Perl-urban planning in Indonesia
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Chapter 7  Planning by opportunity: An analysis of peri-urban environmental conflicts in Indonesia

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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7 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-
Constructing opportunity

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urban environmental planning in NBA: the Dago-Lembang corridor and Punclut 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
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.

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.

Figure 7.1 An opportunity approach to institutional capacity building
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 Punculut.

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 realize 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key actor</th>
<th>Motivation directing the moment of opportunity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Project supporters</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial government</td>
<td>Regional economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developers</td>
<td>Transport accessibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Project opponents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental NGOs</td>
<td>Environmental conservation, sustainable development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experts and planners</td>
<td>Linkage between government’s proposal and society’s aspirations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition political leaders</td>
<td>Transparent and inclusive planning process</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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**

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

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...
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 Puncut

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

Furthermore, to the environmental activists and experts, Puncut had a unique position as the only green part of NBA located within the municipality’s jurisdiction. As such, to the environmental advocates, the quality of the environment around Puncut 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 Puncut. If it is broken through, the northern part of Ujung Bercung and other Bandung’s upper land will also be broken through, because other developers will follow’ (Interview 14).

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 leuwng – 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

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<th>Political structure</th>
<th>Opportunity</th>
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<td>Political factions</td>
<td>Pushing peri-urban environmental issues onto local policy agendas</td>
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<td>Freedom of speech and independent press</td>
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<td>Direct mayoral election</td>
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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\(^9\). 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

\(^9\) 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, \textit{Law No. 22 on Regional Administration}, 1999; \textit{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.