



The Advocacy Coalition Framework in Land Policy Disputes: Study of Dago Elos Conflict

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Abstract

Land conflicts remain a significant public policy issue in Indonesia, involving competing interests among communities, private actors, and state institutions. This study examines the advocacy movement of Dago Elos residents in Bandung City through the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), focusing on how coalition actors mobilized resources to defend their land rights during a prolonged dispute. This research employed a qualitative approach through in-depth interviews and documentation studies involving community leaders, residents, and advocacy actors directly engaged in the conflict. Data were analyzed thematically using NVivo 12, supported by word cloud, hierarchy chart, and project map visualizations to identify dominant themes and relationships within the advocacy coalition. The findings indicate that the Dago Elos movement was sustained through six key resource dimensions. Formal legal authority was demonstrated through land ownership documents, litigation strategies, and legal aid. Public opinion was strengthened through media engagement, digital campaigns, and solidarity networks. Information resources supported the collection, verification, and dissemination of legal evidence and historical land records. Mobilizable troops emerged through collaboration among community organizations, activists, academics, journalists, and grassroots networks. Financial resources were maintained through community contributions, public donations, and solidarity-based fundraising. Skilled leadership facilitated collective decision-making, internal cohesion, and coordination with external actors. The study concludes that resource mobilization and coalition-building were central to sustaining advocacy efforts and influencing policy processes. These findings contribute to ACF literature by illustrating how advocacy coalitions operate within agrarian conflicts and public policy disputes in Indonesia.

Key Words : Advocacy Coalition Framework, advocacy coalition, land conflict, resource mobilization, public policy, Dago Elos

Introduction

The formulation of public policy by government institutions serves as a fundamental instrument for governing and sustaining the social, political, and economic life of a nation (Rahardian, 2022). Public policy, as defined by B. Guy Peters Peters (2016), refers to the actions undertaken by governments, either directly or indirectly through their institutions and agencies, which subsequently influence the lives of citizens. Understanding public policy is essential because it enables scholars and practitioners to gain deeper insight into the meaning, purpose, and implications of policy decisions. Such understanding not only enriches theoretical knowledge but also facilitates the application of policy concepts to real-world issues and challenges encountered in the policy-making process (Birkland, 2016).

In the Indonesian context, Article 28H of the 1945 Constitution guarantees the right of every citizen to enjoy physical and spiritual well-being, obtain adequate housing, and live in a healthy and sustainable environment. Within this framework, land occupies a strategic position as a fundamental resource that supports human welfare and social development. As an agrarian country, Indonesia regards land as a multidimensional asset that functions not only as a means of production and economic livelihood but also as a determinant of social status, authority, and access to decision-making processes within society. Significant changes in Indonesia's land governance system occurred following the enactment of Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles (Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria) on September 24, 1960, which established the foundation of the national land law system (Ginting & Wilson, 2020). Agrarian law encompasses the entirety of written and unwritten legal norms governing legal relationships among subjects within the agrarian sector, including land tenure, ownership, utilization, and control (Sukmawati, 2022).

Syukur et al. (2022) explain that following the arrival of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia, Dutch legal provisions were formally imposed in 1912, resulting in a dualistic land law system. This dualism created opportunities for foreign nationals to control and utilize land within Indonesia, a condition that contradicted Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which stipulates that "the land, waters, and natural resources contained therein shall be controlled by the State and utilized for the greatest prosperity of the people." One of the most prominent manifestations of this dualistic land tenure system was the recognition of Eigendom rights, a form of land ownership introduced during the colonial period that granted extensive proprietary authority to its holders.

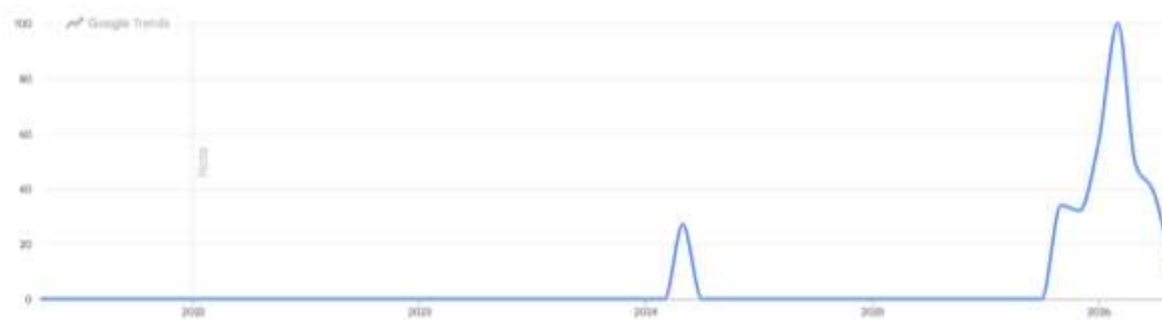
Article 570 of the Indonesian Civil Code (Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Perdata) defines Eigendom rights as the right to freely enjoy and fully exercise authority over a property, provided that such use does not conflict with laws or regulations established by competent authorities. Meanwhile, the term Verponding was used under Law Number 72 of 1958 concerning Verponding Tax for the fiscal year 1957 and subsequent years to refer to a tax imposed on immovable property, particularly land. In essence, Eigendom Verponding represented an absolute form of land ownership that granted extensive legal control to the registered owner. However, the enactment of Law Number 5 of 1960 concerning Basic Agrarian Principles (UUPA) fundamentally transformed Indonesia's land tenure system. According to Article 1 paragraph (1) of the Second Part on Conversion Provisions of the UUPA, all Eigendom rights were required to be converted into ownership rights (Hak Milik) within a maximum period of twenty years from the enactment of the law, with the final deadline set on 24 September 1980 (Ginting., et al. 2022).

If the conversion process was not completed within the legally prescribed period, Article 1 of the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 3 of 1979 concerning Procedures for Applications and the Granting of New Rights over Land Originating from the Conversion of Western Land Rights stipulates that such land would revert to state control (Salsabila et al., 2024). The enactment of the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) was intended to establish legal unification and simplify Indonesia's land law system. Through the conversion mechanism, pre-existing land rights inherited from the colonial era were transformed into rights recognized under the national agrarian framework, thereby creating greater legal certainty. This process also served as a form of legal protection for landholders by providing official certificates of land rights that function as strong legal evidence of ownership.

However, despite the government's efforts to regulate the conversion of Western land rights, practical challenges in implementing these provisions have continued to emerge (Kurniawan et al., 2020). Land-related disputes have long constituted a significant source of social and legal conflict in Indonesia. This situation is largely attributable to the strategic importance of land as an economic, social, and cultural asset, leading many individuals and groups to compete for control and ownership. Data released by the Consortium for Agrarian Reform (Konsorsium Pembaruan Agraria) indicate that in 2024 there were at least 295 recorded agrarian conflicts across Indonesia, representing an increase of 20.9 percent compared to the previous year. These conflicts affected approximately 1,113,631.47 hectares of land and involved an estimated 67,436 households, highlighting the continuing significance of agrarian disputes within the national policy landscape.

Furthermore, Google Trends data presented in Figure 1 demonstrate that public interest in agrarian "land Dispute" issues has fluctuated over recent years. The trend indicates relatively low levels of public attention during the earlier period, followed by a notable increase beginning in 2024 and reaching its peak in 2025 before subsequently declining. This pattern suggests that the issue under examination attracted substantial public attention and became a prominent topic of discussion within digital spaces. The surge in online searches reflects growing public awareness and concern regarding land disputes, particularly those involving questions of legal certainty, property rights, and agrarian justice, thereby illustrating the increasing relevance of such issues within contemporary public discourse.

Figure 1. Google Trends Data in Land Dispute



Source: Google Trends (2026)

An increase in search trends on Google Trends can serve as an indicator of growing public attention toward a particular social phenomenon or policy issue. In the context of public policy research, such digital trend data can be utilized to examine the evolution of public attention, the intensity of public discourse, and the dynamics of public opinion regarding

emerging issues. In this regard, land disputes have become one of the most persistent problems in Indonesia's land sector, representing a chronic and longstanding issue that has continued for years, and in many cases, even decades.

Land disputes generally arise when an individual or legal entity files objections and claims regarding land rights, including disputes over land status, ownership priority, or legal ownership, with the expectation of obtaining an administrative resolution in accordance with prevailing regulations (Yusuf et al., 2023). Consequently, land administration requires a regulatory framework and a dedicated state institution with specific authority and responsibility in land affairs and dispute resolution (Rusmadi, 2005). In accordance with Presidential Regulation No. 10 of 2006, the establishment of the National Land Agency (Badan Pertanahan Nasional/BPN) was strengthened to assist and provide services to the public in securing and protecting their land rights.

One of the most prominent land dispute cases in recent years is the conflict involving residents of Dago Elos, located in Dago, Coblong District, Bandung City, West Java, against claimants from the Muller family. The dispute originated when Heri Hermawan Muller and Dodi Rustandi Muller identified themselves as descendants of George Hendrikus Wilhelmus Muller, a German national who resided in Bandung during the Dutch colonial period. They further claimed to be relatives of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, who was allegedly assigned to Indonesia. These assertions were met with skepticism and strong rejection from the residents of Dago Elos, who regarded the claims as unfounded.

