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# **The Advocacy Coalition Framework Approach to Row House Policy in Tamansari, Bandung City**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Conflicts between Governance actors are rife in the era of democracy as it is today. The purpose of this study is to analyze the problems of land conflicts faced by the community against the Bandung City Government which is in a joint coalition with PT Sartonia Agung. Those two parties had a dispute over land rights in RW 11 Tamansari to control the basis of rights for housing and the construction of Row House. The struggle of each party in the struggle for land in RW 11 Tamansari was carried out through an advocacy process with both formal and informal approaches. The Advocacy Coalition Framework in this study was used as a knife for analyzing the phenomena that occurred. The research methods used in this study were qualitative research by standing on the interpretative paradigm. The data were collected by conducting observations, in-depth interviews, and documentation relating to the outline of the research. The findings obtained from this study indicated that there was a formation of strong coalition domination by the government through aggressive and repressive behavior that raised a conflict of interest in the row house construction policy in Tamansari Subdistrict, Bandung City, which was rejected by the Coalition of the Tamansari community that was formed. The series of advocacy carried out by the Tamansari community coalition had not produced results in favor of the coalition that urged a change in the policy.

**Keywords :** *advocacy, regional arrangement, conflict of interest*

## **INTRODUCTION**

One problem that is common among governance actors is the lack of public involvement in policymaking. This is one aspect that causes conflicts between actors that can last for a long time when public policy has been implemented. On the other hand, when the government makes policy, the policy is not always acceptable to the people affected by the policy. Therefore, the people affected by the policy will certainly question and criticize the policy to make it suitable for them (Rahardian & Haryanti, 2018). This is also known as policy advocacy. According to Roem Topatimasang (2016), policy advocacy is a systematic effort used by the citizens to change public policy so

that the policy is in favor of the citizens. Policy advocacy is now widely used by the public and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to urge change or improve public policy (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2019). This paper seeks to see the dynamics of policy advocacy that occurs in the case of row house policy in Tamansari, Bandung City.

This row house policy actually began during the leadership of the Former Mayor Dada Rosada in 2012. Initiation carried out by the Former Mayor Dada Rosada related to the Tamansari area, especially in RW 11, has been included in plans to be used as low-cost rental apartments (rusunawa). The concept of this low-cost apartment then changed to row houses in 2017 due to conditions that made it

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impossible to build a flat. In mid-March 2017, the then Mayor of Bandung, Ridwan Kamil, officially issued a letter establishing the working group for the Implementation of the Tamansari Row Houses. This working group was chaired by the Head of the Housing and Settlement, Land, and Landscape Agency (DPKP3).

The planned construction of the Tamansari Row Houses impacted 178 people living behind Balubur Town Square (Baltos). During construction, affected residents were promised to be relocated to Rancacili Low-Cost Rental Apartments (14.9 km from Tamansari) for 6-12 months, or helped to find temporary shelter in the area around Tamansari with an allowance of Rp6,000,000 per year. After the construction is completed, the affected people will return to occupy the houses that had been built free of charge for the first five years. After the five-year period ends, they have to pay the rent. Some affected residents in RW 11 opposed the construction of the Tamansari Row Houses due to the absence of written agreement between several affected residents and the Bandung City Government regarding some issues. Those issues were inadequate compensation, temporary shelter locations that were too far away, no certainty about the fulfillment of the basic rights of affected citizens in their daily lives, and no certainty about the renting system of the row houses (Prasetya, 2018). The forms of rejection and protest are parts of policy advocacy to change the policies that will be made or have already implemented.

Several previous research had been carried out by several researchers. The first example is research by Arshanti, Kartodihardjo, & Khan (2017) that discussed an issue and certification policy for sustainable forest management from the Advocacy Coalition Framework point-of-view. The second one is research by Nwalie (2019) that concentrated on health sector reform in Nigeria between 2003 and 2014, employing the perspective of a theoretical approach to the theories of Sabatier and Jenkins Smith in the Advocacy Coalition

Framework. The next one is research by Shin (2018) that used the Advocacy Coalition Framework approach in investigating a case of neglect of the Visa United States of America (VWP) program, whose findings indicated that dynamic changes in foreign policy on the issue of immigration were a function trade-off between economy and security. In other words, when policymakers ensured that economic gains could offset security losses and vice versa, policy changes in immigration matters could be quickly made.

