacity as a deliberative ethos of transforming undesirable governance styles and cultures in the peri-urban areas by interactively linking policy network, discourse and moment and structure of opportunity. It can be seen from the analyses that the process does not always start from the formal planning process set up by the government and professional planners, but can emerge from informal day-to-day practices involving wider participants beyond the formal planning community. In order to make institutional capacity building work, the social resources internal to actors in the forms of discourse and policy network need to be coupled with moment and structure of opportunity, which function as a resource external to actors. The performance of this institutional capacity building can be accessed through three broad criteria: strategic inclusion, facilitation of the weak and legitimised mobilisation. Turning this conceptual

understanding into practice, this thesis suggests that planners and policy makers in Indonesia should accept the peri-urbanisation phenomenon as an inescapable reality and a potential for planning, seek a role as activists, social mobilisers and institution builders, and focus on incremental and gradual governance capacity building at the regional level.

## Appendix A Regulations and Plans Concerning North Bandung Area 1982-2004<sup>10</sup>

Year	Regulation/Plan	Notes
1982	Governor's Decree No. 181.1/Sk.1624-Bapp/1982 on the Protection of the Northern Part of Greater Bandung	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The decree planned to reserve 25 percent of land in NBA for conservation forests, 60 percent for dry farming, and only 15 percent for wet farming convertible into settlement</li> <li>• Not operational because of the map scale of 1:50.000. Such scale is not accurate enough to map the protected areas and their land use boundaries.</li> <li>• Not yet translated into detailed plan with scale 1:5,000.</li> <li>• Due to a growing trend of regional autonomy, this policy had not been significantly adopted in local spatial planning policy.</li> </ul>
	Governor's Decree No. 640/SK.1625-Bapp/1982 on the Issuance of Development Permit in the Northern Part of Greater Bandung	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This decree was enacted to protect, monitor and improve coordination and selection process in the issuance of development permits in NBA.</li> <li>• The decree had not been effectively implemented since there were no clear implementation guidelines.</li> </ul>
	Governor's Decree No. 146/SK. 1626-Bapp/1982 on the Term Extension and Completion of the Membership of Committee for North Bandung Detailed Plan Preparation.	The committee did not work effectively and did not produce the expected plan.

<sup>10</sup> Adapted from Natalivan (2004).

1989	Bosscha Observatory Detailed Spatial Plan	A non-statutory plan prepared by the Regional Development Planning Board, West Java Province
1993	The Deregulation Package of 1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This package provided incentives for the issuance of location permits in the district/municipality by the Land Administration Office under mayor's recommendation</li> <li>The governor could no longer directly control the permit issuance in West Java Province (including in North Bandung Area).</li> </ul>
	Governor's Instruction No. 593/4535-Bapp/1993 on Land Use Control in North Bandung Area ( 30 November 1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Governor instructed the Head of the Regional Land Administration Office of West Java to order the Local Land Administration Offices of Bandung District and Municipality to temporarily postpone the issuance of new development permits in NBA until a thorough research was conducted by the Provincial Development Planning Board. The enactment of this governor instruction marked the beginning of the status quo for NBA.</li> </ul>
1994	Governor's Instruction No. 593/1221-Bappeda on Land Use Control in North Bandung Area (22 April 1994)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The next governor's instruction and the Governor's Decree enacted in 1994 were very effective in controlling the issuance of new development permits in NBA.</li> <li>Nevertheless, this effectiveness only lasted until 1999, when the law on regional autonomy was first enacted. Following this, the issuance of permits in NBA continued to increase again.</li> </ul>
	Governor's Instruction No. 593.82/1174-Bapp/1994 on Location Permit Proposal and Land Acquisition in North Bandung Area.	
	Governor's decree No. 660/4244/Bappeda/1994 on the Protection of the Northern Part of Greater Bandung (31 October 1994)	
	Regent Instruction No. 15/1994 on the Postponement of Location Permit Issuance in North Bandung Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The instruction was not supported by land registration and planning advice guidance</li> <li>This policy has functioned effectively until the law on regional autonomy took effect in 1999.</li> </ul>
1995	Decree of State Ministry of Environment No. B755/MENLH/5/1995 on Regional EIA requirements for North Bandung Area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The regional EIA needs to be prepared by all stakeholders participating in the development within the boundaries set by the Governor's Decree of 1982.</li> <li>The technical procedure is coordinated by the provincial government and assessed by the Regional EIA Committee regulated in Decree of State Ministry of Environment No. B-</li> </ul>



		1073/MENLH/6/1994.
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The decree was fairly effective and followed up by the preparation of regional EIA by West Java Province.</li> </ul>
	Zoning and Building Code for North Bandung Area	A non-statutory plan enacted by Spatial Planning and Settlement Department, West Java Province
	Bandung District Law No. 49/1995 on General Spatial Plan of Lembang 1994-2004	
1996	Governor's Instruction No. 912/333-Bappeda/1996 on Response to the Development Activities in North Bandung Area	Compared to those enacted in 1994, this governor's instruction provided clearer guidelines with the aim of reducing the development opportunities on behalf of national or government interests.
1997	Regional EIA of North Bandung Area	A non-statutory plan drawn up by the Regional Development Planning Board, West Java Province
1998	Bandung Municipal Law No. 14/ 1998 on Building Code	This regulation needed to be adjusted to the special function of NBA as a water catchment area. In 1995, the provincial Spatial Planning and Settlement Department enacted a special building regulation for NBA but its implementation was difficult as it was prepared by a sectoral department and had no strong legal foundation
	General Spatial Plan of North Bandung Area	A non-statutory plan enacted by the Regional Development Planning Agency, West Java Province
2001	Bandung District Law No. 23/2001 on General Spatial Plan Revision	
2002	Detailed Policy of General Spatial Plan of NBA	A non-statutory plan enacted by the Regional Development Planning Board, West Java Province
	Detailed Spatial Plan of Lembang	Prepared by the Local Spatial Planning Department, Bandung District