The conflict formally emerged in 2016 when the Muller family, in collaboration with PT Dago Inti Graha, a property development company based in Bandung, filed a lawsuit based on a Statement of Heirship (Pernyataan Ahli Waris/PAW) recognized under Decision No. 687/Pdt.P/2013, submitted on January 23, 2014. The plaintiffs claimed ownership of residential land in Dago Elos based on Eigendom Verponding Certificates Nos. 3740, 3741, and 3742, covering areas of 44,780 m², 5,316 m², and 13,460 m², respectively. The residents rejected these claims, arguing that many of them had occupied the land for decades and possessed valid land ownership certificates. Nevertheless, through Bandung District Court Decision No. 454/Pdt/G/2016/PN.Bdg, the court ruled in favor of the Muller family. As a consequence, Dago Elos residents were ordered to vacate the disputed land and pay court costs amounting to IDR 238,000,000.

Subsequently, the residents appealed the decision to the West Java High Court. However, through Decision No. 570/PDT/2017/PT.Bdg, the appellate court upheld the ownership claim under the name of George Hendrikus Wilhelmus Muller and granted land control rights to PT Dago Inti Graha (Ginting et al., 2022). In response, the residents filed a cassation appeal to the Supreme Court. In Supreme Court Cassation Decision No. 934 K/Pdt/2019, the Court ruled that the Eigendom Verponding rights registered under George Hendrikus Wilhelmus Muller had expired because they were not converted into rights recognized under the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) before the statutory deadline of September 24, 1980. Consequently, the Muller family was deemed to have lost its legal claim to the land. The Court further recognized that the Dago Elos residents, who had occupied and exercised control over the land for an extended period, possessed a stronger legal basis for ownership of the disputed property (Syukur et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, in 2022, the Muller family and PT Dago Inti Graha filed a Judicial Review (Peninjauan Kembali/PK) petition with the Supreme Court. Through Decision No. 109 PK/Pdt/2022, the Court granted the Muller family's claim and ruled that ownership rights over

the Eigendom Verponding Certificates Nos. 3740, 3741, and 3742 were legally valid and should be transferred to PT Dago Inti Graha (Asnanda et al., 2024). This ruling sparked strong opposition from the residents of Dago Elos and the Dago Elos Advocacy Team, who argued that it contradicted the previous cassation decision issued by the Supreme Court.

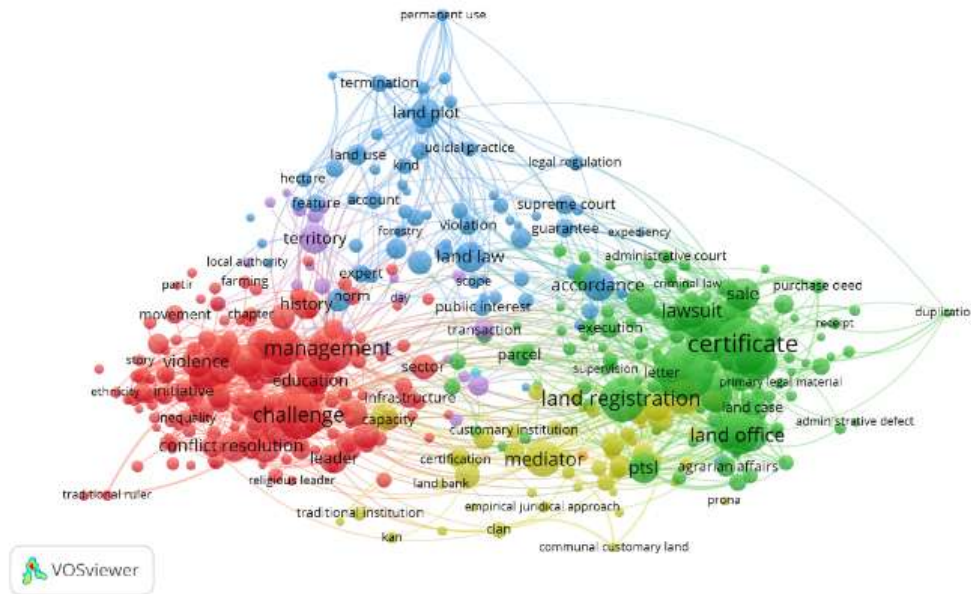
Following the ruling, residents identified several alleged irregularities in the Statement of Heirship (Pernyataan Ahli Waris/PAW), particularly concerning the identity of George Hendrikus Wilhelmus Muller, who had been claimed to be a relative of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands. Based on these findings, the residents, together with the "Dago Melawan" (Dago Resists) coalition, reported suspected document forgery to law enforcement authorities. After a series of investigations, the West Java Regional Police (Polda Jawa Barat) designated Heri Hermawan Muller and Dodi Rustandi Muller as suspects for alleged document forgery and the provision of false information in an authentic deed, as stipulated under Articles 263 and 266 of the Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP), based on Police Report No. LBP/336/VIII/2023/SPKT/PoldaJabar dated 15 August 2023. Meanwhile, the perceived slow pace of legal proceedings triggered public protests by Dago Elos residents, including demonstrations, road blockades, and clashes with security forces (Detik.com, 2023; Alhamidi, 2024).

Subsequently, the residents of Dago Elos filed a petition requesting that the disputed land be designated as a non-executable object, thereby preventing the enforcement of the court's ruling. Their efforts gained significant momentum when the West Java Regional Police formally named the Muller brothers as suspects in the alleged land document forgery case. According to information released by the "Dago Melawan" coalition, Heri Hermawan Muller and Dodi Rustandi Muller were later sentenced to three years and six months of imprisonment in October 2024. An appeal submitted by the Muller family was subsequently rejected, resulting in the sentence remaining in force pursuant to Articles 263 and 266 of the Indonesian Criminal Code.

An analysis of these developments demonstrates that the Dago Elos case represents a complex land policy conflict involving multiple actors, including local communities, government institutions, law enforcement agencies, and private-sector interests. Consequently, this study focuses on the advocacy processes undertaken by Dago Elos residents and the Dago Elos Advocacy Team, particularly regarding coalition-building among actors, the mobilization and utilization of resources, and advocacy strategies employed to defend land rights in the Dago Elos area. From this perspective, policy advocacy serves not only as a framework for understanding land disputes as legal conflicts but also as a means of examining them as arenas of power contestation and policy advocacy among competing actors within the land governance subsystem.

Furthermore, a bibliometric analysis of land disputes was also conducted to provide a broader understanding of the research landscape and scholarly networks related to this issue. The analysis aimed to identify research trends, thematic developments, and relationships among studies concerning land disputes and advocacy coalitions. The bibliometric data were retrieved using the Publish or Perish software with the keywords "Advocacy Coalition Framework," "Land Dispute," and "Agrarian Conflict." A total of approximately 100 journal articles published within the last five years were collected and subsequently analyzed using VOSviewer to generate network visualizations. The resulting bibliometric map is presented in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Bibliometric Visualization of Key Themes in Land Dispute



Source: VOSviewer analysis of articles, (2016–2026)

Based on the VOSviewer analysis presented in Figure 2, land disputes remain a highly relevant and significant area of scholarly inquiry due to their profound implications for the livelihoods, security, and socio-economic well-being of affected communities. The persistence of land-related conflicts across various contexts highlights the complexity of land governance and underscores the need for continued academic attention to understand the underlying dynamics and policy challenges associated with such disputes.

Furthermore, the bibliometric mapping reveals substantial opportunities for theoretical and empirical development within the field. Building upon these findings, this study seeks to address an existing research gap by introducing a novel perspective grounded in policy advocacy, specifically through the application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) as the primary analytical lens. By employing ACF, this research aims to examine the processes, interactions, and strategic dynamics among policy actors involved in shaping, contesting, and influencing land-related policy decisions. In doing so, the study contributes to the advancement of knowledge by extending the application of ACF to the context of land policy disputes and offering a more comprehensive understanding of advocacy dynamics within land governance systems.

According to Dunn (2018), the Advocacy Coalition Framework represents a policy process framework that emphasizes the role of coalitions of actors who utilize information, shared beliefs, and strategic actions to influence policy outcomes. The framework provides a valuable approach for understanding how actors coordinate resources, construct policy narratives, and engage in long-term efforts to shape public policy within a particular policy subsystem.

Several previous studies have applied the Advocacy Coalition Framework in various policy contexts. For instance, Gabehart et al. (2022) examined coalition formation and coalition politics in the context of climate change policy. Their findings demonstrated that the success or failure of policy responses to climate change is closely related to the capacity of advocacy

coalitions to communicate scientific information effectively, foster policy learning, and facilitate collaboration across competing coalitions. The study further highlighted that the Advocacy Coalition Framework is particularly useful for explaining how coalitions evolve, adapt, and engage in cross-coalition learning processes to address complex policy challenges such as climate change.

The second study, conducted by Haar (2024), examined the dynamics of two competing policy coalitions in the United States during the early years of President Barack Obama's administration, a period characterized by a shift in U.S. foreign policy from a multilateral approach centered on European allies toward a strategy that encouraged other actors to assume greater leadership roles. The findings revealed that the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) provides a useful analytical lens for understanding how the pragmatic realist coalition strategically mobilized resources, framed policy narratives, and navigated political processes to prevail in policy debates during the Obama administration. Furthermore, the study demonstrated the framework's capacity to explain coalition behavior, strategic adaptation, and policy influence within complex political environments.