Meanwhile, research in the national scope on policy advocacy was conducted by Prianto (2013) to see the dynamics of the Makassar City Spatial Planning (RTRW, Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah) with the Advocacy Coalition Framework approach.

Another research was conducted by Rahardian, Wijayanti, & Mardiyanta (2020), whose research findings sought to see how the resources and strategies used by the people in Lakardowo Village, Jetis District, Mojokerto Regency to reject the environmental permit policy for hazardous and toxic waste treatment in the Lakardowo village. It was conducted by employing the Advocacy Coalition Framework. Not much different from the existing research, this study also seeks to examine the dynamics that occur between actors involved in the housing policy in the city of Bandung using the Advocacy Coalition Framework approach from the theory developed by Sabatier (2011). Unlike the aforementioned research, this research emphasizes the beliefs and strategies carried out by Forum Juang in its efforts to change policy. The main problem formulation of this research covers how the dynamics occur in the policy subsystem. The policy subsystem becomes an arena for interactions that occur as a competition process of actor coalitions, supporting beliefs on policy problems and their solutions that originate from policy brokers.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used was a qualitative method with a descriptive type that

stood on the interpretative paradigm. This method was employed with the consideration that the purpose of this activity was to make a systematic, factual, and accurate description regarding the facts between the phenomena studied (Neuwman, 2017). The object of this research was the dominance of the coalition between the two parties in dispute in the land conflicts in RW 11, Taman Sari District, Bandung City. The data were collected using three techniques including observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The key informants in this study were five people who included state and non-state actors, such as community leaders in Forum Juang (Mr. Sambas and Ms. Eva Aryani), the representative of Bandung City Legal Aid Institute (Rizki Zulfikar), the representative of Bandung City Spatial Planning Agency (Mr. Iskandar), and representative of DPKP3. The technique of determining the informant was done by using a purposive sampling technique. The data were analyzed using interactive analysis by following the guidelines of Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña (2014), which included the stages of collecting data, condensing data, displaying data, and drawing conclusions.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Dynamics In Policy Advocacy**

The row houses were planned to be built in RW 11, Tamansari Subdistrict. This location, based on the land status map published by ATR BPN, was recorded as having unclear owner status or not yet registered. This was reinforced by the statement of the National Land Agency, Bandung City Land Agency No. 1595/2.32.73/XI/2018 published on 1 November 2018, stating that the land could not be claimed by the City Government of Bandung or some residents of RW 11 before its ownership was proven by juridical data and physical data. Therefore, the Tamansari area affected by the row house project had been designated as a disputed land by the National Land Agency.

At the time of the research, some residents of RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict were also filing a lawsuit related to the determination of compensation and environmental permits that underlay the row house project through the State Administrative High Court. This process served as a reflection of their struggle to seek justice and the legality of development from the row house project. After the litigation process was carried out by the residents together with Forum Juang Tamansari, this conflict escalated when the government sterilized RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict in repressive and intimidating ways without even getting a permanent legal decision from the court. This was evidenced by the deployment of security personnel in every corner of the alley in RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict (Rachmawati, 2019).

### **The Birth of Forum Juang as a Coalition**

Starting with the disagreement between the Bandung City Government and the residents of RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict along with the repressive actions experienced by the residents of RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict, movements that aimed to advocate for the local community emerged. These movements were supported by Forum Juang Tamansari, whose positions and perspectives differ, or even against the government. The birth of the advocacy coalition that formed the Forum Juang Tamansari was based on the attitude of the Bandung City Government towards the residents of the urban villages, which was believed to aim at abolishing their residency rights. Starting with a sense of solidarity emerged in seeing the potential of policies that created segregation amidst the social conditions related to the fulfillment of housing rights that were not realized, Forum Juang Tamansari and other elements of solidarity were seeking forms of advocacy to neutralize the dominance of the coalition between the Bandung City Government and PT Sartonia Agung who tried to be social capitalists in the midst of the shortcomings and limitations of residents of RW 11 in reaching decent housing.