2003	Cimahi Municipal Law No. 23/2003 on General Spatial Plan of Cimahi Municipality	
	Detailed Spatial Plan of Area A and B Cimahi Municipality	
	Provincial Law No. 1/2003 on General Spatial Plan of West Java Province	
2004	Governor's Instruction No. 650/1704/Bap on Land Use Control, 14 August 2004.	This is a relatively new policy thus its effectiveness on the ground could not yet be evaluated.
	Governor's Instruction No. 650/2530/PRLH on Land Use Control, 18 August 2004.	
	Bandung Municipal Law No. 2/ 2004 on General Spatial Plan of Bandung Municipality	
	Evaluation on Land Use in NBA	A non-statutory plan prepared by the Regional Spatial Planning and Settlement Department, West Java Province

## **Appendix B Chronology of the Dago-Lembang project proposal 2004**<sup>11</sup>

### **Background**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Event</b>
1976	For the first time the provincial government discoursed to build an alternative road connecting Bandung-Lembang
1978	The Provincial Government proposed to select Dago-Puncut corridor for the alternative road, which could not be realised due to strong resistance from the society
1982	The Governor decreed to protect NBA as a water catchment area for the region of BMA
2002	The Provincial Government revisited the discourse to develop an alternative road connecting Bandung-Lembang and further invited LPPM ITB to conduct a feasibility study, with the Provincial Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) playing the leading role
Early 2003	New governor was elected by the Provincial Legislative Assembly
The end of 2003	The budget for the road development project was approved by the provincial legislative assembly, which was then included in the Provincial Annual Budget Plan of 2004

### **The episode of proposing Trajectory 5 (Dago-Tahura-Lembang) in 2004**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
March 2004	The result of the LPPM's study concluded that the selected trajectory (Trajectory 5; through Dago-Lembang corridor) was the most feasible alternative road trajectory; Environmental NGOs started to publicise the selected trajectory
5 April 2004	Legislative Election was held to elect new members of national, provincial and municipal/district legislative assemblies

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<sup>11</sup> Adapted from Hardiansah (2005), abstracted from various media resources

- 7 April 2004 DPLKTS, the region's leading environmental research NGO, argued that the road development would negatively impact the environment; the management of Bosscha Observatory rejected the road development proposal, contending their views had never been accommodated
- 7 April 2004 The governor decreed that he would apply a disincentive mechanism to impede the land development along the Dago-Lembang corridor
- 10 April 2004 PAN, a faction within the Legislative Assembly of Bandung Municipality, pointed out that the Dago-Lembang Project did not comply with the newly approved General Spatial Plan of Bandung Municipality
- 12 April 2004 The Bandung Municipal Executive alleged that they had never been invited to the discussion on the project proposal
- 12 April 2004 The provincial executive stated that during the discussion meetings there had never been any objection to the road development proposal
- 19 April 2004 The Bandung District Executive stated that the road development was not included in the District General Spatial Plan
- 19 April 2004 FPLH planned to file a Class Action
- 22 April 2004 The first demonstration against the Dago-Lembang road development plan
- 11 May 2004 The Bandung District Executive admitted oversight in granting the development permit
- 12 May 2004 The Rector of ITB rejected the road development project
- 14 May 2004 The provincial executive stated that if the people continued to negatively respond to the project, they would search for other alternative solutions
- 17 May 2004 A discussion between the provincial government and the local people about the project facilitated by KPJB
- 17 May 2004 Prominent West Java figures planned to file a Class Action on the project proposal
- 22 May 2004 Sections of the local people declared their support for the road development project plan
- 24 May 2004 A dialogue on the road development plan was held in the building hall of Spatial Planning and Settlement Department of West Java Province
- 25 May 2004 The Provincial Executive were invited by the Provincial Legislative Assembly to discuss the issue of Dago-Lembang road development plan and there were still differences in opinion between the executive and the legislative
- 5 June 2004 A restricted seminar on "The North Bandung Controversy: A Study on Dago-Lembang Alternative Road Case" was held in the Hall of the Editorial Board of *Pikiran Rakyat* daily newspaper attended by experts, NGOs, and members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly but no one represented the Provincial Executive
- 8 June 2004 The Vice Head of the Committee for Spatial Planning of the Provincial Legislative Assembly rejected the road development plan
- 13 July 2004 A research team was set up by the Provincial Legislative Assembly to study the issues of Dago-Lembang road development plan