A third study, conducted by Hulu et al. (2023), focused on land dispute resolution in Indonesia through the State Administrative Court system. The research found that the resolution of land disputes remains relatively ineffective and often inconclusive due to overlapping judicial decisions issued by different courts. The study further identified significant challenges in enforcing court decisions that have obtained permanent legal force, as well as the absence of clear legal provisions specifying which judicial institution possesses ultimate authority in resolving land-related disputes in Indonesia. These findings highlight the persistent institutional and legal complexities that characterize land governance in the country.

Subsequent research by Edison et al. (2025) emphasized the importance of policy networks and inter-actor collaboration in influencing public policy and strengthening community resilience within conservation areas. The findings demonstrated that relationships, coordination, and cooperation among diverse stakeholders play a crucial role in shaping policy outcomes and enhancing the adaptive capacity of local communities. The study further underscored the significance of collaborative governance arrangements in facilitating policy implementation and fostering sustainable development objectives.

Finally, Pratama et al. (2024) investigated the role of public communication strategies in supporting the implementation of sustainable development policies. Their findings revealed that public communication serves as a critical instrument for shaping public opinion, disseminating policy information, and generating societal support for government initiatives. The study concluded that effective communication strategies can significantly influence policy processes by enhancing public engagement and fostering broader acceptance of policy objectives.

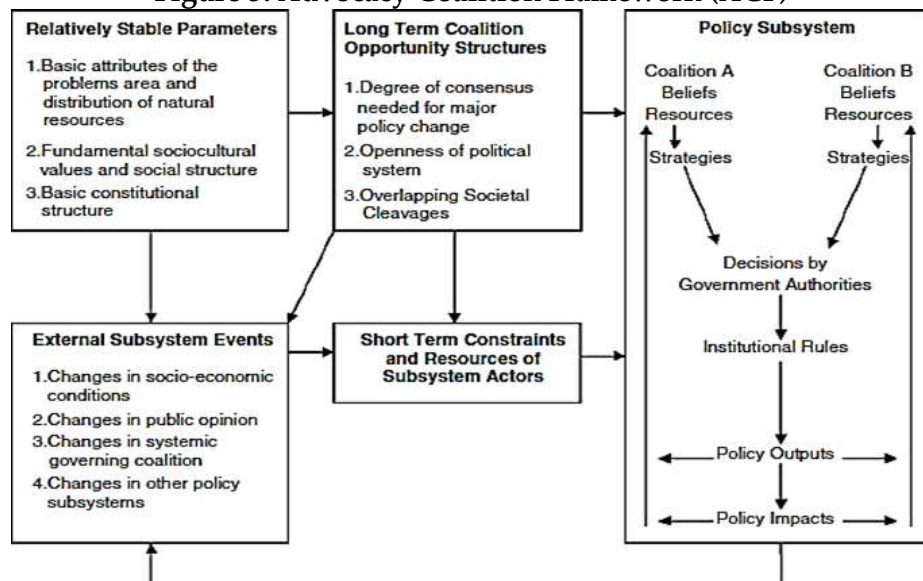
Drawing upon these five previous studies, this research identifies both theoretical and empirical gaps within the existing literature. While prior studies have examined advocacy coalitions, policy networks, communication strategies, and land dispute resolution separately, limited attention has been devoted to understanding land dispute conflicts through the lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. This gap constitutes the primary state of the art of the present study. Moreover, this research contributes methodological novelty through the integration of bibliometric mapping using VOSviewer and qualitative data analysis utilizing

NVivo 12, thereby offering a more comprehensive understanding of advocacy processes, actor interactions, and coalition dynamics in land policy conflicts.

Within the field of public policy studies, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), developed by Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher M. Weible (2007), posits that coalitions formed within a policy subsystem strategically employ various resources to achieve their policy objectives. According to the framework, policy actors engage in long-term competition and collaboration by mobilizing resources, constructing policy beliefs, and influencing decision-making processes. At least six key resources and strategies are commonly utilized by advocacy coalitions when engaging in policy debates concerning specific public issues.

The ACF was originally developed to explain and address complex and contentious public policy problems. As argued by Hoppe and Peterse (1993), the framework is particularly useful for understanding policy change and belief transformation in situations characterized by agreement, disagreement, or conflict among policy actors. According to Jenkins-Smith et al. (2014), a policy subsystem consists of several interrelated components, including belief systems, advocacy coalitions, policy brokers, resources, advocacy venues, and mechanisms of policy change. Consequently, the Advocacy Coalition Framework has become one of the most widely applied approaches in policy studies for analyzing interactions among actors and explaining how policy change occurs within complex governance environments. The conceptual framework of the Advocacy Coalition Framework is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)



Sumber: Crisstoper M. Weible, et al., 2011

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) serves as an analytical tool that enables policymakers, researchers, and interest groups to better understand and explain how advocacy coalitions emerge, how policy-oriented learning occurs, and how policy change is produced within a particular policy subsystem (Howlett & Mukherjee, 2017). The framework emphasizes the interactions among actors who share similar belief systems and collaborate strategically to influence policy outcomes over extended periods of time.

According to Sabatier and Weible (2007), advocacy coalitions rely on several strategic resources that determine their capacity to influence policy processes. These resources not only shape the effectiveness of coalition activities but also affect their ability to sustain advocacy

efforts and achieve desired policy outcomes. The framework identifies six primary resources available to advocacy coalitions. First, formal legal authority, to make decisions. Second, public opinion. Third, information. Fourth, mobilizable troops. Fifth, financial resources. Finally, skilled leadership.

Based on the phenomena described above, this study investigates the policy advocacy processes undertaken by the residents of Dago Elos and their supporting advocacy networks through the analytical lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). By examining the formation of coalitions, the mobilization of resources, and the strategies employed by various actors, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of policy advocacy within land governance conflicts. Accordingly, this study is entitled: *“The Advocacy Coalition Framework in Land Policy Disputes: Study of Dago Elos Conflict”* This study addresses the following research questions that “How Advocacy Coalition Framework in Land Policy Disputes: Study of Dago Elos Conflict?”

Method

This study employed a qualitative research approach. According to Creswell (2018), qualitative research is an approach designed to explore and understand the meanings that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The qualitative research process is inherently flexible and evolves in response to emerging findings in the field. Data are collected within their natural settings and analyzed inductively, progressing from specific observations toward broader themes and interpretations. This approach enables researchers to gain a deeper understanding of complex social phenomena and the meanings embedded within participants' experiences.

Data collection was conducted through two primary techniques: in-depth interviews and document analysis. In-depth interviews served as the principal method for obtaining primary data regarding the dynamics of the Dago Elos land dispute. The research informants consisted of Dago Elos residents, members of the Dago Elos Advocacy Team, and other stakeholders involved in the land advocacy process (see Table 1). Accordingly, this study employed a purposive sampling technique to select participants who possessed direct knowledge and experience relevant to the research objectives. Through in-depth interviews, the study explored how actors within the advocacy coalition utilized various resources and strategies to address the land dispute, including mass mobilization, public opinion formation, information management, the use of formal legal mechanisms, and advocacy networks to influence the policy process. The analysis focused on developments occurring over a one-year period, from 2025 to 2026, when the Dago Elos land dispute received widespread public attention.

Table 1. List of Research Informants

Name of the Informant's	Category	Type
Angga	Dago Elos Advocacy Forum Alliance	Unstructured Interview
Ristia	Dago Elos Advocacy Forum Alliance	Unstructured Interview
Tati	Dago Elos Advocacy Forum Alliance	Unstructured Interview

Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026)

In addition to interviews, this study employed document analysis as a secondary data collection technique. Documentary sources included court decisions, land administration documents, media reports, advocacy organization publications, land policy documents, scholarly journal articles, and other relevant materials associated with the Dago Elos land dispute. These documents were utilized to complement the interview findings, facilitate data triangulation, and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the chronology of events, actor interactions, and policy developments surrounding the dispute.

Data analysis was conducted using NVivo 12, a qualitative data analysis software originally developed by Tom Richards. NVivo has been widely recognized as an effective tool for managing, organizing, and analyzing qualitative data (Dalkin et al., 2021). The analytical process involved coding and node development to identify key themes, patterns, and relationships within the data. According to Bandur (2019), data analysis using NVivo involves several integrated stages. First, all research data, including interview transcripts, audio recordings, photographs, and supporting documents, are imported into the software. The data are then coded by assigning relevant information to predefined nodes or thematic categories. Subsequently, the researcher explores the coded data to identify patterns, key themes, and relationships while ensuring the completeness and adequacy of the dataset. The next stage involves generating visualizations, such as models, charts, and diagrams, to facilitate data interpretation. Finally, the analyzed data are presented systematically to address the research questions and support the study's conclusions. The findings were subsequently visualized and interpreted through several analytical features available in NVivo, including word clouds, hierarchy charts, and mind maps. These tools facilitated a systematic examination of advocacy dynamics, coalition structures, and resource mobilization strategies within the Dago Elos conflict.

To ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the findings, this study employed data triangulation techniques. As noted by Neuman (2006), triangulation enhances research validity by examining a phenomenon from multiple perspectives and sources of evidence. Specifically, this study utilized both source triangulation and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing information obtained from different key informants involved in the Dago Elos Advocacy Forum in Bandung. Methodological triangulation was achieved by integrating data derived from in-depth interviews and document analysis. While interviews provided direct insights into the experiences and

perspectives of advocacy actors, documentary evidence offered empirical support through the examination of legal regulations, court decisions, and official reports. The combination of these approaches strengthened the credibility, consistency, and robustness of the research findings.