On the other hand, the Bandung City Government as the initiator of the construction of these row houses was trying to reorganize the conditions of the city's settlements that were already considered slums. With the condition of residential locations that were very close together, there were potentials for fire and other fundamental problems. This condition underlay the Bandung City Government through the Department of Housing and Settlement, Land, and Landscaping of Bandung City (DPKP3) to see these settlements as an area that deserved to be revitalized. Therefore, the government has no intention of changing its policy structure. Rather, the row house policy was defended from other advocacy resistance that tried to change this policy.

The presence of Forum Juang Tamansari and the element of solidarity in the context of this struggle became very important. Forum Juang Tamansari tried to bring justice

related to the fulfillment of housing and land as the primary needs of citizens amidst the eviction because the only alternative for the government in controlling land was by demolishing the settlements. In such conditions, it was shown that the involvement of non-state actors trying to influence policy through the process of policy advocacy was possible in the process of public policy. Forum Juang Tamansari and solidarity elements had become a coalition unit, trying to counter the strength of the Bandung City Government who played a coalition role by using the tools and structures of its government based on the distribution function of the work of each agency and apparatus. The formation of the coalition in the Tamansari case was carried out by inviting other groups who had the same beliefs to strengthen support in advocating for policies. The other actors involved in the advocacy of the row houses were as follows. (Table 1)

**Table 1 Advocacy Coalition Actors**

No	Actors	Roles
1	Legal Aid Institute (LBH, <i>Lembaga Bantuan Hukum</i> ) Bandung	Assisting the citizens in legal cases and providing knowledge to the community regarding land, environment, and human rights law.
2	Forum Juang Tamansari (FJT)	Serving as citizen communicators who bridge communication with outsiders.
3	Anti-Eviction People's Alliance	Consolidating support for people affected by eviction and land issues.
4	Bandung College Students' Alliance	Building a base of movement, packaging issues, analyzing scientifically.

*Source: Processed by researchers, 2020.*

The four organizations or alliances were involved in advocating for residents of RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict to maintain the houses they had occupied. This activity began in 2017 after the Bandung City Government conducted a modus operandi through breaking the fast together at the Bandung Film Park. After reading and studying the government's strategy in designing the construction of the row houses on the land occupied by the residents of RW 11,

the social conditions of the community in RW 11 seemed to be divided into several fractions. There were some people who agreed, some people who were afraid and chose to submit to the government's decision, and some people who opposed and felt that what was decided by the government regarding the construction of the row houses was a systematic and structured effort in terms of acquiring the land and wiping out the village from the city. According to

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993: 227), the coalition "sought to change the behavior of government institutions in order to get policy objectives at the core of their policies". In an effort to increase their chances of achieving inter-coalition goals, policy participants sought allies with the same core policy beliefs and coordinate their actions with allies in the advocacy coalition. The success of policy participants depended on their ability to translate core policy beliefs into actual policies.

However, the resistance of the Tamansari advocacy coalition against the Government of the City of Bandung formed a very deep disparity gap. Gaps between different coalition belief systems had resulted in debate and street conflicts in fighting for the fate of RW 11's residents. The most frequent debate that arose was the debate over the legality of land at the Tamansari location. The view of the advocates of Tamansari was that land rights had to be given to the residents of RW 11. However, the complete land registration program (PTSL) had never been socialized by the Bandung City Government. The Bandung City Government stated that access to citizens to make efforts to certify land in RW 11 had never been given because the land was not legally owned by citizens. The data on regional assets showed that the location in RW 11 belonged to Bandung City Government. According to the Tamansari advocacy coalition, the ownership certificate that came out of the regional asset certificate could not be a legal standing proof in owning the land in Tamansari. On the other hand, the Bandung City Government as a part of the representation of the opponents of the coalition considered that the justification regarding the illegitimate ownership of the Bandung City Government could not be a legally binding reason. According to the Bandung City DPKP3, the issue of the unregistered land in RW 11 was only an aspect of administration that had not been fulfilled. The Bandung City Government saw the historical evidence of the land in Tamansari as a reason that had strong legal evidence. The Bandung City Government also considered that the reasons for the struggle