- 6 July 2004 The Ministry of Forestry decreed that the Provincial Executive should cancel the road development plan
- 27 July 2004 The Ministry of Environment would firmly reject the road development project if it passed through the National Park of Tahura
- 30 July 2004 The governor promised to free<sup>12</sup> some land in NBA for conservation objectives
- 30 July 2004 In a discussion meeting between the Research Team and 14 NGOs in Bandung, 11 NGOs planned to file a class action suing the legislative assembly if the project was approved
- 31 July 2004 The Research Team found that 350 hectares land around the project area had been occupied by private developers but the National Land Administration Agency disputed the statement
- 1 August 2004 The Indonesian Real Estate Association supported the land acquisition in NBA by the government
- 4 August 2004 The governor decided he would postpone the realisation of the road development project
- 12 August 2004 The Research Team recommended the executive to cancel the road development plan
- 19 August 2004 The leading members of the legislative assembly voted to reject or to reconsider the selection of the Dago-Lembang corridor as the alternative trajectory for the road
- 30 August 2004 New members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly period 2004-2009 took office

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<sup>12</sup> According to Law No. 5/1960 on Basic Agrarian Administration, land acquisition by a private institution shall follow two main steps. First, the interested institution needs to *membekaskan* (or to 'free') the land, meaning to return its ownership to the government. Then, this institution can sell the land to individual buyer(s) because only an individual (with Indonesian citizenship) can obtain *hak milik* (rights of ownership). As an alternative, the private institution can apply for partial rights that do not include rights to own the land, e.g. building rights (*hak guna bangunan*), cultivation rights (*hak guna usaha*) and rights of use (*hak pakai*). The partial rights valid only for certain period of time and can be extended.



## Appendix C Chronology of the Punclut project 2004-2005<sup>13</sup>

### Background

Year(s)	Event
Before 1945	Punclut was a tea plantation estate owned by a Dutch investor
1945-1949	War of Independence
1940s	Illegal settlements started to emerge in Punclut
1957	The Dutch investor handed over his land ownership in Punclut to the Indonesian Government
1961	The State Ministry of Agrarian Affairs granted the rights of ownership on the former tea plantation estate to 943 veterans of the War of Independence
1994	Bandung mayor approved PT. DUS's location permit proposal for housing development in Punclut
1997	The State Ministry of Agrarian Affairs retracted the rights of ownership granted to the veterans and granted the rights to cultivate to PT. DUS
2000	Bandung mayor renewed the location permit and redesignated it for the development of an integrated tourism resort (80 ha) in Punclut by PT. DUS
2003	New mayor for the period 2004-2009 was elected by the Municipal Legislative Assembly
Early 2004	The General Spatial Plan of Bandung Municipality was passed by the Municipal Legislative Assembly; Legislative Election was held to elect new members of national, provincial and municipal/district legislative assemblies

### The episode of involving PT. DUS 2004-2005

Date	Event
17 June 2004	The municipal government started to plan the development of an agro-tourism resort, garden houses and jogging track in Punclut with PT DUS as the developer

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<sup>13</sup> Abstracted from various media resources

- 20 June 2004 DPKLTS opposed the development plan and threatened to mobilise mass action and to file a lawsuit against the mayor if the plan was realised
- 22 June 2004 DPKLTS identified instances of manipulation of the approved general spatial plan map, in which parts of the green area around Punclut were converted to residential areas; after a closed meeting with a number of related municipal departments and local people's representatives, the mayor announced that the project would be continued and claimed that it was supported by the local population
- 26 June 2004 Although members of the Legislative Assembly were sharply divided in their opinions on the Punclut project, they agreed to ask the municipal government to prepare Detailed Spatial Plan and to green the project site prior to making the decision on the housing development project in Punclut
- 30 June 2004 The municipal government started to prepare a detailed plan for NBA
- 2 July 2004 The National Development Planning Board stated they would not recommend the realisation of the project in Punclut since it clearly functioned as a conservation and water catchment area for the region; the Municipal Legislative Assembly realised there was an intended change by the executive in the planning map, favouring the planned housing development in Punclut; in one assembly's open discussion meeting, most of the invited experts and environmental observers, including artists and other public figures, did not agree with the Punclut project
- 3 July 2004 The Municipal Government set up the Coordinating Team for the Redemption of the Punclut Development Planning Project (TKPRKP), whose members included relevant municipal departments, members of the local population and NGOs
- 9 July 2004 The National Legislative Assembly declared that they never agreed with the Punclut project
- 10 July 2004 In an open discussion about the Punclut project arranged by the Editorial Board of *Pikiran Rakyat* daily newspaper, which was attended by bureaucrats, academicians, NGOs and representatives of the local population, it was concluded that the major problem for the project was poor land management and conflict of land rights
- 5 August 2004 New members of the Municipal Legislative Assembly for 2004-2009 took office
- 27 October 2004 The Head of the West Java Office of the Indonesian Real Estate Association argued that the spatial and environmental degradation in Punclut was primarily caused by the informal settlements while the involvement of private developers could in fact minimise this degradation
- 8 November 2004 The governor stated that the Punclut project technically and procedurally did not comply with the existing plans and regulations
- 23 December 2004 Some local people were worried that the Punclut development would affect their water supply and some others complained that it would be difficult to find new livelihoods after their cultivated land was bought by the developer
- 24 December 2004 Tsunami hit Aceh and resulted in hundreds of thousands dead or missing