All collected data were systematically organized according to predefined classifications and subsequently screened to determine their relevance for the study. The selected data then underwent data reduction, followed by interpretation and conclusion drawing through a verification process to ensure the validity and consistency of the findings.

Results and Discussion

The discussion presented in this study is grounded in the premise that the land policy dispute in the Dago Elos area represents not merely an administrative and legal conflict over land ownership but also a contestation of interests among actors operating within a public policy subsystem. This dynamic illustrates how various actors formed advocacy coalitions based on shared interests, belief systems, and policy objectives in an effort to influence the direction of land dispute resolution. Throughout this process, each coalition sought not only to defend the legitimacy of its claims but also to employ diverse advocacy strategies through the utilization of political, legal, informational, and public opinion resources, as well as the mobilization of community support. Consequently, the resolution of the Dago Elos land dispute can be understood as an arena of power struggles and competing interests characterized by complex interactions among policy actors seeking to shape public decisions.

Accordingly, this study focuses on analyzing the formation of advocacy coalitions, patterns of interaction among actors, the utilization of strategic resources, and the advocacy strategies that emerged throughout the Dago Elos land policy dispute. To strengthen the analytical and interpretive process, NVivo 12 was employed as a qualitative data analysis tool, with findings visualized through Word Clouds, Hierarchy Charts, and Project Maps. The Word Cloud analysis reveals that the most frequently occurring terms include legal, residents, advocacy, coalition, public, movement, information, solidarity, and media. The prominence of these terms indicates that the Dago Elos land dispute extends beyond the formal legal domain and has evolved into a broader arena of collective advocacy involving multiple actors and diverse resources. The high frequency of the terms legal and residents suggests that the community's struggle was primarily centered on securing legal recognition and protection of their land rights through available judicial and administrative mechanisms. Simultaneously, the prominence of the terms advocacy, coalition, and movement demonstrates that these efforts were not undertaken individually but rather through organized collective action involving local residents, advocacy organizations, academics, media institutions, and various solidarity groups concerned with agrarian justice issues.

These findings suggest that the dynamics of the conflict were shaped not only by questions of legal legitimacy but also by the capacity of actors to establish, maintain, and strengthen advocacy coalitions capable of influencing policy outcomes. The results of the Word Cloud analysis are presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Word Cloud Analysis Results



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

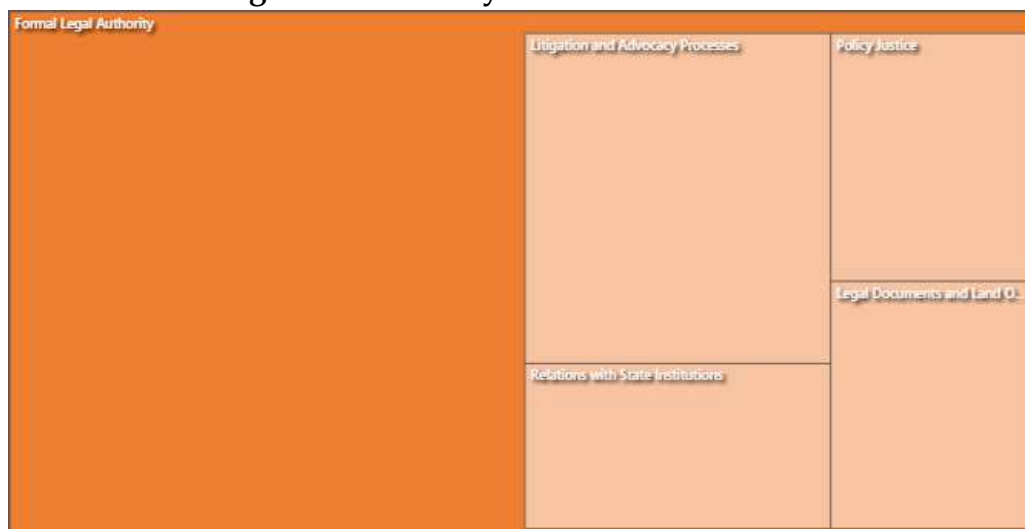
Furthermore, the frequent occurrence of terms such as information, public, media, communication, and solidarity highlights the critical role of information management and public support in the advocacy process. Information functioned not only as a source of knowledge regarding the legal status and historical ownership of the disputed land but also as a strategic resource for building collective awareness, expanding support networks, and enhancing the legitimacy of residents' claims within the public sphere. Likewise, media engagement and communication strategies served as essential mechanisms for disseminating the residents' narratives to wider audiences, thereby facilitating the development of cross-sectoral solidarity and broader public support. This pattern demonstrates that the sustainability and effectiveness of the advocacy movement were strongly influenced by the coalition actors' ability to integrate legal resources, information, leadership, communication strategies, and public support into a coherent and organized advocacy framework. From the perspective of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), these findings illustrate how advocacy coalitions strategically mobilize both tangible and intangible resources to strengthen their position within policy subsystems and influence policy processes. The Dago Elos case therefore exemplifies the importance of coalition-building, information dissemination, and public mobilization as interconnected elements in shaping advocacy efforts and contesting policy outcomes within land governance conflicts.

Formal Legal Authority

Based on the Hierarchy Chart analysis presented in Figure 5, Formal Legal Authority emerged as one of the most dominant resources within the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. This finding indicates that the residents' struggle was not solely dependent upon public mobilization and community support but was also fundamentally grounded in the strategic utilization of formal legal instruments to defend their land rights. From the perspective of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), formal legal authority constitutes a critical resource that enables coalition actors to acquire legitimacy, strengthen their advocacy position, and

influence policy processes through established institutional mechanisms. The dominance of this dimension is reflected in four interconnected aspects: legal documentation and land ownership, litigation and legal advocacy processes, relationships with state institutions, and perceptions of legal justice.

Figure 5. Hierarchy Chart Analusis Result



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

The first prominent aspect concerns legal documentation and land ownership. Eigendom Verponding rights registered under George Hendrikus Wilhelmus Muller had expired because they were not converted into rights recognized under the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) before the statutory deadline of September 24, 1980. Consequently, the Muller family was deemed to have lost its legal claim to the land. The findings reveal that Dago Elos residents relied heavily on Land Ownership Certificates (Sertifikat Hak Milik), Land and Building Tax (Pajak Bumi dan Bangunan) payment records, land administration documents, and evidence of long-term physical occupation as the primary basis for defending their claims over the disputed land. These documents were not merely regarded as administrative requirements but also as legal symbols of legitimacy reflecting the historical relationship between residents and the land they occupied. For residents who had not yet obtained formal ownership certificates, the process of land registration through the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN) was perceived as an important mechanism for securing stronger legal certainty. These findings demonstrate that access to legal documentation constitutes a vital resource for constructing legal arguments and reinforcing residents' bargaining position within land dispute processes.

The second aspect relates to litigation and legal advocacy, which served as a central arena for residents' struggle against land dispossession. The findings indicate that residents did not rely exclusively on collective protest actions but actively pursued available legal channels to defend their interests. These efforts included participation in court proceedings, evidence collection, preparation of supporting documentation, and the reporting of alleged document forgery committed by opposing parties to law enforcement authorities. One notable example was the formal complaint submitted to the Bandung Regional Police on 13 August 2023 concerning the alleged use of falsified documents. This action illustrates how legal mechanisms were strategically employed as advocacy tools to strengthen the coalition's

legitimacy and demonstrate that the conflict involved not only social grievances but also substantive legal violations requiring institutional resolution.

A third aspect concerns the coalition's relationship with state institutions, which was characterized by both cooperation and tension throughout the advocacy process. Residents consistently engaged with formal institutions, including the courts, the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (ATR/BPN), law enforcement agencies, and local government authorities to defend their land rights. These interactions included participating in litigation, submitting documentary evidence, reporting alleged legal violations, and maintaining formal communication with relevant agencies. Informant explained that "we pursued every legal avenue available, including reporting the alleged forged documents owned by the Muller family to the Bandung Police on 13 August 2023, while continuously coordinating with our legal team throughout the judicial process." At the same time, residents sought legal certainty through land certification procedures administered by ATR/BPN and relied on legal assistance organizations to strengthen their litigation strategy. These findings indicate that formal institutions remained an indispensable arena for policy advocacy despite the considerable challenges encountered during the dispute.

Nevertheless, the findings also reveal that interactions with formal legal institutions generated significant dissatisfaction among community members. Several participants perceived that the judicial process had not adequately reflected the available legal evidence and tended to favor the opposing party despite the existence of legal documents supporting residents' claims. Mrs. Ristia stated, "many of us were disappointed because the court's decisions did not reflect what we believed were the legal facts. From our perspective, the Eigendom Verponding title had already expired under the Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA), yet this was not sufficiently considered in several earlier court decisions." As well as angga added, "the emergence of alleged forged inheritance documents further strengthened our belief that justice had not been fully achieved through the formal legal process." Consequently, legal justice was perceived not merely as procedural compliance but as the ability of state institutions to produce decisions consistent with historical evidence, applicable agrarian regulations, and substantive fairness.

These findings are consistent with the work of Nohrstedt and Heinmiller (2024), who argue that the effectiveness of advocacy coalitions is strongly influenced by their ability to mobilize formal institutional resources, including access to government agencies, legal mechanisms, and policy processes. In the Dago Elos case, residents and advocacy actors strategically utilized legal instruments such as land ownership certificates, administrative records, litigation procedures, and legal aid support to strengthen their position in the land dispute. This demonstrates that formal legal authority functions not merely as a mechanism for conflict resolution but also as a strategic resource that enhances coalition legitimacy, bargaining power, and policy influence.