carried out to help some residents of RW 11 Tamansari were not a form of fighting for citizens' rights. This was because the things that were fought were very politically nuanced and even tended to be provocative because the land in RW 11 did not belong to the citizens.

### **Government's Strategy through the Tamansari Menawan Campaign**

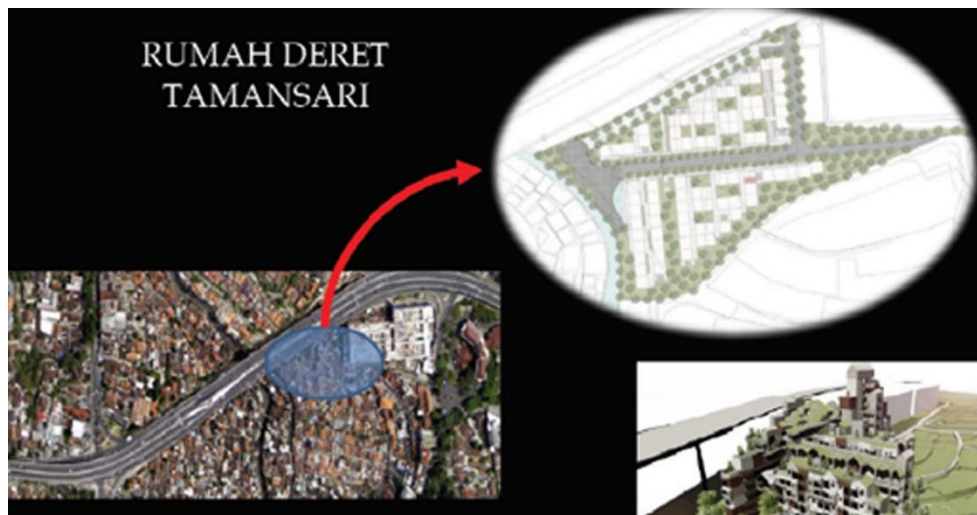
Demands regarding the aesthetics of the city had become the most important element in the practice of environmental rejuvenation. The presence of the Bandung City Government as an element of the group or opponents of the Tamansari advocacy coalition was a tangible form of efforts to bring decent housing to the quality of good regional utilities. Since the government was not a part of groups, forums, or alliances that had limited space and financial means, it was not surprising that the government's strategy in persuading many heads of families in Tamansari was affixed with sweet promises that were well distributed. It was evidenced by the statement of the mayor who claimed that the plan had been approved by 175 residents of RW 11 Tamansari Subdistrict.

One of the main policies of the Bandung City Government as a part of the coalition "Land for the Renovation of Settlements" was the construction of the row houses (RUDET, rumah deret). As the name implies, this policy was made to provide services regarding housing and access to adequate residential areas with vertical housing. One of the missions was to build row houses with the concept of Public Owned Flats (Future Ownership or People's Apartments) to meet the needs of housing, especially for Low-Income Communities (MBR, Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah). In addition, the mission carried out by the Bandung City Government regarding the Tamansari Row Houses was to make the houses affordable especially for people whose income was equal or lower than the Municipal Minimum Wage. In addition, the construction of the Tamansari Row Houses was expected to develop a mixed-

function area between residential and commercial or workplaces that encouraged the concept of green mobility. One form of the City Government's strategy to be able to meet the

provision of construction of the row houses was by meeting proper housing rules and complete procedures (Figure 1).