- 26 December 2004 The local residents demanded the Municipal Government to identify the people whose land was eligible to be certified
- 27 December 2004 The developer started to build the main road connecting the project site and the city
- 28 December 2004 The mayor urged the developer to stop the construction activities until the development permit proposal was agreed by the government and the local people and until the EIA was approved
- 29 December 2004 The developer continued the construction activities by arguing that they had already obtained the location permit and the road construction was considered part of the greening process
- 30 December 2004 The veterans' families commented that the land certification policy for the local residents could overlook their rights as the original land owners; the mayor concluded that before the construction began, the developer should actually obtain not only the location permit but also principal permit, construction permit, land cultivation permit and EIA
- 31 December 2004 The construction activities in Punclut were stopped by the Municipal Security Force
- 7 January 2005 The construction activities in Punclut continued after a meeting was arranged between the developer, the legislative assembly and the Punclut Coordinating Team
- 8 January 2005 Members of the legislative assembly and experts commented that the construction activities had conflicted with existing development regulations, which required an EIA and other related permits
- 11 January 2005 The mayor and the Legislative Assembly urged that the construction should be postponed until all required procedures were fulfilled
- 12 January 2005 The Municipal Department of Public Works granted PT. DUS the land clearance permit
- 13 January 2005 As long as the General Spatial Plan for BMA was not ready, the governor requested that the development in Punclut should be postponed
- 14 January 2005 The mayor allowed the continuation of the road construction by arguing that it was part of the greening activity
- 15 January 2005 The Punclut Coordination Team planned to relocate the local residents affected by the construction
- 17 January 2005 The developer started to plant trees in Punclut
- 18 January 2005 The first demonstration was held in the front of the Legislative Assembly's building and later on the project site, with 300 protesters from NGOs, CBOs, artists, workers' associations and students; at least 12 members of the legislative assembly threatened to use their interpellation rights to challenge inappropriate procedure of land clearance permit, outdated development permits and non-compliance with the General Spatial Plan
- 19 January 2005 In a joint meeting, the Legislative Assembly agreed to ask the government to postpone the road development until they had reviewed the inappropriate procedure and outdated permits granted to the developer

- 24 January 2005 After his visit the local residents, the mayor claimed that they wanted the road construction to continue
- 25 January 2005 Major groups of NGOs were united in a plan to claim legal standing against the Punclut project while some others held a demonstration and press conference to support the project
- 27 January 2005 NGOs and interest groups, coordinated by GALIB, mobilised a demonstration in the front of the Legislative Assembly's building to oppose the Punclut project; meanwhile, in a scientific discussion held by the Indonesian Geologists Association (IAGI), it was argued that Punclut could not function as water conservation area, thus the development with restricted intensity could be allowed
- 29 January 2005 In a meeting hosted by DPKLTS, groups of experts, environmental observers and activists suggested that although Punclut could not effectively function as a water conservation area, it was essentially an integrated part of NBA and, thus, needed to be protected
- 10 February 2005 The governor recommended that the mayor should postpone the project until all the required procedures were met
- 11 February 2005 The Legislative Assembly and the Municipal Government agreed to postpone the project activities until the EIA was prepared
- 3 March 2005 The mayor officially instructed the developer to postpone the project activities
- March 2005 The road construction continued regardless of the postponement decision by the government
- 19 April 2005 Floods hit Punclut
- 30 April 2005 The Provincial Legislative Assembly planned to set up the Committee for the Development Control Regulation on NBA
- 27 May 2005 The Legislative Assembly and the Municipal Government could not agree with one another on Punclut's future
- 11 August 2005 The Municipal Administrative Court rejected the application for legal standing by DPKLTS
- August 2005 The new EIA on the Punclut project was approved; the municipal government submitted a proposal for the revision of the general spatial plan to the Legislative Assembly
- 23 August 2005 Major environmental NGOs rejected the proposal for the plan's revision, deeming that it would become an instrument to legalise the controversial project in Punclut
- 30 December 2005 The Municipal Legislative Assembly approved the revised General Spatial Plan of Bandung Municipality

## Appendix D List of interviews

No	Interviewee(s)	Group	Position	Date of interview
1	Drs. Muh. Rafani Akhyar	Politician	-Vice Head of Budget Committee of West Java Province Legislative Assembly  -Secretary of Dago-Lembang Research Team, the provincial legislative assembly	29 Sep 2004
2	Darius Dolok Saribu	Politician	-Vice Head of Committee B of West Java Province Legislative Assembly  -Vice Head of Dago-Lembang Research Team, the provincial legislative assembly	21 Oct 2004
3	Thio F. Sethiowekti	NGO activist	-Head of FPLH (Forum for environmental protection)  -Secretary of FKMM (Forum for forest society)	15 Jan 2005
4	DR. Ir. Mubiar Purwasasmita	NGO activist, expert	-Head of Experts Assembly, DPKLTS  -Lecturer at Chemical Engineering Department, Bandung Institute of Technology	19 Jan 2005 18 Sep 2008