Overall, the findings indicate that formal legal authority constituted one of the most decisive resources within the advocacy strategies employed by Dago Elos residents. Legal documentation, litigation efforts, engagement with state institutions, and demands for substantive justice collectively formed the foundation of the coalition's struggle to defend land rights. These findings support the argument advanced by Sabatier and Weible that, within the Advocacy Coalition Framework, access to formal legal authority represents one of the most influential resources available to advocacy coalitions seeking to shape policy outcomes and defend their interests within contested policy arenas. In the Dago Elos case, formal legal

authority functioned not only as an instrument of dispute resolution but also as a site of political contestation that shaped coalition legitimacy, bargaining capacity, and the long-term sustainability of advocacy efforts.

Public Opinion

Based on the Hierarchy Chart analysis presented in Figure 6, the Public Opinion dimension occupies a prominent position within the resource structure of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. This finding suggests that the success of residents' advocacy efforts was determined not only by formal legal mechanisms but also by the coalition's ability to build, manage, and sustain public support. From the perspective of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), public opinion constitutes a strategic resource that can enhance the legitimacy of advocacy efforts, broaden support networks, and generate political pressure on actors involved in policy processes. The findings reveal that public support, media engagement, advocacy narratives, and the influence of public opinion on policymakers interacted synergistically to strengthen the coalition's position throughout the land dispute.

Figure 6. Hierarchy Chart Analysis Results



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

One of the most prominent aspects within this dimension is public support and solidarity. The findings indicate that support for Dago Elos residents emerged organically from diverse segments of society concerned with issues of agrarian justice and the protection of community living spaces. This support originated from civil society organizations, solidarity networks, advocacy groups, academics, and individuals who had experienced similar land-related conflicts. The existence of these solidarity networks significantly expanded the capacity of the residents' movement by providing not only moral support but also practical assistance in organizing public discussions, advocacy campaigns, mass mobilization activities, and broader coalition-building efforts. These findings demonstrate that public opinion does not emerge spontaneously; rather, it develops through social interactions

that foster collective identities and shared interests among diverse actors engaged in advocacy efforts.

Another significant finding concerns the role of media and journalists in amplifying the Dago Elos issue within the broader public sphere. The findings indicate that independent media outlets, citizen journalists, and various digital platforms played a crucial role in disseminating information regarding the development of the conflict, ongoing legal proceedings, and advocacy activities conducted by residents. Social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, X, TikTok, and WhatsApp served as important channels for rapidly distributing information and reaching wider audiences. Meanwhile, independent media outlets and alternative news portals helped increase public awareness of the challenges faced by the Dago Elos community. As Mrs. Tati explained, "Social media has become our primary medium for conveying legal developments, advocacy activities, and public campaigns because it allows information to spread quickly and reach people without depending entirely on mainstream media." She further emphasized that the support of independent journalists, particularly Bandung Bergerak, had been instrumental in ensuring that the voices of Dago Elos residents were consistently represented in the public sphere. These findings demonstrate that media functioned not only as a channel for disseminating information but also as a strategic instrument for enhancing the legitimacy, visibility, and public recognition of the residents' struggle.

The findings further highlight the importance of advocacy narrative construction as a key strategy for sustaining public support. The study reveals that residents and supporting advocacy coalitions consistently framed the Dago Elos conflict as an issue of land rights, agrarian justice, and the protection of community living spaces rather than merely a dispute over property ownership. This narrative was continuously reinforced through public discussions, legal education, advocacy campaigns, media coverage, and digital communication initiatives. As Kang Angga stated, "Our struggle is not only about defending land ownership; it is about protecting the future of our families and the community that has lived here for generations." He further explained that presenting the conflict within a broader framework of social justice encouraged wider public empathy and attracted support from academics, students, labor organizations, civil society groups, journalists, and communities facing similar agrarian disputes.

At the same time, the findings demonstrate the influence of public opinion on policy processes and decision-making. Although public opinion does not directly determine policy outcomes, widespread public support generated significant social and political pressure on institutions involved in resolving the dispute. Public attention encouraged media organizations, civil society groups, academics, and other stakeholders to monitor legal proceedings and policy developments related to the land conflict. In this regard, public opinion functioned as a mechanism of social accountability capable of increasing institutional transparency while strengthening the bargaining position of the advocacy coalition within policy arenas. These findings indicate that public support represents a strategic asset that enables advocacy coalitions to extend their influence beyond formal litigation processes and into broader policy debates.

The findings of this study are consistent with the work of Stevens and Willems (2023), who examined the relationship between public opinion, advocacy groups, and policy agenda-setting processes. Their study found that strong public support enhances the capacity of advocacy groups to attract political attention and influence policy agendas. Furthermore,

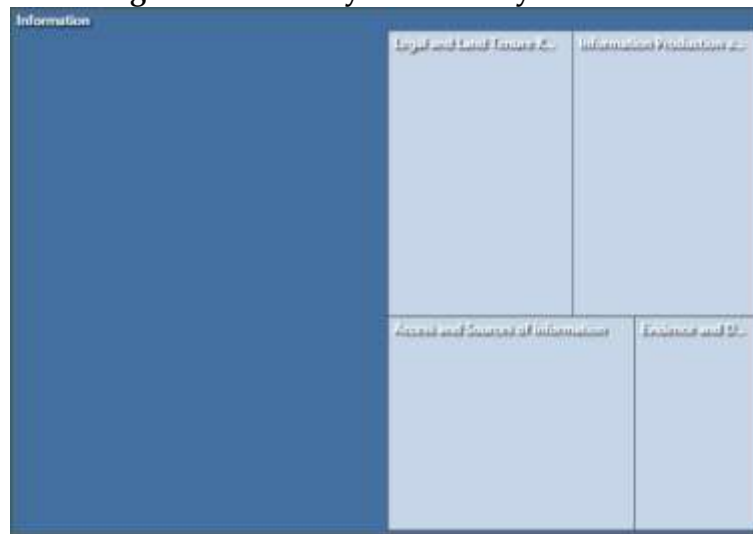
media engagement and the construction of public narratives were identified as critical factors in strengthening the legitimacy of advocacy groups and increasing the visibility of their policy demands among decision-makers. These conclusions closely align with the findings of the present study, which demonstrate that community support, media coverage, and advocacy narratives constituted essential resources in strengthening the position of Dago Elos residents and maintaining public attention toward the land dispute.

Overall, the findings indicate that public opinion served as a crucial resource in enhancing the capacity of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. Community support, media engagement, narrative construction, and influence on policy processes collectively provided a foundation of social legitimacy that strengthened the residents' struggle. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework, these findings demonstrate that the success of advocacy coalitions depends not only on material resources or access to formal institutions but also on their ability to mobilize public support, shape societal perceptions, and maintain legitimacy within the broader public sphere. Consequently, public opinion emerges as a strategic resource that enables advocacy coalitions to amplify their influence and sustain their advocacy efforts in contested policy environments..

Information

Based on the Hierarchy Chart analysis presented in Figure 7, the Information dimension emerged as a significant resource in strengthening the capacity of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), information constitutes a strategic resource that enables coalition actors to construct persuasive policy arguments, enhance their legitimacy, shape public discourse, and influence policy processes through the production, dissemination, and utilization of credible evidence and knowledge. The findings indicate that information was not merely perceived as a collection of legal documents, administrative records, or factual data rather, it functioned as a powerful advocacy instrument through which coalition actors generated collective awareness, strengthened policy narratives, mobilized public support, and reinforced their bargaining position within the broader policy arena. Moreover, the strategic management of information enabled the coalition to challenge competing claims, expose perceived inconsistencies in legal and administrative processes, and sustain public attention toward the land dispute. As such, information served not only as a source of knowledge but also as a mechanism of power that shaped perceptions, influenced stakeholder engagement, and contributed to the resilience and effectiveness of advocacy efforts throughout the conflict.

Figure 6. Hierarchy Chart Analysis Results



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

The findings reveal that one of the most dominant aspects within this dimension is evidence and document verification. Dago Elos residents relied extensively on various legal documents to substantiate and defend their claims over the disputed land, including Land Ownership Certificates (Sertifikat Hak Milik), Land and Building Tax (Pajak Bumi dan Bangunan) payment records, civil administration documents, and evidence of long-term physical occupation of the land. These documents constituted the primary information base used to strengthen residents' position in both litigation proceedings and broader public advocacy efforts. Beyond merely collecting legal documentation, residents and their legal support teams actively scrutinized documents considered questionable, including Statements of Heirship (Pernyataan Ahli Waris), birth certificates, and various historical records related to land ownership claims. Verification processes involved legal reviews, archival investigations, cross-referencing historical evidence, and the translation of foreign-language documents through certified translators. These findings demonstrate that information production within advocacy movements extends beyond data collection to encompass rigorous processes of validation, authentication, and credibility assessment, thereby ensuring that advocacy claims are grounded in verifiable evidence.