**Figure 1. The Overview of Program Needs in Every People's Apartment Development**



*Source: DPKP3 of Bandung City*

According to the Bandung City Government, with the concept of building without displacing, Tamansari Row Houses owned by the Government of Bandung City would give more value to the residents of RW 11 Tamansari because native residents would have priority

and opportunity to inhabit exclusive and strategic buildings. In addition, it could also increase residents' life direction to be more healthy, comfortable, and empowered (Figure 2).

**Figure 2. The Example of Tamansari Row Houses**



*Source: DPKP3 of Bandung City*

The Bandung City Government's plans and strategies were accepted by most residents

of RW 11 Tamansari. This showed that the performance of the Bandung City Government



as a representative of the opposition of the coalition against the construction of the row houses could successfully manage its resources by persuading the citizens that the government was preparing the future of decent housing shrouded in environmental values. This could be confirmed from the responses of some residents who urged the Bandung City Government to quickly realize the construction of the House of Draws in Tamansari. Therefore, how the Government played its role as the apparatus to be a policy executor could be seen here.

### **Tamansari Advocacy Coalition's Strategy through the Tamansari Melawan Campaign**

Changes in the state system that provide spaces for the community to elaborate their thoughts through the form of concrete actions had often been sought. As a result, the process of democratization in Indonesia was claimed to have provided space for people to breathe freely. The state no longer limited the desire of every citizen to express their aspirations and demands. The conception of community involvement in the state had been expanded from traditional concepts that mobilized power at the executive, legislative, and judicial levels towards community participation through various interest groups that played an important role in generation, dissemination, and evaluation of policy ideas. In this case, it was true that there had been an effort by the Bandung City Government in fulfilling community participation to take part in the policy process. The presence of the advocacy coalition that drew together in Tamansari residents included FJT, ARAP, LBH Bandung, and Bandung Student Alliance. When the chaotic issue of the row house construction arose, the state of the advocacy coalition gave a glimmer of hope to the struggle of the residents of RW 11 Tamansari against the power of the Bandung City Government in controlling land rights that would be used for the row house construction. The residents had new power to continue to grow by utilizing whatever potential they had. Their aspirations to obtain land rights

to be certified were always communicated with the government even at the lowest level of government such as subdistrict government.

It should be noted that the people who lived in RW 11 Tamansari as a whole did not have legality or ownership certificates on the land they lived in, but on the other hand, the Bandung City Government could not show their evidence of land ownership either. In the condition of the dispute between the citizens and the Bandung City Government, the community often got arbitrary treatment because the reality showed that during the court process, the government representative had come to RW 11 to measure the land even though the status of the land was still free state land. Thus, acts of damaging the social psychology of the community had been carried out since the beginning of the socialization of the row house construction. This condition then became the basis of the Tamansari advocacy coalition's discomfort and led them to move. The strategy undertaken by the Tamansari advocacy coalition in advocating the housing policy at RW 11 Tamansari was through efforts to organize citizens and campaign for unlawful acts carried out by the Bandung City Government.

Tamansari advocacy coalition realized that the source of its strength lay in the support of the Tamansari community. Community organizing was done to prepare the evidence that could be used as a lawsuit against the procedure of implementing Tamansari Row House policy. The first thing done by citizens through an advocacy coalition was to provide various knowledge, especially about the legal aspects so that residents of RW 11 Tamansari who were against the row house policy could learn every action taken by the Bandung City Government by including a letter of assignment to be analyzed in accordance with the rules of law. As a result of a brief education conducted by the Tamansari advocacy coalition, the public began to recognize the bad tactics carried out by the Bandung Municipal Government over ownership claims through a certificate of land status owned by the City Government



No.593/268-BPKA.