5	Chay Asdak	Expert	-Lecturer at Padjadjaran University (UNPAD) -Researcher at Lemlit UNPAD	1 Feb 2005
6	Wisandana	Government official	-Head of EIA department, Regional Environmental Management Agency, West Java Province	8 Mar 2005
7	Daud Gunawan	Politician	-Member of the provincial legislative assembly	7 Mar 2005
8	Ir. Harmein Rahman, MT.	Expert	-Lecturer at Civil Engineering Department, Bandung Institute of Technology -Team Leader of Feasibility Study of Dago-Lembang Road Development Plan	2 May 2005
9	Utun Sundawan	NGO activist	-Coordinator of GALIB -Member of FK31	5 Mar 2005
10	Ir. Denny Zulkaidi, MT.	Expert	-Lecturer at Regional and City Planning Department, Bandung Institute of Technology -Team Leader of Bandung Land Use Plan Revision project (2003)	29 Aug 2008
11	Petrus Natalivan, ST. MT.	Expert	-Lecturer at Regional and City Planning Department, Bandung Institute of Technology -Planner of Bandung Land Use Plan Revision project (2003)	1 Sep 2008
12	Titik Sulandari	Government official	-Staff of Physical and Infrastructure Department, Local Development Planning Agency, Bandung Municipality -Supervisor of Bandung Land Use Plan Revision project	5 Sep 2008

(2003)

13	Rahmat Jabaril	Artist, cultural observer	-Coordinator of KMBB	5 Sep 2008
14	Tedy Rusmawan/ Oded Muhamad Danial	Politician	-Member of Ad Hoc Committee for Spatial Plan Revision, Bandung Municipality Legislative Assembly	9 Sep 2008
15	Khairul Anwar	Government official	-Head of Physical and Infrastructure Department, Local Development Planning Agency, Bandung Municipality  -Member of Coordinating Team for the Punclut Project	27 Sep 2008
16	Tedi Sunandar	Teacher, NGO activist, politician	-Principal of Alam School  -Member of Green Live Society  -Member of Justice Prosperious Party (PKS)	28 Sep 2008
17	Adi Suharyo	Government official	-Head of Spatial Planning Section, Spatial planning and Housing Department, Bandung Municipality  -Member of Coordinating Team for the Punclut Project	7 Oct 2008
18	M. Iqbal Abdulkarim	Politician	-Head of Ad Hoc Committee for Spatial Plan Revision, Bandung Municipality Legislative Assembly	8 Oct 2008
19	Iwan Kustiwan	Expert	-Lecturer at Regional and City Planning Department, Bandung Institute of Technology  -Team Leader of Bandung Metropolitan Plan Project	9 Oct 2008

20	Yulia/ Isma/ Tita	Government official	-Staff of Spatial Planning Division, Spatial Planning and Settlement Department, West Java Province  -Supervisor of NBA zoning regulation project	21 Oct 2008
21	Ir. Tony S. Ardjo	Community leader, expert	-Head of KPP  -Director of PT Bhumi Prasaja	22 Oct 2008
22	Apih	Local leader	-Head of neighbourhood association	24 Oct 2008
23	Nurrohman Wijaya	Expert	-Planner of NBA zoning regulation project	24 Oct 2008

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## **Appendix E Interview protocol**

The questions presented below were indicative. They were subject to further exploration and elaboration during the interviews. Many of the questions have been adjusted to the specific roles and functions of the interviewees in the projects. In practice, the structure of the questions was also flexible, depending on the relevance and settings.

1. Were you involved in the debate on Dago-Lembang/ Puncut project? When? What was your (or your organisation's) role and functions?
2. Can you tell me about the chronology of the debate/ project? How did it start? What were the main issues? What were their backgrounds?
3. Who was involved in the debate/project? What were their interests? How were they related to each other? What and where was your position?
4. Can you tell me what were your (your organisation's) motivations/objectives to be involved in the debate/project? How did you attempt to realise them?
5. What arguments did you exercise? What backgrounds and concepts were involved? How did you develop your arguments? How did you influence other parties with your arguments? And what were the results?
6. Did you also use social relations? What kind of relations did you have? How did you develop them? How did you use them to realise your objectives? And what were the results?
7. Were there any non-technical/external factors that could hamper and/or fuel the achievement of your objectives? How did you deal with, use or develop them to help achieve your objectives? And what were the results?





## Samenvatting

In deze studie wordt de institutionele kijk op peri-urbanisatie en de ruimtelijke ordening ervan beschreven. Het is een poging antwoorden te bieden op nieuwe, groeiende problemen die te maken hebben met snelle en onvoorziene fysieke veranderingen, ruimtelijke scheidslijnen, sociale uitsluiting, maatschappelijke conflicten en institutionele versnippering in peri-urbane gebieden. Er wordt in de eerste plaats getracht de institutionele context te begrijpen van peri-urbanisatie en het planbeleid met betrekking tot het randgebied van Indonesische steden en om verder onderzoek te doen naar nieuwe manieren om de institutionele capaciteit in deze gebieden te vergroten. Allereerst wordt de institutionele context van peri-urbanisatie en ruimtelijke ordening in Oost-Azië en in het bijzonder in Indonesië geschetst. Benaderingen vanuit netwerken, discours en de optiek van gelijke kansen worden aangewend om vat te krijgen op hoe om te gaan met de institutionele krachten, en dan vooral vanuit een sociologisch en institutioneel perspectief. Conceptuele kaders worden ontwikkeld om te begrijpen hoe ruimtelijke ordening – in het licht van het onvermogen van de bestaande institutionele praktijk dat te doen – antwoord zou kunnen bieden op peri-urbane vraagstukken en zou kunnen bijdragen aan verbetering van de bestuurscapaciteit. Empirische casussen van urbane en milieugerelateerde conflicten in Noord-Bandung – een peri-urbaan gebied van Bandung en omstreken – worden gebruikt om de conceptuele kaders te verduidelijken. De gegevens die voor de analyses werden verzameld, bestaan uit eerdere studies, officiële documenten, archiefmateriaal, interviews en observaties. De analytische methoden besloegen onder meer inhoudsanalyse, institutionele analyse, en standaard kwalitatieve onderzoekstechnieken (coderen-interpretatie-conclusie).