Another critical aspect concerns access to and sources of information, which played a fundamental role in sustaining advocacy activities throughout the dispute. Interview findings indicate that information regarding the legal status of the Eigendom Verponding, the historical trajectory of land ownership, and developments in the dispute was obtained through a wide range of channels, including social media platforms, online and print media, civil society organizations, academics, agrarian activists, and inter-community networks with similar experiences in land conflicts. The diversity of these information sources expanded the residents' knowledge base and enabled them to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the legal, historical, and political dimensions of the dispute. In this context, information was no longer monopolized by formal institutions but was continuously produced, exchanged, and disseminated through broader social and advocacy networks. Such a process illustrates the democratization of information within policy conflicts, whereby communities actively participate in generating knowledge relevant to their own struggles.

The findings further highlight the importance of information production and dissemination as a strategic component of the advocacy process. Information was systematically circulated through community forums, public discussions, coordination meetings, WhatsApp groups, and various social media platforms to ensure that all residents maintained a shared understanding of legal developments, advocacy strategies, and organizational objectives. Legal information obtained from advocacy teams and external experts was translated into accessible language to accommodate the diverse educational backgrounds and legal literacy levels of community members. As Mrs. Ristia explained, "We regularly hold community meetings to explain every legal development because not everyone has the same understanding of land law. Our responsibility is to ensure that every resident understands what is happening and what steps we need to take together." This continuous process of information sharing helped prevent misinformation, strengthened collective understanding, and minimized the potential for internal divisions. Consequently, information dissemination functioned not only as a communication mechanism but also as an organizational strategy for maintaining movement cohesion throughout the prolonged conflict.

In addition, legal and land governance knowledge emerged as a critical resource that significantly enhanced the coalition's advocacy capacity. Assistance provided by the Legal Aid Institute of Bandung (LBH Bandung), the Legal Aid Institute of Parahyangan Catholic University (LBH Pengayoman Universitas Katolik Parahyangan), academics, journalists, and various civil society organizations substantially improved residents' understanding of agrarian regulations, legal procedures, and land rights. This knowledge enabled the coalition to develop stronger legal arguments, verify documentary evidence, and formulate advocacy strategies grounded in factual and legal considerations. As Kang Angga noted, "Legal information became our strongest weapon. We collected evidence, verified documents, worked closely with our legal team, and ensured that every piece of information presented to the public was supported by facts." Beyond litigation, legal information was strategically disseminated through mainstream and social media to strengthen public awareness and expand coalition support.

These findings are consistent with the work of Heikkila et al. (2024), who argue that information and knowledge constitute essential resources within the Advocacy Coalition Framework because they contribute to the construction of legitimacy, the strengthening of policy arguments, and the enhancement of actors' capacities to influence decision-making processes. Their research demonstrates that advocacy coalitions capable of effectively managing information possess greater opportunities to secure public support and shape policy outcomes. This conclusion aligns closely with the findings of the present study, where Dago Elos residents strategically utilized legal documents, land governance studies, information networks, and media engagement to reinforce their advocacy efforts and defend their land rights.

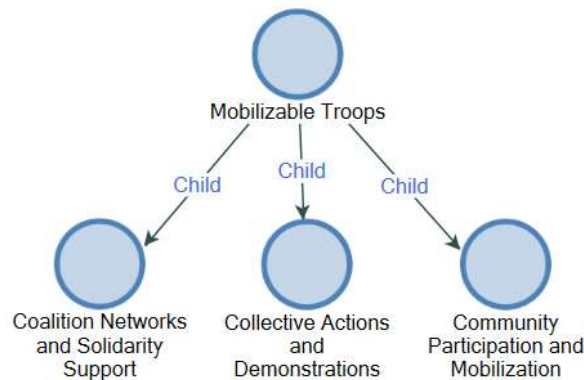
Overall, the findings indicate that information represented one of the most influential resources within the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The coalition's ability to acquire, verify, manage, and disseminate information enabled it to construct compelling arguments, enhance community capacity, and expand public support for its cause. From the perspective of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, these findings demonstrate that information functions not merely as a source of knowledge but also as a form of strategic power capable of shaping policy dynamics, influencing public discourse, and strengthening coalition resilience in the

face of prolonged and contentious policy conflicts. Consequently, information emerges as a central mechanism through which advocacy coalitions generate legitimacy, sustain collective action, and contest competing claims within complex policy environments..

Mobilizable Troops.

Based on the Project Map analysis presented in Figure 7, the dimension of mobilizable troops emerged as one of the most significant resources underpinning the strength of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The findings indicate that the effectiveness of the coalition was determined not merely by the number of actors involved but also by its capacity to cultivate solidarity, sustain collective participation, and organize diverse social resources into coordinated and purposeful collective action. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), mobilizable troops represent a critical strategic resource that enables advocacy coalitions to maintain organizational resilience, expand their influence, and sustain policy engagement throughout prolonged and contentious policy conflicts.

Figure 7. Project Map Analysis Result



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

The findings reveal that the Dago Elos movement evolved beyond a localized community struggle into a broader collective movement involving a wide range of civil society actors, community organizations, agrarian advocacy networks, labor groups, communities affected by spatial and land-use conflicts, student organizations, independent media outlets, and solidarity movements from various regions across Indonesia. Support was provided by diverse organizations and communities, including PPLP-KP Kulon Progo, Bara Baraya Makassar, the Confederation of Indonesian Workers' Alliance Congress (Konfederasi Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia), residents of Kampung Bayam Jakarta, Papuan solidarity networks, student communities, and independent media platforms such as Bandung Bergerak. The involvement of these actors demonstrates that the Dago Elos conflict was no longer perceived as a purely local dispute but rather as part of a broader struggle concerning agrarian justice, the right to living space, and the protection of communities from practices perceived as detrimental to their livelihoods and rights.

The study further indicates that coalition networks and solidarity alliances constituted the most dominant element in the mobilization process. Support extended far beyond participation in public demonstrations and included the provision of information, advocacy assistance, public opinion reinforcement, media engagement, educational initiatives, and the organization of public forums and discussions. These solidarity networks significantly enhanced the movement's capacity by providing access to resources, expertise, and

opportunities that would have been difficult for residents to obtain independently. From an ACF perspective, this reflects the coalition's ability to engage in effective alliance-building, whereby actors sharing similar belief systems and policy objectives collaborate to pursue common goals. The development of such networks illustrates how advocacy coalitions can expand their influence by integrating diverse actors into a unified policy-oriented movement.

Another important finding concerns the coalition's ability to sustain community participation and mobilization despite the protracted nature of the conflict. Participation was maintained through regular community meetings, legal education sessions, resident forums, and various collective activities designed to strengthen awareness regarding the importance of defending land rights that had been exercised for generations. These activities served not only as channels for information dissemination but also as mechanisms for reproducing solidarity and reinforcing collective commitment to the movement's objectives. The findings suggest that sustained participation was strongly influenced by the ability of movement leaders and organizers to foster optimism, a sense of collective ownership, and confidence that the coalition's goals could be achieved through collective action. This demonstrates that successful mobilization depends not only on organizational structures but also on the cultivation of shared identities and collective efficacy among participants.

In addition to external solidarity networks, the coalition's mobilization capacity was reinforced by the presence of internal leadership structures responsible for maintaining advocacy activities and coordinating collective action. The findings indicate that mobilization efforts were facilitated through a relatively organized division of roles and responsibilities. Within the movement, Angga Sulistia Putra served as one of the principal coordinators responsible for advocacy activities, mass mobilization, and community consolidation efforts. His role was supported by key actors such as Mas Oky, Bu Tuti, Pak Oman, Pak Sholeh, Aa Agus, Aa Bogel, and Bu Ristia, who actively participated in negotiation processes, mediation efforts, communication with government institutions, and the coordination of advocacy agendas. Meanwhile, respected community figures such as Nek Aan and Pak Wahyu functioned as senior community leaders who provided moral guidance, maintained social cohesion, and strengthened the movement's legitimacy. Over time, participation also expanded to include motorcycle taxi communities, market vendors, reporting residents, and other community groups. These findings suggest that successful mobilization is determined not solely by the size of the participating population but also by the coalition's ability to strategically allocate responsibilities and maintain organizational effectiveness.

The findings additionally highlight the importance of collective action and public demonstrations as mechanisms for expressing and sustaining mobilization capacity. Various forms of mobilization were undertaken, including mass protests, public hearings with government institutions, mediation processes, public campaigns, and community-based activities aimed at maintaining the movement's visibility within the public sphere. These actions demonstrate the coalition's capacity to sustain participation over time while simultaneously attracting support from broader civil society groups concerned with agrarian justice and the protection of community living spaces. In this regard, collective action functioned not only as a means of expressing grievances but also as a strategic tool for maintaining public attention and reinforcing the coalition's bargaining position within policy arenas.

Despite these achievements, the findings also reveal several challenges to long-term mobilization. The prolonged nature of the conflict generated physical, psychological, and

economic fatigue among some residents. Furthermore, legal uncertainty, social pressures, and the circulation of information capable of undermining internal solidarity posed additional obstacles to sustaining collective action. Consequently, strengthening internal communication, consolidating community networks, and preserving solidarity became essential strategies for maintaining participation and organizational resilience. From an ACF perspective, these findings suggest that the ability to sustain mobilization over extended periods is as important as the capacity to mobilize large numbers of participants during critical moments of policy conflict.

