Chapter 5  Policy networking and institutional capacity: an analysis of peri-urban environmental and infrastructure planning conflicts in Indonesia

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...
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 (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](image)

### 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).

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 instance, 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

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