Het grootste gedeelte van dit boek bestaat uit papers die op internationale conferenties zijn gepresenteerd en artikelen die verschenen in internationaal toonaangevende academische tijdschriften. In hoofdstukken 3

en 4 wordt ingegaan op de institutionele context van peri-urbanisatie en het plannen in Indonesië. Beide hoofdstukken stippen een aantal van de grootste vraagstukken aan met betrekking tot peri-urbane planning: de institutionele dynamiek, cliëntelisme, en neoliberalisering de wereld over. Hoofdstuk 3 gaat in op de unieke kenmerken van peri-urbanisatie in Indonesië en in drie ander Oost-Aziatische landen, met betrekking tot de afhankelijkheid van de stedelijke centra, kapitaalverwerving en de dynamische co-existentie van stedelijke en landelijke vormen van onderhoud. Ook worden de institutionele factoren geïdentificeerd die peri-urbanisatie vormgeven in deze groeiende economische regio. Er wordt vooral betoogd dat de ongewenste consequenties van peri-urbanisatie, in de vorm van ruimtelijke scheiding, regionale onmin en milieudegradatie, vooral de versnippering van institutionele regelingen op regionaal niveau weergeven. De discussie wordt afgesloten met een uiteenzetting over in hoeverre planmakers en de bestuurspraktijk hebben gereageerd op het vraagstuk van peri-urbanisatie. Het benadrukt onder andere hoe er verschuivingen optreden in benaderingen van plannen en bestuur – van alomvattende bestemmingsplannen naar private en gemeenschapsparticipatie en daarnaast nog regionale institutionele capaciteitsopbouw.

Terwijl hoofdstuk 3 zich richt op de impact van wereldwijde en nationale institutionele krachten op peri-urbanisatie en de planningspraktijk, is hun impact op het plansysteem de focus van hoofdstuk 4. Het beschrijft eerst de ontwikkeling van het plansysteem in Indonesië in de recente geschiedenis. In het hoofddeel van de analyse wordt de huidige overgang in het plansysteem besproken, die gekenmerkt wordt door een enorme productie van wetten en regelingen, waaronder het opstellen van een nieuwe wet op de ruimtelijke ordening. Beschreven wordt in hoeverre zowel de binnenlandse landelijke praktijk als de wereldwijde neoliberalisering dit overgangsproces hebben beïnvloed. Er wordt betoogd dat de versnippering in het stelsel het gevolg is van neoliberale ideeën, omdat zij mogelijk botsen met bestaande binnenlandse institutionele krachten. Een dergelijke botsing heeft een aanzienlijke kloof gecreëerd tussen stedelijke ontwikkeling en ruimtelijke ordening en het planningstelsel van peri-urbane gebieden. Hierbij is de verandering in het planningstelsel en de institutionele praktijk niet in staat om effectief de ongewenste gevolgen te ondervangen van de versterkte cliëntelistische bestuurscultuur en de onvoorziene neoliberale ideeën die wereldwijd opgang deden – beide elementen droegen veel bij aan de ongecontroleerde transformatie van peri-urbane gebieden.

Aan de hand van een aantal casestudies van milieuconflicten in NBA, worden in hoofdstukken 5, 6 en 7 drie benaderingen/strategieën voor het

managen van peri-urbane veranderingen op milieugebied besproken: benaderingen vanuit netwerken, discours en de optiek van gelijke kansen. In hoofdstuk 5 wordt de opbouw van een beleidsnetwerk als belangrijk aspect van capaciteitsopbouw onderzocht. In de casestudie wordt dit als strategie aangewend om de functie van Noord-Bandung (NBA) te bevorderen als belangrijkste afwateringsgebied voor Bandung en omstreken (Bandung Metropolitan Area – BMA), dat steeds meer peri-urbanisatiedruk ondervindt van de stad Bandung. Het beleidsdebat over het ontwikkelingsvoorstel voor het Dago-Lembang regionale wegensysteem wordt gereconstrueerd om te illustreren hoe een beleidsnetwerk wordt opgebouwd en hoe het bestuurders meer bewust kan maken van het feit dat zij meer rekening moeten houden met (de kwaliteit van) het milieu en met duurzaamheid op regionaal niveau. Netwerkrelaties kunnen worden uitgelegd aan de hand van aspecten van de constructie ervan, waaronder complementaire kracht, informele, horizontale en losse onderlinge communicatie en reciprociteit. De bijdrage van deze strategie aan institutionele capaciteitsopbouw wordt weergegeven in aspecten zoals de mobilisatie van discursieve kennis, empowerment van zwakke actoren en sociaal leren in besluitvormingsprocessen.