The resistance of citizens through the Tamansari advocacy coalition continued when LBH Bandung sued Environmental Permit Issuance Letter No.0001/Lingk. Pem/VII/2018/DPMPTSP. The lawsuit was announced on a large scale, especially on social media, that the Bandung City Government had fundamentally performed the procedure inadequately because in the environmental permit it was stated that the Department of Housing and Settlement, Land, and Landscaping (DPKP3) of Bandung City was referred to as a company who ran the project. The advocacy coalition announced the news through various methods and media ranging from posters, infographics, videos, and t-shirts

that were distributed through various media platforms.

On another occasion, the resistance campaign was carried out not only by relying on the aspect of providing education to citizens but the method of space activation through collaboration with many non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Activation of space was an effort to carry out activities in conflict locations aiming at empowering citizens, expanding solidarity, and becoming an act of consolidation. The activity could vary depending on the background of the community who served as the facilitator, for example, discussions, watching movies together, performing music, theater, and reading poetry (Figure 3).

**Figure 3.**  
**Music Performance on the Ruins of RW 11 Tamansari Citizens' Houses**

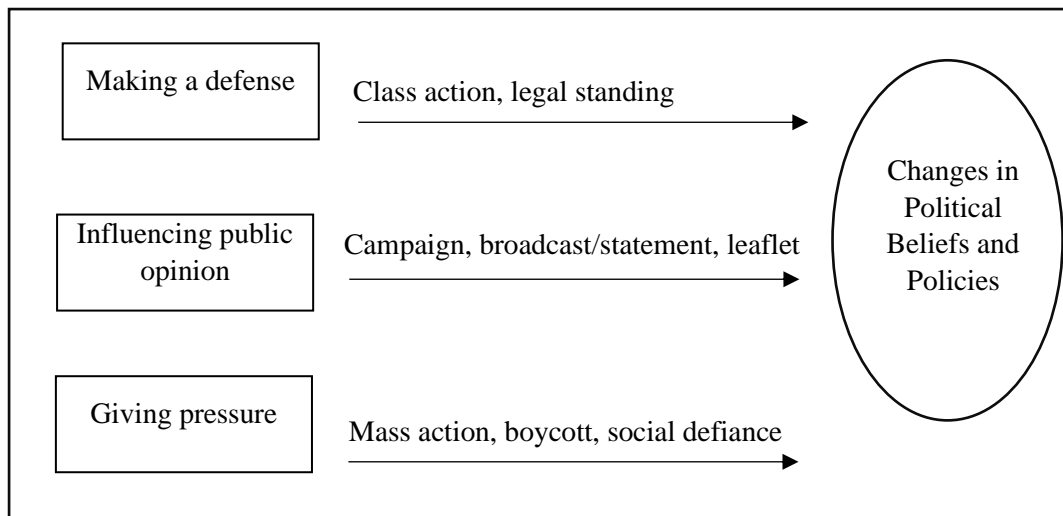


*Source: Festival Kampung Kota's Instagram*

The activities carried out by Forum Juang certainly strengthened the movement and resistance. The process of activation of this space then became a form of land occupation movement. The land which was the former ruins of houses that had been demolished was changed by residents and people in solidarity as a space to gather and to hold activities. The land which was originally controlled by the residents was later claimed by the Bandung City

Government. In the end, the land which became the land of conflict was pushed into public space. In this public sphere, there was a manifestation of the real form of democracy. Finally, the Tamansari advocacy coalition along with volunteers and sympathizers undertook pressure efforts on government representatives, namely the security forces, by mobilizing large mass actions and boycotting land access (Figure 4).

**Figure 4. Tamansari Coalition Advocacy's Strategy**



*Source: processed by the researchers*

With such a strategy, the coalition involved with various volunteers and sympathizers continued to fight. It should be noted that such a method did not provide certainty about expectations regarding the change in the housing policy, but certainly, the struggle for resistance was still ongoing. This was proven by some residents of RW 11 Tamansari who stayed at Al Islam Mosque as their temporary residence after the eviction that occurred on December 12, 2019.