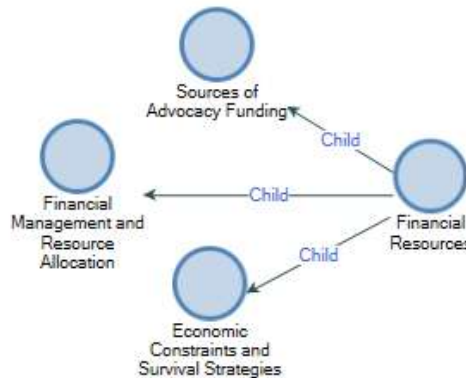
These findings are consistent with the work of Wesche et al. (2025), who argue that the effectiveness of advocacy coalitions is strongly influenced by their ability to build support networks, coordinate diverse actors, and maintain collective participation over time. Their study emphasizes that the mobilization of human resources through alliances, solidarity networks, and collective action constitutes a crucial determinant of a coalition's capacity to influence policy processes. This argument closely aligns with the Dago Elos case, where the strength of the movement stemmed not only from directly affected residents but also from its ability to consolidate civil society organizations, solidarity communities, independent media, academics, and advocacy groups into a cohesive movement pursuing shared policy objectives.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that mobilizable troops represent one of the most critical strategic resources within the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The coalition's strength was rooted in its ability to build extensive solidarity networks, sustain community participation, coordinate collective action, and maintain organizational cohesion throughout a prolonged conflict. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework, these findings underscore the importance of human mobilization and collective engagement as sources of political influence and coalition resilience. Despite confronting opponents with greater political, economic, and legal resources, the Dago Elos coalition was able to sustain its advocacy efforts largely because of its capacity to mobilize and organize people around a shared vision of agrarian justice and community rights

A. Financial Resources

Based on the Project Map analysis presented in Figure 9, the Financial Resources dimension emerged as a crucial factor influencing the sustainability and resilience of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The findings indicate that the coalition's ability to maintain its advocacy efforts was closely associated with its capacity to mobilize, manage, and consolidate diverse sources of financial support throughout the prolonged land dispute. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), financial resources constitute a strategic asset that enables advocacy coalitions to sustain organizational activities, support litigation processes, facilitate public campaigns, and preserve collective mobilization over extended periods of policy conflict. Consequently, access to and management of financial resources became an essential component of the coalition's broader advocacy strategy

Figure 8. Project Map Analysis Results



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

The findings reveal that the financial resources supporting the Dago Elos movement did not originate from large institutions, corporate sponsors, or formal funding mechanisms. Instead, they were generated primarily through community self-help initiatives, social solidarity networks, and collective participation among residents and supporters. This pattern demonstrates the coalition's capacity to organize material support despite operating under significant economic constraints. Such findings highlight the importance of grassroots resource mobilization in sustaining advocacy movements that lack access to conventional sources of funding.

One of the most prominent aspects identified in this dimension concerns the participatory nature of funding sources. Financial support was obtained through voluntary contributions from advocacy team members, community fundraising initiatives, donations from the wider public, and assistance from solidarity groups concerned with the Dago Elos issue. A particularly distinctive characteristic of the movement's financial structure was the strong culture of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) embedded within the community. Many residents, including small business owners, street vendors, traders, and informal-sector workers, voluntarily allocated a portion of their income to support the collective struggle. This demonstrates that financial participation was not merely an economic contribution but also a manifestation of collective commitment to defending community rights and maintaining the continuity of advocacy efforts.

The findings further indicate that cultural and artistic activities played a significant role in supporting the coalition's fundraising efforts. Various solidarity events were organized to generate financial resources while simultaneously expanding public awareness of the Dago Elos conflict. Several music groups and artists, including DT09, Sukatani, Tanasaghara, Samanesna, Om Tris, Homicide, Turtles Junior, Dongker, and Kontrasosialkomunike, voluntarily participated in fundraising events without receiving financial compensation. These activities served dual functions: generating financial support for advocacy activities and strengthening public engagement with the broader issues of agrarian justice and community rights. In this regard, cultural mobilization became an innovative mechanism through which material resources and public solidarity were simultaneously cultivated.

Another significant aspect relates to the management and allocation of financial resources to support advocacy and legal processes. The findings suggest that a substantial proportion of available funds was directed toward litigation-related activities, including the preparation of legal documents, submission of legal appeals, evidence collection and

verification, archival research, certified translation of foreign-language documents, and various administrative expenses associated with legal proceedings. In addition, public advocacy activities required considerable financial support for the production of campaign materials, protest banners, posters, logistical supplies, event documentation, transportation costs, and food provisions for participants involved in advocacy forums and collective actions. These findings demonstrate that financial resources functioned as an enabling mechanism that allowed advocacy activities to be conducted consistently throughout the duration of the conflict.

The study also reveals the presence of economic constraints and adaptive survival strategies among residents involved in the movement. Most community members were required to continue their daily economic activities to support their families while simultaneously participating in advocacy efforts. This situation created considerable challenges, particularly because the legal and advocacy processes extended over a prolonged period and demanded continuous financial expenditures. Nevertheless, economic limitations did not weaken the movement's resilience. On the contrary, residents developed adaptive strategies through collective fundraising initiatives, mutual assistance mechanisms, solidarity-based economic support, and the equitable distribution of financial burdens across the community. The development of such forms of economic solidarity became a critical mechanism for sustaining the movement despite limited material resources.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that economic considerations were closely intertwined with the broader objectives of the advocacy movement. For Dago Elos residents, the disputed land represented far more than an economic asset. It constituted a living space connected to community identity, social security, cultural continuity, and the future well-being of their families. Consequently, threats to land ownership were perceived as threats to the social and economic sustainability of the community as a whole. This collective understanding encouraged residents to remain actively engaged in advocacy efforts despite significant financial sacrifices. From an ACF perspective, this finding suggests that financial resources should not be understood solely in terms of monetary capacity but also in relation to a coalition's ability to sustain collective commitment and resource-sharing practices under conditions of economic hardship.

These findings are consistent with the work of Pierce et al. (2024), who argue that material resources, particularly financial resources, constitute a fundamental component of advocacy coalition sustainability. Their study demonstrates that the ability to acquire, manage, and strategically allocate financial resources significantly influences a coalition's capacity to sustain advocacy activities, expand support networks, and maintain actor participation in long-term policy processes. This argument aligns closely with the Dago Elos case, where the continuity of advocacy efforts depended largely on the coalition's ability to consolidate financial support through community self-help mechanisms, public donations, solidarity networks, and collective fundraising activities.

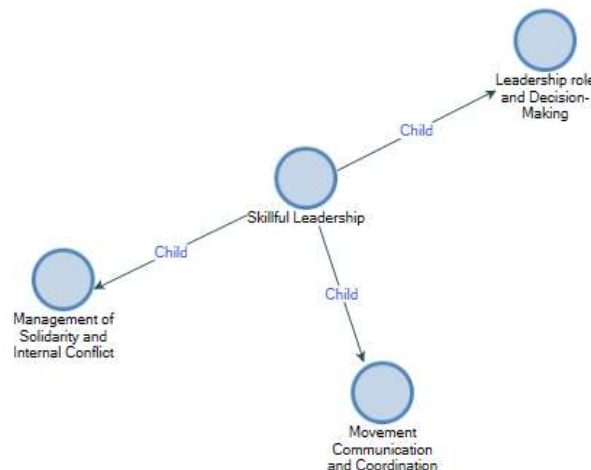
Overall, the findings demonstrate that financial resources played a pivotal role in sustaining the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The movement's resilience was supported by a combination of community-based economic participation, solidarity networks, public contributions, and the collective management of limited resources. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework, these findings underscore the importance of financial capacity as a determinant of coalition endurance and effectiveness. The Dago Elos case illustrates that even in the absence of substantial institutional funding, advocacy coalitions can maintain influence

and organizational sustainability when they successfully mobilize collective commitment, social solidarity, and participatory resource-sharing mechanisms. Consequently, financial resources emerge not only as material assets but also as indicators of the coalition's organizational cohesion and long-term capacity to engage in policy and legal struggles.

Skilled Leadership

Based on the Project Map analysis presented in Figure 10, the Skilled Leadership dimension emerged as a critical resource underpinning the effectiveness and sustainability of the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The findings indicate that leadership played a pivotal role in maintaining coalition cohesion, coordinating collective resources, and directing strategic actions throughout the prolonged land policy conflict. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), leadership constitutes a strategic resource that enables coalitions to consolidate internal support, cultivate external alliances, mobilize political and social capital, and sustain collective action in pursuit of policy objectives. The study further reveals that leadership within the Dago Elos movement was not concentrated in a single individual; rather, it evolved through a model of collective leadership in which multiple actors performed complementary roles and responsibilities to strengthen the coalition's overall capacity.

Figure 9. Project Map Analysis Results



Source: Processed by the Researcher (2026), using NVivo12

The findings demonstrate that several key figures played essential roles in sustaining the movement, with Kang Angga emerging as one of the central actors responsible for mobilizing community participation, coordinating collective actions, fostering solidarity networks, and facilitating communication between residents and external stakeholders. Nevertheless, leadership within the Dago Elos movement extended far beyond a single charismatic figure. Individuals such as Bu Tuti, Pak Oman, Pak Sholeh, Aa Agus, Aa Bogel, and Mas Oky also assumed important responsibilities in community coordination, negotiation processes, engagement with government institutions, and the formulation of advocacy strategies. This collective leadership structure enhanced the coalition's adaptability and organizational resilience, enabling it to respond effectively to the evolving dynamics of the conflict. The distributed nature of leadership also reduced dependence on individual actors and strengthened the movement's capacity to sustain advocacy efforts over time.