Voortbouwend op de discussie over beleidsnetwerken, wordt in hoofdstuk 6 onderzocht hoe discours kan bijdragen aan de opbouw van institutionele plancapaciteit in peri-urbane gebieden. Een omstreken stedelijk ontwikkelingsproject voor het beschermde randgebied van Punclut is onderwerp van studie. Het discours richtte zich daar voornamelijk op marktgerichte woningbouw en agrotourisme enerzijds, en het milieu verbeteren met groene maatregelen anderzijds, als strategieën om het project respectievelijk te steunen en te bestrijden. In de analyse bleek dat de discursvorming door de gevestigde orde meestal enkel werd aangewend om realisatie van het project zoals vooraf vastgesteld te kunnen rechtvaardigen en dus weinig potentieel bood qua institutionele capaciteit. Het lijkt echter wel uit te wijzen dat het discours gebracht door stedelijke milieubewegingen beter zou kunnen bijdragen aan het opbouwen van institutionele peri-urbane plancapaciteit door ideeën te verweven met meer uitgebreide sociaal-culturele middelen, door mensen meer bewust te laten worden van verwaarloosde kwesties en losse actoren in een versterkte netwerk onder te brengen.

De discussie over middelen die actoren eigen zijn, te weten netwerk en discours, wordt in hoofdstuk 7 gevoerd aan de hand van een combinatie van theorieën over politieke kansen (political opportunity structure) en van Kingdon (Kingdon's policy window theory), die gebruikt worden om tot een sociologische institutionele benadering van kansen te komen. In dit

hoofdstuk wordt geprobeerd ideeën over communicatieve planning en capaciteitsopbouw bij collectief handelen uit te breiden door te stellen dat momenten en structuur niet vastliggen in relatie tot kansen, maar door actoren ‘maakbaar’ zijn. Momenten die kansen bieden (moments of opportunity) refereert aan de hiermee samenhangende – nieuwe en dynamische – factoren (factors of opportunity). De factoren die in de politiek met kansen samenhangen zijn echter relatief onveranderlijk en stabiel. Deze inzichten worden vervolgens toegepast op de twee ontwikkelingsplannen/-projecten voor het stedelijke randgebied van het Indonesische Noord-Bandung: het voorstel betreffend ontwikkeling van het Dago-Lembang wegenstelsel en de Puncut integrale ontwikkelingsplan. In de analyse worden drie aspecten van institutionele capaciteitsopbouw geïllustreerd die gevolg waren van het creëren van kansen: de mobilisatie van maatschappelijke middelen, empowerment van zwakke actoren en het focussen van de aandacht van beleidmakers en politici.

Tot slot worden in hoofdstuk 8 de casussen onder een noemer gebracht en worden er conclusies getrokken. Centraal staat hierbij het beschouwen van peri-urbane institutionele capaciteitsopbouw als ethos waarbij in overleg ongewenste bestuursstijlen en -culturen in het peri-urbane gebied worden getransformeerd door een interactief beleidsnetwerk, discours en de structuur en momenten die met kansen samenhangen te koppelen. Uit de analyses blijkt dat het proces niet altijd begint met het formele planproces van overheid en beroepsplanners, maar kan ontstaan uit de informele dagelijkse praktijk waar veel meer mensen bij zijn betrokken buiten de officiële planners. Om institutionele capaciteitsopbouw te doen slagen, moeten de middelen die eigen zijn aan actoren, te weten discours en beleidsnetwerk, worden gekoppeld aan momenten en structuren van kansen, die beschouwd kunnen worden als een extern middel, niet eigen aan actoren. Er zijn drie brede criteria waarmee de institutionele capaciteitsopbouw beoordeeld kan worden: strategische inclusie, facilitering van zwakkeren in de samenleving en gelegitimeerde mobilisatie. Tot slot stelt dit proefschrift dat wanneer deze conceptuele ideeën in de praktijk worden gebracht, Indonesische plan- en beleidsmakers zich moeten berusten in het onontkoombare fenomeen van peri-urbanisatie en het potentieel ervan onderkennen bij het maken van plannen. Ook moeten zij een activistische rol gaan spelen, de maatschappij mobiliseren en instituten bouwen, alsook zich richten op geleidelijke, stapsgewijze capaciteitsopbouw van het regionale bestuur.

## Summary

This study provides institutional perspectives on peri-urbanisation and its planning. It is an attempt to respond to the emerging challenges of rapid and unforeseen physical change, spatial divides, social exclusion and conflicts, and institutional fragmentation in peri-urban areas. The main objective is to understand the institutional contexts for peri-urbanisation and planning policy around Indonesian cities and to further explore emerging planning approaches in order to improve planning's institutional capacity in peri-urban areas. It first sketches out the institutional contexts for peri-urbanisation and planning in East Asia, with a special reference to Indonesia. In understanding how to deal with these institutional forces, it draws on network, discourse and opportunity approaches, especially from a sociological institutional viewpoint. It develops conceptual frameworks to understand how planning, in the face of irresponsible formal institutional arrangements, could respond to the peri-urban challenges and contribute to the improvement of its governance capacity. The conceptual frameworks are enhanced through the empirical cases of urban and environmental conflicts in North Bandung Area (NBA), a peri-urban area in Greater Bandung. The data collected for the analyses consist of past studies, formal documents, archives, interviews, and observations. The analytical methods employed are content analysis, institutional analysis and standard qualitative techniques (coding-interpretation-making conclusion).