### **The Role of Policy Brokers in Mediating Conflicts between Coalitions**

After more than two years of conflict in the row house policy in RW 11 Tamansari, the third party who mediated the debate and conflict between the two coalitions of different interests was the Mayor of Bandung and the State Land Agency. In systematic tasks and functions, the mayor had a role as a representation of the government, but at the political angle and level, the mayor also had an ethical role as a representative of the people. The conflict between the Tamansari advocacy coalition against the Bandung City Government represented by DPKP3 did not meet a unanimous agreement. The bargaining position of the people remained on the demands of

fulfilling land rights for the people, while the DPKP3 of Bandung City also stuck to the Tamansari space plan which was guided by the "City without Slums" program from the central government.

As the leader of the people, the mayor continued to place his position in the middle even though the attitude of the mayor's ambivalence towards the conflict in Tamansari always placed and directed him to a position that promoted the bargaining value of Bandung City Government through DPKP3. This was proven by the reconciliation with the residents of RW 11, which still included row houses as an alternative and solution for the rejuvenation of the area as a form of effort. In this position, the mayor seemed to continue to position himself as a neutral party even though basically the mayor was in the same place as DPKP3. The other party who became a policy broker on the policy of developing the Tamansari House was the State Land Agency (BPN). In the case of protracted land disputes that had a profound conflicting effect, BPN had grounded its position at a neutral point so that it opened the opportunity for Bandung City Government through DPKP3 and residents of RW 11 Tamansari to place BPN as the mediator and the breaker of a case in the resolution of land

conflicts in Tamansari Subdistrict, Bandung City. However, BPN as a policy broker did not have the task function to comprehensively explore this case. This was due to their limited function and authority that could only resolve cases regarding land. The result of the BPN's decision to ease the conflict between the Bandung City Government through DPKP3 and RW 11 residents accompanied by the Tamansari advocacy coalition was the issuance of a letter of receipt of land certification application in Tamansari, which was letter no. 1595/2.32.73/XI/2018. That letter decided that the two sides could not follow up on the submission of the application for land certification in RW 11 Tamansari until the proof of physical land tenure and juridical evidence were resolved by both parties.

The above conflict clearly showed that the dominant brokerage role had been played by the Mayor of Bandung by representing the Bandung City Government. Although there were no restrictions mentioned by Sabatier and Smith regarding the extent to which an act of looking for a middle ground could be said to be a policy broker, the designation of a broker pinned to the mayor of Bandung was due to several criteria met by the mayor of Bandung, one of which was as a party who was trying to find a middle way of the conflict between the two coalitions. In this case, the mayor was showing an effort to mediate the conflict. Someone also became a policy broker because of their expertise and capabilities regarding the function of their duties that were relevant to various cases. In this case, the mayor mediated the resolution of the conflict because of his position and supporting capacity that represented him as the government representative and people's representative.

## CONCLUSION

This research illustrated the portrait of frequent land conflicts in urban areas when the communication process built between governance actors did not work with the principle of openness and participatory

involving all parties. Competition between coalitions in influencing policy could not be counterbalanced by the Tamansari coalition. The mediation and interaction were not able to be solutions to the problems that plagued the urban proletariat. In relation to belief systems, resources and strategies managed properly by each coalition to share beliefs to inhibit and trigger conflict situations had to be realized by other parties for the purpose of implementing the construction of the Tamansari Row Houses. The absence of an agreement that triggered this conflict situation does not have a clear status of the resolution of the problem for both parties. Rather, the dominance of the coalition in the government and PT. Sartonia Agung had an opportunity to win due to the strength of resources related to the use of security devices and the role of mass media opinion.

The advocacy process needed constructive thinking on land conflict issues in the Tamansari area. The form of recommendations that can be given to both parties currently in dispute are: (1) The settlement of slums in the Tamansari Region can be addressed using the perspective of physical development/revitalization, (2) The improvement of city slum through participatory based settlement is needed, (3) Settlement through the form of relocation must be determined through the worst standard criteria. Meanwhile, this research still has weaknesses in the aspects of strategy and network and conflict elaboration. Therefore, this research can be carried out by other researchers in the future.

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