Another significant aspect of this dimension concerns the coalition's participatory decision-making processes. The findings reveal that strategic decisions related to litigation, advocacy campaigns, public demonstrations, and engagement with external actors were consistently deliberated through community forums and coordination meetings involving various segments of the movement. Such mechanisms fostered strong internal legitimacy because decisions were perceived as representing collective interests rather than the preferences of a limited leadership elite. From the perspective of the ACF, participatory decision-making contributes to coalition stability by reinforcing trust among members, enhancing organizational transparency, and strengthening commitment to shared policy objectives. Consequently, leadership within the Dago Elos coalition functioned not only as a coordinating mechanism but also as a process for cultivating collective ownership over advocacy strategies and movement outcomes.

The leadership dimension is further reflected in the coalition's capacity for effective communication and coordination. The findings indicate that movement leaders possessed the ability to translate complex legal and policy issues into accessible language that could be readily understood by community members. This communicative capacity played a crucial role in increasing residents' understanding of the land dispute while simultaneously maintaining participation in various advocacy activities. Furthermore, leaders demonstrated strong external communication skills that facilitated collaboration with legal aid organizations, journalists, academics, civil society organizations, and broader solidarity networks. These relationships expanded the coalition's access to information, expertise, resources, and public support, thereby strengthening its ability to engage effectively within both legal and political arenas. In this regard, leadership functioned as a bridging mechanism connecting grassroots actors with broader policy and advocacy networks.

The study also highlights the importance of leadership in managing solidarity and internal conflict. Prolonged policy conflicts often generate organizational fatigue, divergent viewpoints, and declining levels of participation among coalition members. However, the findings suggest that movement leaders actively cultivated social cohesion through community meetings, legal education sessions, cultural activities, and periodic evaluation forums designed to reinforce collective identity and solidarity. When disagreements emerged regarding advocacy strategies or organizational priorities, leaders employed dialogue-based and deliberative approaches to facilitate consensus-building and prevent internal fragmentation. Such practices enabled the coalition to maintain unity despite experiencing considerable legal, political, and economic pressures. This finding underscores the importance of leadership as a mechanism for preserving organizational resilience and sustaining collective action during extended periods of contention.

The findings of this study are consistent with the work of Weible et al. (2024), who argue that coalition leadership plays a fundamental role in coordinating actors, fostering trust, managing internal disputes, and ensuring coalition continuity within complex policy processes. Their research emphasizes that the effectiveness of advocacy coalitions depends not solely on the number of participating actors but also on the capacity of leaders to integrate diverse interests, resources, and organizational capabilities into a coherent collective strategy. This argument closely aligns with the Dago Elos case, where collective leadership served as a key factor in maintaining community solidarity, coordinating advocacy activities, and sustaining long-term engagement in the struggle for land rights.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that skilled leadership constituted one of the most influential strategic resources within the Dago Elos advocacy coalition. The coalition's effectiveness was shaped not only by its ability to mobilize large numbers of participants but also by the capacity of its leaders to coordinate collective resources, facilitate communication, strengthen internal cohesion, manage organizational challenges, and expand external support networks. Within the Advocacy Coalition Framework, leadership functions as a critical integrative mechanism through which various coalition resources including legal authority, information, public support, financial resources, and mobilizable participants can be effectively leveraged to advance advocacy objectives. The Dago Elos case therefore illustrates that leadership is not merely an organizational attribute but a strategic capability that significantly influences coalition endurance, adaptability, and policy impact in protracted policy conflicts.

The findings indicate that the advocacy coalition formed by the Dago Elos community generated several significant policy outcomes throughout the land dispute process. These outcomes included a favorable legal decision recognizing the community's position in the dispute, the initiation of a criminal investigation that led to members of the Muller family being summoned by the police on allegations of document forgery, and the suspension of the planned eviction of Dago Elos residents. Collectively, these outcomes demonstrate that the coalition's strategic use of legal advocacy, public mobilization, information dissemination, and cross-sector collaboration was effective in influencing the policy process and protecting the community's land rights.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the Dago Elos land dispute cannot be understood merely as a conventional land conflict; rather, it represents a complex policy contestation involving multiple actors, diverse resources, and organized advocacy strategies. Drawing upon the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), the findings reveal that the sustainability and effectiveness of the Dago Elos residents' struggle were shaped by the coalition's capacity to mobilize and integrate six strategic resources: formal legal authority, public opinion, information, mobilizable troops, financial resources, and skilled leadership. These dimensions interacted dynamically to strengthen the coalition's collective capacity to defend land rights and influence policy processes throughout the dispute.

With regard to formal legal authority, the findings indicate that residents established the legitimacy of their claims through land ownership certificates (Sertifikat Hak Milik), administrative land records, evidence of long-term physical occupation, and available litigation mechanisms. A key legal issue concerned the Eigendom Verponding title claimed by the opposing party, which, under Indonesia's Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA No. 5 of 1960), should have been converted into a recognized land right by 24 September 1980 or otherwise reverted to state control. This legal provision became a central foundation of the residents' advocacy. Although many residents expressed dissatisfaction with certain judicial decisions and institutional responses, legal mechanisms remained their primary avenue for seeking recognition and protection of their rights.

In the dimension of information, the study highlights the importance of acquiring, producing, verifying, and disseminating credible information as a means of strengthening advocacy efforts. Legal documents, land records, academic analyses, and media coverage

served as critical foundations for the construction of evidence-based arguments employed in both litigation and public advocacy. Meanwhile, regarding mobilizable troops, the findings reveal that the resilience of the Dago Elos movement was strongly supported by active citizen participation, robust internal solidarity, and the involvement of civil society organizations, grassroots communities, activists, academics, labor groups, and independent media networks. The successful mobilization of these human resources enabled the movement to maintain its presence and influence despite the prolonged nature of the conflict.

Furthermore, the dimension of financial resources demonstrates that the continuity of the advocacy movement was sustained through community self-financing mechanisms, voluntary contributions, public donations, and collective fundraising initiatives. Despite facing significant economic constraints, residents successfully developed a solidarity-based financial support system that enabled both advocacy and litigation activities to continue over an extended period. In terms of skilled leadership, the findings suggest that the movement's effectiveness was not solely determined by the size of its mobilized constituency but also by the capacity of its leaders to organize collective action, facilitate communication, maintain solidarity, manage internal disagreements, and establish collaborative relationships with external actors. The emergence of a collective leadership structure within the Dago Elos movement proved instrumental in ensuring the stability and sustainability of the advocacy coalition.

From a theoretical perspective, this study reinforces the central proposition of the Advocacy Coalition Framework, namely that the success of an advocacy coalition does not depend on a single resource but rather on its ability to strategically combine and coordinate multiple resources in pursuit of policy influence. The findings further demonstrate that local agrarian conflicts can evolve into complex policy arenas when interactions occur among community actors, state institutions, civil society organizations, media actors, and broader solidarity networks.

Based on the findings, this study recommends that both central and local governments strengthen agrarian conflict governance through more transparent, participatory, and legally certain mechanisms. Land administration agencies, law enforcement authorities, and judicial institutions should ensure that dispute-resolution processes are conducted in an accountable manner while taking into consideration not only formal legal ownership but also historical occupation, social realities, and the protection of community rights. Expanding public access to land-related information, legal assistance, and inclusive conflict-resolution mechanisms is equally important for preventing the escalation of future social conflicts.

This study primarily focuses on the resource dimensions of advocacy coalitions within the ACF framework. Future research may therefore extend the analysis to other core components of the framework, including belief systems, policy-oriented learning, policy change processes, and inter-coalition interactions within agrarian conflicts. Comparative studies across different land dispute cases in Indonesia would also contribute to a broader understanding of advocacy coalition formation and dynamics in the context of agrarian governance. Additionally, longitudinal approaches are recommended to capture the evolution of strategies, resources, and actor relationships throughout the lifecycle of conflicts and policy processes.

Ultimately, this study contributes to the advancement of public policy scholarship, particularly regarding the application of the Advocacy Coalition Framework in the context of

agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. It is hoped that the findings will serve as a valuable reference for scholars, policymakers, civil society organizations, and local communities seeking to better understand the significance of coalition-building, advocacy resource management, and public participation in policy conflict resolution. More broadly, the study aspires to support the development of a more equitable, democratic, and socially responsive system of land governance that safeguards community rights while promoting sustainable and socially just development.

This study has several limitations, as it primarily focuses on analyzing coalition resources within the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). Consequently, future research could expand the analysis by examining other core components of the framework, such as belief systems, policy change processes, and interactions among competing advocacy coalitions involved in agrarian conflicts. Comparative studies across different land dispute cases in Indonesia are also recommended to develop a broader understanding of advocacy coalition formation and dynamics within the context of agrarian policy. Furthermore, longitudinal research designs are encouraged to capture changes in coalition strategies, resource mobilization, and inter-actor relationships throughout the evolution of conflicts and policy processes over time.

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Finally, the author hopes that this study will contribute to the growing body of knowledge in public policy studies, particularly in understanding advocacy coalitions, agrarian conflicts, and citizen participation in policymaking processes. It is further hoped that the findings will provide valuable insights for academics, practitioners, civil society organizations, and policymakers in promoting more equitable, participatory, and community-oriented land governance systems. Ultimately, this research aspires to support the realization

of a land governance framework that advances social justice, democratic participation, and sustainable development.

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