The main part of this book is presented as a collection of papers delivered at international conferences or articles published in internationally recognised academic journals. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 discuss the institutional contexts for peri-urbanisation and planning in Indonesia. Both chapters underline some key challenges for peri-urban planning: formal institutional dynamics, clientelist governance, and global neo-liberalisation. Chapter 3 presents the unique features of peri-urbanisation in Indonesia and three East Asian countries in relation to dependence on the metropolitan

centres, capital accumulation and dynamic coexistence of urban and rural livelihoods. It also identifies the institutional factors shaping peri-urbanisation in this growing economic region. Particularly, it is argued that undesirable consequences of peri-urbanisation in the forms of spatial segregation, regional disharmony and environmental degradation have mainly reflected the fragmented institutional arrangements at the regional level. To close the discussion, Chapter 3 explains the extent to which planning and governance practices have responded to the challenge of peri-urbanisation. Among others, the chapter underlines shifts in planning and governance adaptation from comprehensive land use planning approaches towards private and community participation and, furthermore, regional institutional capacity building.

Whilst Chapter 3 focuses on the impacts of global and domestic institutional forces on peri-urbanisation and planning practice, Chapter 4 concentrates on the impacts of these forces on the planning system. It first describes the development of the planning system in Indonesia in recent history. In the main part of its analysis, it discusses the current transition in the planning system marked by a massive production of laws and regulations, including the formulation of a new spatial planning law. The chapter explains the extent to which domestic institutional arrangements as well as global neo-liberalisation have influenced this transition process. It is argued that neo-liberal ideas have caused fragmentation in the system as they might clash with the existing domestic institutional forces. Such clashes have created a substantial gap between urban development and planning practice and the planning system affecting peri-urban areas, in which the transition in the planning system and other formal institutional arrangements was unable to effectively address the undesirable consequences of reinforced clientelist governance culture and unanticipated global neo-liberal ideas that have largely contributed to the uncontrolled transformation in peri-urban areas.

Taking the cases of peri-urban environmental conflicts in NBA, 0, 0 and 0 discuss three approaches/strategies to managing peri-urban environmental change: network, discourse and opportunity approaches. 0 explores the potential of policy networking as an important aspect of capacity building. In the case study, policy networking was used as a strategy to promote the function of NBA as the main water catchment area for Bandung Metropolitan Area (BMA), which faces increasing peri-urbanisation pressure from the main city of Bandung. The case of policy debate on the Dago-Lembang regional road development proposal is reconstructed to illustrate how a policy network is built and how it contributes to the improvement of

governance consciousness to be more responsive towards environmental quality and regional sustainability. The network type of relationships can be argued based on the aspects of its construction, including complementary strength, informal, horizontal and loose coupling communication, and reciprocal forms of exchange. The contribution of this strategy to the building of institutional capacity is reflected in the aspects of mobilisation of discursive knowledge, empowerment of weak actors, and social learning in decision-making process.

In relation to the discussion on policy network, 0 examines how discourses can contribute to the building of institutional capacity of planning in peri-urban areas. It uses a contested urban development planning project in the protected fringe area of Punclut as the case study, where discourses have concentrated around market-led housing and agro-tourism development in contrast with green environmental improvement as strategies to support and challenge the project respectively. The analysis reveals that the practice of discourse formation by the status quo tended to be coercively used merely to provide immediate justifications for the realisation of the predefined project, thus it lacked institutional capacity potential. Furthermore, it suggests that the discourses reproduced by the environmentally concerned urban communities could better contribute to the building of institutional capacity of planning on the edge by interlinking ideas into broader socio-cultural resources, building awareness about neglected issues, and cementing fragmented actors into a stronger network.

In supporting the discussion about the role of resources internal to actors in the forms of network and discourse, 0 combines political opportunity structure and Kingdon's policy window in order to develop a sociological institutional approach to opportunity. This chapter seeks to extend the ideas about communicative planning and capacity building in collective action, by arguing that we need to see moments and structures of opportunity not simply as fixed, but as something that actors can 'make'. Moments of opportunity refer to the dynamic, emerging factors of opportunity. Meanwhile, political opportunity structures consist of relatively consistent, stable factors of opportunity. This insight is then applied to two development plans/projects in the urban fringe in North Bandung, Indonesia discussed earlier: the Dago-Lembang road development proposal and integrated development planning of Punclut. The analysis illustrates three aspects of institutional capacity resulting from the practice of constructing opportunity: mobilisation of social resources, empowerment of weak actors, and focusing of politicians and policymakers' attention.

Finally, Chapter 8 synthesises and concludes the results of all case studies. It focuses on understanding the building of peri-urban institutional capacity as a deliberative ethos of transforming undesirable governance styles and cultures in the peri-urban areas by interactively linking policy network, discourse and moment and structure of opportunity. It can be seen from the analyses that the process does not always start from the formal planning process set up by the government and professional planners, but can emerge from informal day-to-day practices involving wider participants beyond the formal planning community. In order to make institutional capacity building work, the social resources internal to actors in the forms of discourse and policy network need to be coupled with moment and structure of opportunity, which function as a resource external to the actors. The performance of this institutional capacity building can be assessed based on three broad criteria: strategic inclusion, facilitation of the weak and legitimised mobilisation. Turning this conceptual understanding into practice, this thesis suggests that planners and policy makers in Indonesia should accept the peri-urbanisation phenomenon as an inescapable reality and a potential for planning, seek a role as activists, social mobilisers and institution builders, and focus on incremental and gradual governance capacity building at the regional level.



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